A Variable Tapestry:

Identity and Politics in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy

By

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Mark Thatcher was born in 1982 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and earned a B.A. from Northwestern University in 2004, with a thesis entitled "Educating the Statesman: Polybius and Cultural Conflict," and received the Joseph Clyde Murley Prize from the Classics Department in 2003. He also studied at the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies in Rome in 2002. While at Brown, Mark has presented several papers on identity in Sicily and Italy and on Polybius, one of which, "Camarina between Ethnicity and Civic Identity," is due to be published in a volume entitled *Identity and Identification in Antiquity*, edited by Hartmut Ziche and forthcoming from Cambridge Scholars Press. He currently serves as a Lecturer in the Department of Greek and Latin at The Ohio State University.

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INTRODUCTION

Definitions, Questions, Sources

The unusual behavior of the small Sicilian *polis* of Camarina during the era of the Peloponnesian War has attracted surprisingly little attention from scholars. Thucydides (3.86) reports that, in 427, during a major war between the Greek cities of Sicily, all of these communities, except Camarina, chose sides according to their ethnic identities: the Dorians were fighting the Chalcidians (a Sicilian offshoot of the Ionians). The Camarinaeans, though Dorians, instead allied with the Chalcidians because, as Thucydides tells us elsewhere (6.88.1), their hatred of Syracuse (the leading Dorian *polis* and Camarina's mother-city) prevented them from joining the Dorian alliance. Each community at this time made a major political decision on the basis of collective identity – either ethnicity or, in the case of Camarina, as I shall argue, civic identity.

This war prompted an appeal for help by the Chalcidians to Athens; the Athenians responded by sending a fleet of twenty ships. After three years, in 424, a peace conference was organized at Gela between all these same Sicilian communities. At this conference, the Syracusan general and statesman Hermocrates made a speech that, in Thucydides' rendering (4.59-64), attempted to unite all the Sicilian Greek communities against the Athenians. "We are all of us neighbors," Hermocrates says, "fellow-dwellers in the same country, girt by the sea, and all called by the same name of Sikeliotai"

(4.64.3). Hermocrates thus appealed to a different, pan-Sicilian identity that was fundamentally different from either ethnicity or civic identity, and as a result of this speech, the various *poleis*, including Camarina, did make peace with each other.

A decade later, however, the Athenians returned in the Great Sicilian Expedition. In the scramble for allies on each side, Camarina wavered, and Hermocrates made a speech in Camarina's assembly to persuade them to join Syracuse. The Thucydidean version of this speech (6.76-80), far from appealing to Sicilian unity, was a vicious ethnic screed insisting that Camarina should ally with Syracuse as fellow Dorians against the hated Ionian invaders. Although Camarina at first remained neutral, the city did eventually send troops to aid Syracuse (7.33.1).

Thus, in the space of only thirteen years, the single *polis* of Camarina made momentous political decisions on the basis of no fewer than three different types of identity: civic identity in 427, Sicilian identity in 424, and ethnicity in 414. These decisions were sometimes made in agreement with other communities and sometimes not. This behavior requires an explanation and suggests that phenomena are at work here that have not been taken sufficiently into account in the study of Greek history and politics.

I suggest that Camarina's behavior, along with many other episodes and aspects of the history of Greek Sicily and southern Italy, can best be explained through the concept of "tiers of identity." A term borrowed from Catherine Morgan, tiers of identity are different types or forms of identity, based on different criteria and functioning in different ways, that are all held by the same individual or group at the same time, and "with which communities could identify with varying enthusiasm and motivation at

different times."[1] Periodically, one tier will become more important for a given community than all others; that identity will become the guiding principle for its political decisions while the others fall into the background and are ignored. Nevertheless, other identities remain latent and will become prominent in turn as conditions change. Some of these tiers are nested inside others: for example, all Dorians are also Greeks, while there are some Greeks who are not Dorians. In other cases, different tiers cut across each other: only some Sikeliotai are Dorians, while the Dorians of the Peloponnese, for instance, are not Sikeliotai. My discussion will consider four tiers of identity: civic, ethnic, geographic, and overarching Greek or Hellenic identities. Together these tiers form a variegated tapestry of shifting and overlapping identities that were sharply contested throughout Greek culture in Sicily and southern Italy.

Definitions and Theories

In recent decades, classical scholars have extensively studied certain individual tiers of identity – especially ethnicity and Greek identity – and much of this body of research can be applied to the larger phenomenon of collective identity. Regarding the latter specifically, however, the immense bibliography emanating from the fields of sociology and social psychology has not made its way into classical studies to any great degree. Hence, I offer my own definition: collective identity can be defined as a mentality constructed from organized and meaningful sets of similarities and differences that define the boundaries of the community.

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[1] Morgan 2003, 1.

Criteria and Salience

At one time, scholars assumed that ethnic groups such as the Dorians existed in the primordial past and did not have origins that were susceptible to investigation – they simply *were*, and, as reified entities, they were not subject to change. Sparta was Dorian because it had always been Dorian, and it always would be Dorian. This "primordialist" view of identity has been thoroughly discredited, and more recently scholars have established that in fact identity is entirely subjective, created by members of the ethnic group to serve particular functions. Rather than passively and objectively existing, it is actively and subjectively constituted by the groups involved: identity is a type of "mentality," the attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs that shape a group's worldview.[2] Because collective identities are socially constructed and thereby discursive in nature, rather than based on any objective reality, they are not mutually exclusive and can shift rapidly to suit changing conditions.

The Norwegian anthropologist Frederik Barth, in pioneering work, was among the first to recognize that ethnic groups – and other groups that define themselves by means of other forms of collective identity – often define themselves subjectively in opposition to other groups. Identity is therefore created at the boundaries between groups, where the criteria of difference become most immediately obvious. Within the boundary of the community are those who share certain characteristics; outside the community are those who differ in those respects.[3] These sets of similarities and differences are what Donald Horowitz refers to as *criteria* of ethnicity (or of identity in general): they are the means

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[2] On the concept of mentalities, see below, p. 24 and n. 32.

[3] See esp. Barth 1969; cf. the approaches of Stryker and Serpe 1982, esp. 206-8; Melucci 1995, esp. 43-5; Lucy 2005, 94-5.

by which the group is actually defined by group members, as opposed to *indicia*, secondary characteristics – such as physical features, language, or religion – which have come to be associated with previously established criteria but which do not actually serve to define the group.[4]

But many such sets of similarities and differences are possible. For example, one community might predicate its identity on participation in the religious cults of a given *polis*, while another might select as its defining criterion whether or not one lives on the island of Sicily. These different criteria constitute different tiers of identity – in these examples, civic and geographic, respectively. Each community will thus have a variety of identities to choose from. In fact, a nearly infinite range of possible identity groups can exist, but not all will be meaningful most of the time. From an etic or outsider's perspective – for example, that of a modern classicist looking back to ancient Greece – some differences might seem significant that were not actually meaningful at the time.

Hence, the issue of salience is crucial. This term, although referring to various related concepts in the sociological literature,[5] can for my purposes best be defined as the extent to which a given tier of identity is a relevant part of a community's self-conception at a particular moment or in a particular situation.[6] At different times, different sets of similarities and differences would become salient for a given group of people. Moreover, two separate communities in similar situations at the same time might find different identities salient. Each group would thus temporarily consider one tier of identity more

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[4] Horowitz 1975, 119-21; Hall 1997, 20-4.

[5] See Stryker and Serpe 1994; Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe 2004, 88, 97-8.

[6] Sellers et al. 2002, 24-5. This "situational" or "acute" salience can be contrasted with "chronic" salience, a more stable and long-lasting condition: Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe 2004, 97.

important than any other, and might make decisions based on it that could conflict with other identities they could have selected. The changing salience of each tier of identity in changing situations allows communities to rapidly shift from one tier of identity to another. However, the recognition that communities can switch between different tiers of identity as desired comes with an important corollary: it is crucial to define properly and distinguish between the precise sets of similarities and differences that constitute each separate tier of identity.

Ethnicity: Towards a Definition

The search for a universally-applicable definition of ethnicity has created intense debate among scholars, a debate which can be extended to identity more broadly; hence, I will discuss it in somewhat more detail. A crucial starting point employed by a number of scholars is the six essential characteristics of ethnic groups outlined by Anthony Smith in 1986:[7]

1. A collective name

2. A common myth of descent

3. A shared history

4. A distinctive shared culture

5. An association with a specific territory

6. A sense of communal solidarity

According to Smith – who was concerned primarily with the definition of ethnic groups as the precursors of modern nations – each of these characteristics is a necessary

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[7] Smith 1986, 21-30; cf., e.g., Hall 1997; Hall 2002a; Nielsen 1999.

condition for a group to be defined as "ethnic." However, many of his characteristics can be adapted to address other types of identity as well.[8] For example, virtually any identity group has a collective name, whether it is the Syracusans or the Greeks or the Sikeliotai – a feature explicitly pointed out by Hermocrates (4.64.3). Similarly, any group can develop a shared history over time. *Poleis* tend to be associated with a specific territory, although the Greeks generally defined them rather with reference to their people.[9] Thus, Smith's six criteria can serve to define collective identity as a whole, rather than just ethnicity.

Among classicists, the work of Jonathan Hall offers perhaps the most widely-known discussions of ethnicity.[10] For Hall, the exclusive characteristic of the ethnic group is the idea of notional or fictive descent. Ethnic groups developed myths that claimed descent from an eponymous ancestor, such as Dorus or Ion, or a founder such as Heracles, in the mythic past.[11] The "Hellenic Genealogy" of the late sixth century, in which Dorus, Ion, and Aeolus, the eponyms of the three largest sub-Hellenic ethnic groups, appear as sons or grandsons of Hellen,[12] represents the peak of development of this model of Greek ethnicity. This criterion of common ancestry is, for Hall, the only

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[8] Cf. Hall 1997, 25; Konstan 1997, 106.

[9] *IACP*, 70-4; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1276b1; Thuc. 1.143.5, 7.77.7.

[10] See responses to Hall's work in Konstan 1997 and the review features of Hall 1997 in *CArchJ* for 1998 and of Hall 2002 in *AWE* for 2006; cf. also McInerney 2001.

[11] For the role of myth in ethnogenesis, see also Malkin 1994; Malkin 1998.

[12] On the Hellenic Genealogy (reconstructed by Hall from ff. 9-10a of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*) and the place of Dorus within it, see Hall 1997, 36, 41-9; Hall 2002a, 25-9; Robertson 2002, 7-11; see also Hdt. 1.56.3.

possible one: any group that does not predicate its identity on ancestry is by definition not an ethnic group.

But other scholars have emphasized that ethnicity involves a shared culture, including such features as religion, clothing, and, more broadly, material culture, in all of which a much broader cross-section of the community participates.[13] Many Greek ethnic groups, such as the Dorians and Ionians, certainly qualify under this definition as well, since they had festivals associated with them (the Carnea and the Apaturia, respectively), as well as distinctive dress.[14] This model of ethnicity is difficult to reconcile with that proposed by Hall, who regards all cultural features as epiphenomena, used only to reinforce a pre-existing ethnic identity, rather than to constitute it in the first place. After all, a Dorian could put on an Ionian *chiton*, but he would still be a Dorian. I suggest that one way out of this dilemma is to recognize the importance of multiple co-existing conceptions of ethnicity and to maintain certain critical distinctions between them, since people respond differently to claims of kinship and cultural affiliation.

Religion – especially specific cult practices associated with certain identity groups – has often been pointed out as a major factor distinguishing one group from another.[15] For example, Herodotus, discussing the origin and identity of the Ionians, debunks the Ionians' own claims to ethnic purity (1.143-8) and ultimately concludes that Ionians are "those who originate from Athens and celebrate the Apaturia" (1.147.2), although he immediately admits that two Ionian cities, Ephesus and Colophon, do not keep the

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[13] E.g., Antonaccio 2004, 62-4; for material culture, see below, pp. 26-9, and esp. references in n. 35.

[14] On the festivals, see 5.54.2; Hdt. 1.147.2, 7.206.1, 8.72; Paus. 3.13.4, 26.7, with Malkin 1994, 149-58; Hall 1997, 39-40; Robertson 2002, 36-74. For distinctively Dorian and Ionian clothing, see Anacreon F54 Page; Aes. *Pers.* 182-3; Hdt. 5.87.3-88.1; Antonaccio 2003, 62-3.

[15] E.g., Robertson 2002; Mitchell 2006; Snodgrass 2006.

Apaturia.[16] Thus, there can be no question that from Herodotus' outsider's – but extremely well-informed – viewpoint in the second half of the fifth century, this religious festival was no secondary indicium or epiphenomenon: it was one of the actual criteria upon which Ionian identity was based.[17] Nonetheless, Herodotus' inability to come up with a clean and simple criterion of Ionian ethnicity mirrors modern scholars' failure to define the concept unambiguously.

Most of the time, however, religion was used to support or substantiate a deeper claim. For example, the Achaean cities of Italy ultimately claimed Achaean ethnicity because they claimed to be descended from Homeric Achaean heroes and settlers from the Peloponnesian region of Achaea. They used cult practices, such as the worship of a particular form of Hera, to remind themselves of this belief and to proclaim it to others (see Chapter One, pp. 73-98). But participation in a cult practice alone cannot be the criterion of Achaean identity, for the simple reason that many people from outside the community, whether travelers, resident aliens, or even non-Greeks, were welcome to participate in most rituals, offer dedications in sanctuaries, and generally worship the same deities as the Achaeans. The actual claim of Achaean ethnicity lay instead in the claim of descent.

Moreover, religion can clearly be used in support of other tiers of identity as well, and so cannot be a defining criterion of ethnicity alone. Most *poleis* had particular sets of civic cults that, while open to the whole world, had an even deeper significance that was available to citizens of the *polis* alone. Similarly, the cult of Demeter and Kore was by no

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[16] Cf. Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007, 176-8; McInerney 2001, 57-9. On the development of Ionian ethnicity, see Hall 2002a, 67-71.

[17] *Contra*, Hall 1997, 39-40.

means unique to Sicily, but nonetheless the Sicilian Greeks considered these two goddesses the patrons of their island, and the Deinomenid tyrants of Syracuse used this to help construct a pan-Sicilian identity group, later called the Sikeliotai, that was geographic, rather than ethnic, in nature (see Chapter Two, pp. 217-219). The festival of Zeus at Olympia, which, at least in the fifth century and later, was restricted to Greeks only, helped construct Greek identity, as did, in a more limited context, the Hellenion at Naucratis.[18] Thus, religion constituted an important aspect of all types of identity, but was rarely a truly defining criterion of any of them.

In fact, what this review of definitions of ethnicity has suggested is that for a proper understanding of ethnicity it is critical to maintain flexibility of definitions, since ethnic groups can sometimes be based on various criteria, although common descent is certainly the most important. Moreover, an empirical approach to ethnicity can often yield greater flexibility. For example, everyone – ancient authors and modern scholars alike – agree that the Dorians and Ionians were ethnic groups at all periods. Yet sometimes these groups were defined based on descent from an eponymous ancestor, as in Hall's definition, while at other times cultural factors, especially religion, could provide vital criteria of ethnicity. Similarly, Hall argues that when, in the wake of the Persian Wars, not many decades after the date of the Hellenic Genealogy, the Greeks began to redefine themselves on the basis of opposition to Persia, they no longer constituted an ethnic group but rather something else,[19] a conclusion which most would find intuitively odd. A more likely hypothesis is that while the ethnic groups remained,

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[18] Olympia: Hdt. 5.22; Hall 2002a, 154-67. Naucratis: Hdt. 2.178.2-3; cf. Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007, 373-4. On both examples, see Mitchell 2006, 414-17.

[19] Hall 2002a, 172-228.

the definition of ethnicity was flexible enough to change.[20] By using the same empirical

principles as Herodotus – who knew which cities were Ionian and then sought to discover

what made them Ionian – we can arrive at a definition of ethnicity that is sufficiently

flexible to cover all situations.

Beyond Ethnicity

Nevertheless, while admitting flexibility to the concept of ethnicity, it is important

to maintain careful distinctions between this tier of identity and various others. The

Greeks as a whole have frequently and productively been discussed under the rubrics of

both ethnicity and culture,[21] but I treat them here as a tier separate from ethnicity, for

several reasons. Most importantly, I impose a sharp and artificial limit on the concept of

ethnicity for the purposes of this study. I am here concerned with identities that were

contested between Greeks, not with the contrasting identities of Greeks and their non-

Greek neighbors such as Carthaginians, Sikels, or Lucanians. Therefore, although Greek

identity was sometimes predicated on common descent and thus constituted an ethnic

group, as an overarching identity group – the largest that I discuss – it included the other

tiers and thus functioned differently. Intra-hellenic ethnic groups such as the Dorians and

Ionians were usually defined in opposition to each other: the boundary that divides them

runs through the heart of Greek identity. When this Greek identity is relevant, on the

other hand, it is usually predicated on a version of the familiar Greek vs. barbarian

dichotomy; this is where non-Greeks enter my tapestry of identity. Therefore, when I

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[20] Cf. Konstan 1997, 108-9.

[21] Ethnicity: Konstan 2001; Hall 2002a, esp. 125-71. Culture: Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993; Hall 2002a, 172-
228.

refer to ethnicity or ethnic contrasts, I am referring exclusively to intra-Hellenic ethnic groups such as Dorians, Chalcidians, and Achaeans: Greek identity is something else entirely.

Geographic identity, on the other hand, is predicated on geographic proximity within limited physical boundaries, and opens up a different set of issues altogether. It has been rather less studied than other tiers, although important work has been done on regional identities in the Peloponnese and in other areas dominated by the *ethnos*, rather than the *polis* form of state organization.[22] In its most developed Sicilian form, in the late fifth century, the Sikeliotai were thought to encompass all who lived on the island, and its boundaries were the sea.[23] In theory, this would include the Phoenicians in western Sicily as well as the three native groups, the Sikels, the Sikanians, and the Elymians. In practice, however, it referred only to Greeks, and occasionally led to the never-fulfilled aspiration to drive Carthage out of Sicily altogether, making it a Greek island (see Chapter Four, pp. 276-277). This geographical identity cut across other groups, since it included both Dorians and Chalcidians in Sicily while excluding Dorians and Ionians living elsewhere; moreover, it was constructed in part through opposition to the armed intervention of other Greeks, the Athenians (Thuc. 4.60-64).

The *polis*, meanwhile, was usually considered to be a basic unit of Greek political society, and therefore civic identity constitutes the smallest and most basic of the tiers of identity I will analyze here.[24] Civic identity is a far more complicated concept than the

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[22] E.g., Morgan 1991; 2003; Nielsen 1999, 47-51; Shepherd 2006, 441-2; Vlassopoulos 2007.

[23] Thuc. 4.64.3, 6.13.1; see Chapter Three, 219-221.

[24] Smaller units such as deme and tribal identities were important in Athens, for instance, but I do not discuss these for the West, in large part for lack of evidence; see also the Conclusion, p. 307. On civic identity in general, see Loraux 1986; Connor 1993; Dougherty 1994; Pretzler 1999.

simple juridical category of citizenship, although sometimes this, too, was relevant. Membership in a *polis* community was often defined based on participation in the cults of the community (see Chapter One, pp. 98-111). Despite claims that a *polis* was its people (see above, p. 7), civic identity could often be predicated on topographical features of the urban site or territory, such as rivers, mountains, or cult sites, that were specific to a single *polis* alone. Think of the centrality of the Athenian Agora in the civic space of the *polis*, or the Acropolis and its temples: at Syracuse, the island of Ortygia and its famous spring, Arethusa, functioned in the same way (see Chapter Two, pp.125-130). Moreover, claims regarding special characteristics of community members played a particular role in defining the community, whether they were actually unique or not: thus, Syracuse's Dorian ethnicity was part of its civic identity, though many nearby cities were also Dorian (see Chapter Two, pp. 118-125).

This study will address the tapestry of identities held by entire communities, usually *poleis*. While ideally the unit of investigation would be the individual, following the methods of social psychology, our information is rarely fine-grained enough for this. I do not mean to suggest that all community members agreed in lock-step on questions of identity; in fact, where we do have sufficient information, we often find that individuals disagree and identities are contested. For instance, in 425, a faction in Camarina led by Archias – evidently a pro-Syracusan politician whose name (the same as that of Syracuse's founder) *may* indicate a strong Syracusan connection – nearly succeeded in handing the city over to Syracuse (Thuc. 4.25.7). Whether Archias was motivated by ethnic identity as a Dorian, by a version of civic identity in which Camarina was subordinated to Syracuse, or simply by the prospect of reward is impossible to say. Thus,

my analysis will follow the unit of the city, which espouses various tiers of identity in making political decisions (on which alone we have sufficient data) as a whole community.

While it is important to maintain certain critical distinctions, nevertheless the boundaries between different tiers of identity could sometimes become blurred, and multiple tiers could be conflated with one another. For example, Taras, in its third-century conflict with Rome, came to see itself as a bulwark of civilized Greekness against a rising tide of barbarian conquest: its civic identity was predicated on its Greekness, and the two tiers were conflated (see Chapter Four, pp. 249-254). Syracuse's civic identity as Dorian, mentioned above, is another good example. My two main ideas here – that an expansive view of ethnicity offers the best approach to its study but that a careful distinction between separate tiers of identity will provide a more nuanced view of the functioning of identity – might seem contradictory. Instead, I hope to strike a middle ground between including too little and too much in the concept of ethnicity – working instead with larger concepts of collective identity – in order to move past simplistic debates over its precise definition. In fact, for some portions of my argument, in which I discuss how ethnic groups that already exist, such as the Dorians and Chalcidians, are deployed and manipulated, it matters little how we define them as long as we agree that they are ethnic groups.

Scholars have sometimes widened the definition of ethnicity so far that it is too vague to be a useful heuristic tool, in order to include groups and concepts that should instead be described differently.[25] Not all types of collective identity can be described as

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[25] See, e.g., Pretzler 1999; Morgan 1991, 133-4; Antonaccio 2001; Antonaccio 2004, 62-6; contrast the important comments of Yntema 2009, esp. 146-7.

ethnic, but all are interesting, important, and worthy of study, since only by understanding the many different threads that come together in the tapestry of identity can we properly appreciate its complexity.

Questions

Put most broadly, this dissertation investigates the role played by shifting tiers of collective identity – and the interactions between them – in political events, decisions and strategies in Greek Sicily and southern Italy, through a series of case studies ranging from the time solid evidence begins to become available down to the time when most of these communities lost their political independence to Rome (somewhat arbitrarily defined as about 600 to 200 BCE).

I concentrate in particular on the interactions between various tiers of identity because no single one is sufficient to explain many phenomena, and although some work has been done on nested identities – the *polis* within the *ethnos*, for instance – the full complexity of the phenomenon has not been appreciated.[26] In the case of Camarina, for instance, no fewer than three tiers (civic, geographic, and ethnic) are needed to fully explain its political actions. This is true even beyond the narrow sphere of politics: for example, the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia outside Croton was both a site central to the construction of Crotoniate identity and also part of a larger nexus of Hera cults that helped constitute the Achaeans as an ethnic group (see Chapter One, pp. 73-98). Thus, the sanctuary contributed to both the civic and ethnic tiers. Similarly, as suggested above

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[26] See, e.g., Morgan 2003; Nielsen 1999; Nielsen 2005; Yntema 2009.

(p. 14), tiers could be conflated with one another as, for instance, the Tarantines' civic

identity came to be predicated on their Greekness. The flexibility of identity

demonstrated by these examples will be a key focus of my investigation.

However, I will also analyze the content of these identities: what sets of

similarities and differences, exactly, did various communities single out as significant,

and how did these change over time? Here a crucial analytical tool is the recognition that

the same features could have different meanings for different people. Thus, I suggested

above (p. 9) that a religious cult that was connected to identity would have a different

meaning for group members than for outsiders. Similarly, while Dorian ethnicity was

common to many *poleis*, Syracuse in the reign of Hieron I took particular pride in its

status as a Dorian city and made it one part – out of many – of its civic identity; Dorians

who did not share those other features were not part of the Syracusan community. Thus,

even elements that were widespread can become part of the identity of a more narrowly

circumscribed community, since it is the entire set of significant similarities and

differences that constitute identity.

Change over Time

A further critical question is how some aspects of identity change over time while

other aspects stay the same. A useful heuristic tool is provided by the theories of the

Annaliste school of history, especially those of Fernand Braudel, which explain historical

phenomena by dividing them into three categories: short term (*histoire événementielle*:

the traditional, rapidly-moving history of events and individuals), medium term (the

history of *conjonctures*: the cyclical fluctuations of social history, "the history of groups,

collective destinies, and general trends," and of mentalities), and long term (the *longue durée*: "the permanent, slow-moving, or recurrent features" of, especially, natural phenomena, such as geography, geology and climate).[27]

I will have relatively little to say about the *longue durée*, but the contrast between the short term and the medium term will be crucial, because evidence suggests that identity changes differently in the short term than in the medium term. Across a period of thirteen years, Camarina pivoted rapidly from one type of identity to another; moreover, such a pivot could occur within days or even hours when a politician's speech instigates it. Such rapidity could not occur if a brand-new identity was being generated from nothing. Rather, we should assume that throughout the latter part of the fifth century, the Camarinaeans had several options available to them and merely selected which to emphasize at the moment; the other options would then lie dormant until conditions changed. In the short term, therefore, changes of identity are temporary, since the set of available options remains constant.

These options can, however, change in the medium term, and hence changes of identity function completely differently over long spans of time. For example, ethnicity was a key factor in both Sicily and Italy in the sixth and fifth centuries, but beginning around 400, both gradual sociopolitical developments and specific events, such as several wars with Carthage in Sicily, combined to make ethnic identity much less relevant than, especially, Greek identity. Because they were no longer relevant, the old ethnic identities simply faded away and were no longer available as options, in a gradual transformation of mentalities that is unlikely to occur on shorter time-scales. Annaliste thought since

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[27] Braudel 1972, 352; cf. Lucas 1985; Skeates 1990, 57-9; Kinser 1981, 65-6; Morris 2000, 4-5.

Braudel has reacted against his sharp distinction between the three levels of time and have emphasized how small-scale events can interact and add up to long-term changes.[28] For instance, a relatively short-term event, the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny, led to the long-term addition of a concept of freedom to Syracusan civic identity (see next paragraph and Chapter Two, pp. 179-183). Thus, it is the interaction between short-term and medium-term changes that makes Annaliste thought relevant to my project.

Thus far I have spoken mostly of changes that concern each tier of identity as a whole: either rapid shifts between them or gradual changes that lead to the creation or elimination of them. But changes can also occur within identities, as communities begin to privilege new or different aspects of themselves. For example, at the time of the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny in the mid-fifth century, the Syracusan citizenry developed the sense that they had freed themselves of tyranny and therefore deserved to be free; this constituted a new aspect of their civic identity. At the end of the fifth century, the new tyrant Dionysius recognized that this aspect of Syracusan civic identity constituted a threat to his power and attempted to redirect it to concentrate on freeing other cities from Carthage (see Chapter Two, pp. 175-176). Thus, the role of liberty in civic identity offers a clear idea of the various ways in which identities can change over time.

Strategies of Manipulation and Legitimation

Two of Camarina's three decisions described above occurred as a result of speeches made by Hermocrates, who attempted to unite Sicily and later to secure military aid using arguments based on identity. Similarly, odes of Pindar written for the Syracusan

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[28] Burguière 1995; Grenier 1995; Morris 2000, 5.

tyrant Hieron I suggest that this ruler strongly emphasized Dorian identity (see Chapter Two, pp. 118-125). Do these examples have a place in a study of identity, or do they merely constitute the rhetorical tricks of a cunning politician or the propaganda of a tyrannical ruler, with no repercussions on the identity of the population at large? A critical observation is that these rulers and politicians were all attempting to achieve political goals. Manipulation of identity always had a practical purpose that could not succeed if audiences were not receptive. Hermocrates was speaking to a real audience of envoys at Gela, for example, and his successful, if temporary, peacemaking showed that his arguments had real effects. Thus, his arguments evidently had at least some force for the Camarinaeans, and were not mere rhetorical showmanship or artifice.[29] If a politician can successfully convince his audience that their identity is what he says it is, then it is in fact their identity, at least until something better comes along. Moreover, if people have several options of identities that they can espouse as desired, they must somehow determine which is expedient or desirable at a given moment, and it makes no difference whether they are convinced by a politician or come to that conclusion on their own.

This suggests an important way in which the impact of identity can be extracted from historical events: by analyzing the reactions of decision-makers or entire populations to events and decisions made by leaders. The fact that peace was made at Gela in 424 on the basis of Hermocrates' arguments implies that decision-makers across Sicily were actually persuaded to think of themselves not as Dorians or Chalcidians but as Sikeliotai: Hermocrates successfully shifted them from one tier of identity to another.

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[29] Of course, we do not have Hermocrates' actual speech but rather Thucydides' rendition of it, but Thucydides' claims of accuracy and good knowledge of Sicily suggest that these arguments would have succeeded: see below, pp. 34-5, and Chapter Three, pp. 231-5, for my approach to Thucydides and his speeches.

Similarly, in the 270s, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, portrayed his campaign in Italy on behalf of Taras as a panhellenic crusade against the barbarian Romans. When he was then invited to Sicily to perform the same service against Carthage, he was greeted enthusiastically by a wide range of communities, who threw open their gates to his army. This reaction to his arrival suggests that many people viewed their Greek identity – constructed in opposition to the barbarians of Carthage – as the most important tier of identity, since Pyrrhus proclaimed himself a champion of the Greeks against the barbarians (see Chapter Four, pp. 262-272).

The examples mentioned above have often been dismissed as mere propaganda – a term that suggests a one-way control of tyrants or politicians over a passive target audience. But numerous cases indicate that the ideology chosen by a ruler can be rejected by his subjects. For example, in 404, after concluding a war with Carthage in which Greek identity was a key factor preventing a revolt of the Syracusans from Dionysius I, the tyrant started a war with the Sikels in the hope that the Syracusans would continue to rally around him on the basis of their Greek identity; they decided not to follow his lead and instead revolted (see Chapter Two, pp. 172-173). Because the manipulation of identity could fail in this way, I suggest that a far more useful concept is "legitimation," a two-way discourse in which people actively accept the arguments offered them and restrict the possible range of tactics of legitimation that can be used by rulers (see also Chapter Three, pp. 197-198). For tyrants, whose goal, first and foremost, was to remain in power, legitimating their rule through manipulation of identity was a major concern.

Similarly, while states might choose to engage in a given activity for any number of reasons that have nothing to do with identity, they often claimed to be motivated by

identity. For example, when Athens sent troops to Sicily in 427, Thucydides offers what he thinks are the real reasons – preventing Sicilian grain from reaching the Peloponnese and scouting out possibilities for conquest – but the official reason given at the time was giving aid to Leontini because of their kinship as Ionians (Thuc. 3.86.3-4). By publicly declaring that they were sending assistance to Leontini because of kinship – that is, because of common ethnicity – they legitimated their decision to themselves and to the international community. Legitimation was thus one of the major roles that identity played in Greek politics, but exactly how this played out in various situations will be a central focus of this study.

Scope of Research

The scope of this project is extremely broad: a period of some four hundred years and two large and populous regions of Greek culture. I draw examples and evidence from both Sicily and Italy in order to broaden the scope of comparison and contrast. In antiquity as today, the two regions were sometimes considered a single unit and sometimes not. The very term Magna Graecia varied in its valence, referring sometimes to Italy alone and sometimes to both regions.[30] In recent decades, a standard handbook has been T. J. Dunbabin's *The Western Greeks*, which covers both Italy and Sicily in the Archaic period; on the other hand, both the *Atti* of the Taranto Convegno on Magna Graecia and the journal *Kokalos*, published in Palermo, focus almost exclusively on Italy and Sicily, respectively. But by recognizing that similar phenomena occurred in both regions and that many of the same issues related to identity arose in both regions, we can

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[30] Smith 2003, 2-7. Strabo 6.1.2 includes Sicily (cf. Livy 7.26.15), while most sources do not (e.g., Plb. 2.39.1; Livy 31.7.11).

use comparative methods to arrive at a better understanding of how identity functioned in the Greek world more generally.

As I suggested above, the long chronological scope enables a consideration of changes in identity over time. A further reason for this is to attempt to bridge the gulf between Hellenists and Romanists, Archaic and Hellenistic specialists. Especially as we approach the start of the Roman period, the Greek West often falls through the cracks as neither a geographically nor chronologically central part of Greek history, nor an essential component of Roman history. But in the study of the Greek West, the same cities and the same regions are involved across the whole chronological spectrum and there is much continuity between them. For example, the city Livy calls Tarentum plays a prominent role in the Second Punic War. But before that, this city was a large and prosperous colony of Sparta called Taras. Emblematic of the gulf in scholarship is the tendency of scholars who approach this region from a Roman perspective to refer to cities by their Latin names. Since this study attempts to reconstruct Greek perspectives, mentalities, and identities, I will retain Greek nomenclature throughout.[31]

In my above outline of Camarinaean history, a basic building block of my analysis is simply the sequence of historical events, which leads to a fundamental question: how can we show that political decision-making was actually guided by considerations of identity, rather than being guided solely by other common motivations, such as Realpolitik and self-interest? How do we know that the Sicilian alliances in 427 did not end up in nearly-perfect ethnic divisions simply by chance, while the real reason

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[31] The reader will quickly observe that, while I have retained Greek *names*, I have not usually retained Greek *spellings*: thus Akragas stands beside Camarina as an example of the impossibility of maintaining pure fidelity.

for this set of choices was something entirely different? Indeed, I would rarely argue that these other factors can be excluded and that identity was the sole concern of a given state in a given situation. But identity can often play an important – and unappreciated – role in conjunction with more conventional motivations. For example, Hermocrates in 424 did not promote Sicilian identity simply for the sake of doing so: instead, he wanted to create a basis for action. He did not suggest that anyone should not act out of self-interest; rather, he argued that the "self" part could refer to a larger group than a *polis*. As a result, all the Sikeliotai banded together to force the Athenians out of Sicily, in accord with their larger self-interest.

I have already suggested above (p. 20) that a major way of understanding the impact of identity on politics is to observe reactions to events or decisions. Another clue pointing to a role for identity in a given decision is whether the protagonists claimed to be acting on the basis of identity. As discussed above, scholars now agree that identity, far from having any objective, external reality, is actually a discursive construct; individuals and groups constitute their own identities based on discourse. Hence, if historical actors use the discourse of identity in explaining their actions or convincing others to follow them, then *a priori* identity is involved in some way, and the object of investigation will be to explain precisely the role of identity.

The question of whose identity this is constitutes another difficult issue. Ancient literary sources were notoriously produced by and for elites of various sorts, so the identities of non-elites can be elusive. I address this issue in two ways. First, we can reach a broad cross-section of society by using a wide variety of sources: archaeological evidence, for example, was produced by all sectors of society. Other sources such as

coins and epinician poetry, while produced by elites, did have a broad audience in antiquity. Thus, our sources are not as limited as it might appear at first. Secondly, my project on the role of identity in shaping political events and decisions is by its nature concerned primarily with those who make decisions. In many cases, this means an assembly of all citizens, or a large selection of citizens. Elsewhere, the decision-maker is a ruler who manipulates the identity of his much larger community in ways that are visible in the sources. Thus, it is my contention that the wide variety of case studies that I assemble all contribute to an understanding of how identity functions across Greek society.

This study is not a history of real-life historical changes or political events, although these form an important backdrop, a canvas upon which a history of identity can be painted. Rather, this project is a history of mentalities, a history of discourse, and a history of what and how people thought about themselves and the groups they belonged to.[32] Thus, this is primarily a study of the identities the Greeks actually held, not what ancient writers such as Thucydides or Strabo thought those identities were or should be. Although the historiographical questions that arise from Thucydides' views of ethnicity and identity or Strabo's imperial-age perspective are fascinating and worthy of a full study in their own right, they represent only a small part of my project (see especially Chapter Three).

Because identity is socially constructed and subjectively perceived, it need not correspond to any objective reality, and so where these different notions of history clash and contradict each other, there precisely I will elaborate on them. For example, modern

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[32] On the concept of a history of mentalities, see Hutton 1981; Le Goff 1985; Lloyd 1990; Burke 1997.

historians see Italy in the fourth and third centuries as a complicated ethnic landscape of acculturation, peaceable cross-cultural interaction, and opportunistically shifting political alliances in which a model of civilized Greeks and barbarian Italians is not valid.[33] Nevertheless, many Italian Greeks, especially the Tarantines, began to perceive themselves as islands of civilized Greekness awash in a rising tide of barbarian invasions. Nicholas Purcell calls the idea of Taras as a bulwark against barbarians "a *mythos*, an explanatory narrative, that is informed by another powerful antithesis, that between the pure Hellenism of Laconian Taras and the native hordes growling at the borders."[34] Scholars' claims about supposedly objective realities play into my study only to emphasize the wide gulf that can exist between perceptions and mentalities on the one hand and what is externally visible on the other. Instead, this study concentrates on constructed perceptions like these – the threads that make up the variable tapestry of collective identity.

Sources

Such diverse research questions require diverse sources, since the evidence for the tapestry of identity in antiquity is frequently fraught with difficulty. Most importantly, since identity is subjectively defined by group members, only sources written or created by group members (so-called "emic" sources) can properly describe identity as understood from within the group. Sources written or created by outsiders ("etic"

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[33] See Chapter Four, pp. 241-2; cf. Lomas 1993, 39-57; Purcell 1994.

[34] Purcell 1994, 393.

sources), whether chronologically later or simply not group members, may convey an

approximation of a correct understanding or may be totally inaccurate. Unfortunately,

very few truly emic sources exist for the Greek West. Of course, conceptualizing the

emic/etic distinction as a black-and-white dichotomy is an oversimplification, since many

etic authors had access to good, emic information: we should rather think of a continuum

between the emic and etic poles that allows all sources to contribute. If a variety of

sources all point in the same direction, we can have reasonable confidence that they offer

a useful picture of the range and functioning of identities in the Greek West.

Archaeology

Archaeologists and material culture specialists have long sought to show that their

field can contribute to the study of ethnicity. In fact, some have argued that it provides

the best possible window into ancient identities because, unlike literary sources that were

usually produced by and for elites, material culture is used by everyone in a society.[35]

Moreover, of course, material culture constitutes vital contemporary evidence – and in

some cases the only evidence – for various phenomena.

But several conceptual difficulties are inherent in archaeological approaches to

identity, which can best be seen through older work. Archaeologists were initially quite

concerned with identifying "archaeological cultures" – recurring combinations of

artifacts usually found together over a geographically restricted area. According to a

once-prevailing theory, these archaeological cultures, such as the Bell Beaker Folk or the

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[35] On the potential contribution of archaeology to the study of identity, see, e.g., Morgan 1991; 1997; 2009; Jones 1997; Morris 1998, 270, and the other articles in CArchJ's review feature of Hall 1997; van Dommelen 1998; 2001; Voyatzis 1999, 150-3; Antonaccio 2001; 2010; Lucy 2005; Mitchell 2006; Hall 2007; Yntema 2009.

Battle Axe Culture of prehistoric Europe, bore a one-to-one correspondence to the actual ethnic groups that created them. The collection of artifacts that were excavated represented a simple material residue of ethnicity.[36] As should be clear by now, this way of thinking is closely connected to "primordialist" theories of ethnicity, and few if any archaeologists today would subscribe to it. The most serious problem with it is one of interpretation. Archaeological cultures are generally defined by a single, or at most a few, type-artifacts – such as bell-shaped beakers or large battle-axes – whose distribution defines the geographical extent of the culture.[37] But these type-artifacts are usually accompanied by a wide variety of other artifacts that differ from site to site, in contexts that can often vary substantially. Thus, how do we know that the artifacts modern archaeologists have deemed significant are the same ones their ancient creators would have considered relevant to their identities? By focusing on certain artifacts, archaeologists may be ignoring other, perhaps more important ones; moreover, the truly relevant products of material culture may have been made of perishable materials and therefore unavailable to us. Earlier generations of material culture specialists fell into the methodological trap of conflating what is archaeologically visible with what is historically important.[38]

Recent efforts to define the way archaeology contributes to identity have therefore emphasized the ways in which identity is embedded in practices of material culture: the pattern of *uses* of an object (or better, a set of objects), rather than the objects themselves,

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[36] The best-known practitioners of this approach were Gustav Kossinna and Gordon Childe: see Trigger 1996, 232-313; Jones 1997, 1-26; Hall 1997, 128-9; Herring and Lomas 2000a, 3-4; Lucy 2005, 87-8.

[37] Jones 1997, 17-18.

[38] Cf. Jones 1997, 106-10.

helps constitute and reinforce identities.[39] However, since these practices are

fundamentally relational (they are inherent in people's relationships to the objects, not in

the objects themselves) and discursive (they depend on what people think and say about

the objects), excavated objects have no intrinsic ethnic significance. Instead, they must be

understood in an interpretive framework, which (where possible) should be informed by

written sources – whether literary, epigraphic, or numismatic – that embody other aspects

of the discourse of identity.[40]

     The most appropriate method is the "hermeneutic circle," developed by Ian

Hodder as part of a larger current of ideas known as contextual archaeology. It comprises

two main components: close attention to context, followed by careful back-and-forth

interpretation. The context of an archaeological artifact includes all possible information

about its find-spot, other objects found nearby, similar objects found elsewhere, and other

data; it also includes any non-archaeological information available. The broader the

context we consider, the more likely it is that we will recognize the particular set of

similarities and differences that ancient peoples found salient. In order to do so, we

should work back and forth from one type of evidence to another. One type of evidence is

used to inform our study of a different type, which then throws light back on the first, and

so on until we have arrived at a coherent understanding of the entire system of which the

object is a part.[41] An important example of this method is the cults of Hera common in

the Achaean cities of Italy, which I argue in Chapter One (pp. 73-98) helped constitute

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[39] Jones 1997; Lucy 2005; for a critique, see Hall 2002a, 20-4.

[40] Hall 2002a, 19-24, 142; *contra*, Morgan 2001, 76; Antonaccio 2010, 37-8.

[41] Hodder and Hutson 2003, 195-203; cf. Trigger 1996, 455-6, 513-14.

Achaean identity. Both literary and archaeological evidence separately support a single interpretation, thus providing a deeper understanding of the societal function of these cults than either type of evidence could alone. Thus, the individual artifact is relatively unimportant, while the larger context – comprised of many types of evidence – is key.

As I stated above, I am concerned with how different groups of Greeks defined themselves. To date, no convincing method has been found to distinguish Dorians from Chalcidians in the archaeological record; hence, archaeology has little to say about the example of Camarina with which I opened. It is a methodological fallacy to treat the material record as either confirming or denying literary evidence: the two require different methods and allow us to ask entirely different questions. Here, the roles of identity with which I am concerned often play out on far too short a time-scale to be archaeologically visible at all. Thus, archaeological evidence is valuable for this study, but only within fairly narrow bounds.

Numismatics

It is now widely understood that coinage played an important role in ideology and propaganda, not just for Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors but also for Archaic Greek *poleis*.[42] The act of minting a coin was far more than a simple assertion of political autonomy or sovereignty.[43] Not every city produced coinage (especially in the early period),[44] but for those that did, coins "could hardly escape expressing the identity of the

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[42] See, e.g., Kurke 1999; Papadopoulos 2002, 23-5.

[43] Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, 56-8; Martin 1995, 266-8; Finley 1999, 166-9.

[44] Martin 1995, 274-8.

polis."[45] Coinage was a widely used and broadly circulating medium. Although not as ubiquitous as today's dollar bills,[46] coinage was frequently encountered by a wide swath of the population as a shared civic space like the agora or the state sanctuaries.[47] Moreover, coins generally circulated both inside and outside the city's territory.[48] Thus, coinage offered each city a means of proclaiming its identity to the outside world and of reinforcing it domestically as well.[49]

The images or types on coins employed a widely understood symbolic language to put forth ideas about the city or in other words, about its identity. This was partially achieved through the selection of a single image that would become the primary emblem of the city on its coins.[50] The Athenian owl and the Corinthian Pegasus are only the most familiar examples of such civic emblems. These types remained remarkably stable for long periods,[51] so that individuals would encounter the same type repeatedly over their entire lifetimes. If they did not understand the full symbolism immediately, they might discover it eventually; this, moreover, allows for a complex layering of symbolic

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[45] Martin 1995, 281 (but cf. his important reservations at 263, 277-9); cf. Rutter 2000, 73-4; Papadopoulos 2002, 24-5.

[46] Since even the smallest denominations of coins made from precious metal were too valuable for day-to-day transactions, pre-modern economies generally worked with accounts in which money only notionally changed hands; cf. Kraay 1964; Kurke 1999, 7-9. This remained true even into the remarkably recent past: Howe 2007, 35, notes that as late as the 1820s, many rural New England shopkeepers still kept accounts in British pounds, shillings and pence, because there was simply no reason to switch to American currency if few townspeople made much use of coins or banknotes.

[47] Kurke 1999, 12-13. It is also widely considered that many early coinages were mainly used to pay mercenaries (e.g., Cook 1958, 361), but in Sicily mercenaries often played an important role in identity politics: see Chapter Two, pp. 137-43.

[48] Kurke 1999, 8; *contra* Kraay 1964; Gorini 1975, 61-4, 67-9, partially overturned by new evidence.

[49] Kurke 1999, 13; cf. Martin 1995, 265; Rutter 2000, 74.

[50] Cf. Gorini 1975, 73-8.

[51] Kraay 1966, 13-15; cf. the examples given in Rutter 2000 for several Sicilian cities.

meanings in a single object. This is not normally an object that an individual would encounter once in passing, but rather something he or she would engage with frequently and repeatedly. By reading the symbolic language of coin types and comparing the results with those obtained from other types of evidence – the hermeneutic circle described above – we can gain insights from coinage into the mentalities and identities of those who selected the coins' types and thereby "actively attempted to manipulate cultural transformation" and identity.[52]

Epinician Poetry

In Archaic and Classical Greece, agonal competitions such as the Olympic Games constituted a crucial *locus* of interstate competition. An athletic victory was not merely a personal triumph for the athlete but a point of pride for his city. Victors were given public honors, such as meals at public expense and portrait statues in public places of civic importance. Similarly, the victory odes that were often written by poets such as Pindar and Bacchylides for successful athletes – ranging from tyrants such as Hieron I of Syracuse (*Ol.* 1; *Pyth.* 1-3; Bacchyl. 3-5) to private citizens like Alexidamus of Metapontion (Bacchyl. 11) – often incorporated elements of civic ideology into their praise of the victor, emphasizing how his glory reflects onto the city itself, and thereby constituted a key *locus* for the expression of civic identity. [53]

The nature of the intended audiences of epinician performances has been a topic of great debate for decades. What is clear is that, far from being private poetry for a

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[52] Papadopoulos 2002, 24

[53] Hirata 1996-97, 68-71; cf. Bundy 1962, I.20-22, II.35, with Hubbard 1992, 77-8. For detailed analyses of several examples, see Dougherty 1994; Fenno 1995; Sevieri 2000; Fearn 2003.

limited audience, epinician odes were written for public, choral performance. Recently, attempts to distinguish between odes performed at the site of the victory and those performed in the victor's home city have given way to the realization that odes generally received multiple performances,[54] including for Western audiences.[55] Thus, the poems probably received a fairly wide circulation and were ideal vehicles for conveying a message to a fairly wide group.[56]

Exactly who determined the nature of this message is less clear: although Hieron commissioned the poems, the poets themselves maintained a large degree of creative independence. But both Pindar and Bacchylides traveled to Sicily and undoubtedly familiarized themselves with the tyrant's needs and preferences; moreover, their poems would need to please their patron in order to maintain their friendly relations. Thus, we should probably imagine a dialectic between poet and patron, resulting in the poems as we have them. Thus, the works of Pindar and Bacchylides were excellent venues to express the various identities that were relevant to their patrons and their cities.

Historiography and Late Sources

Literary sources – most of which fall under the general rubric of historiography, although some, such as Strabo, are perhaps better termed antiquarian literature – provide the lion's share of my material. Historiography in some ways represents the richest type of source for the study of identity, and although the issues of interpretation that limit the

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[54] See, e.g., Currie 2004; Morrison 2007.

[55] Harrell 2002, 439-40; Athanassaki 2004; Morrison 2007.

[56] See esp. Nagy 1990, 382-413; Currie 2004; Hubbard 2004.

usefulness of material culture do not apply, literary evidence has its own set of problems. Emic sources are largely lacking: with the exception of the late historian Diodorus Siculus, no historians of Sicilian origin survive. Thus, etic sources, with varying degrees of reliability and access to emic information, must be used. Moreover, as scholars have repeatedly recognized, none of these historians were modern anthropologists or sociologists, seeking to convey precise and accurate information about the functioning of identity in Greek Sicily and Italy; rather, they were literary authors who deliberately skewed, manipulated, altered, and omitted information in support of their literary and interpretive agendas.[57] We must therefore carefully weigh each piece of evidence for accuracy and signs of bias or manipulation.

Fortunately, the situation is not always quite as bad as that. Many sources had access to quite good information. Herodotus, for instance, used local informants, including Italians and Sicilians, and even spent the latter part of his life in Thurii.[58] Similarly, Thucydides displays a great interest in Sicily and its peoples and devotes a surprisingly large portion of his history (about one-fourth of the total) to events there; he is often at great pains to display his knowledge of the island, far beyond what is strictly necessary for his narrative, and he may even have visited the island.[59] Both of these authors, writing about contemporary events or those in the not too distant past, are likely to have been well-informed. Late sources such as Strabo and Diodorus used earlier, Sicilian sources, especially the historians Antiochus and Philistus of Syracuse and

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[57] See, e.g., Connor 1984;Woodman 1988; Smith 2004.
[58] E.g., 4.15, 5.44-5; 7.165; cf. Raviola 1999; Sammartano 1999. The issue of Herodotus' sources has been debated for decades; I side with Pritchett 1993 against Fehling 1989.

[59] See, e.g., 3.116.1-2; 4.24.5; 4.58-65; 4.65.1; 6.2-5. Dover, *HCT* IV.466-69, discusses whether Thucydides had visited Sicily and comes to no conclusion but leans toward denying autopsy.

Timaeus of Tauromenion. Thus, each piece of evidence must be evaluated on its own terms and in relation to its larger context.

Thucydides

I address Thucydides in greater detail as a case study for approaching several methodological issues that also apply to other historians. As has been well emphasized, Thucydides is a literary author with his own agenda whose testimony must be viewed with a critical eye for the possible rhetorical purposes behind any piece of information. Indeed, as many scholars have pointed out, every item Thucydides gives us has been carefully chosen for a purpose, and so our picture of historical events is deliberately skewed.[60] It is clear that Thucydides has a strong interest in the role of ethnicity in the Peloponnesian War. After all, he chooses to frame his list of allies at 3.86 in terms of ethnicity, rather than simply listing the individual cities involved. This is done both to highlight Camarina's unexpected and noteworthy choice to fight against its fellow Dorians and also to prepare the reader for the speech of Hermocrates at Gela (4.59-64), which specifically addresses the ethnic divisions inherent in the war.

On the other hand, there is that perennial object of debate, Thucydides' strong statement of methodological objectivity (1.22). While some have suggested that this claim of objectivity is itself a rhetorical stance and should not be taken at face value,[61] this seems to be pushing too far. While I fully support recent attempts to emphasize the rhetorical nature of Thucydides' text, I prefer to see that rhetorical method as involving

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[60] E.g., Connor 1984, 6-18; Woodman 1988, 5-40; Rood 1998, 3-10; Smith 2004, 44-7.

[61] E.g., Connor 1984, 6-18; Smith 2004, 44-7.

manipulation, rather than fabrication, of data. Therefore, we can retain some degree of

confidence that what information he does give us, while not representing the total picture,

is at least accurate in itself, and therefore that we can trust his factual statements, such as

which cities were on which sides of a particular war.[62] This is a principle that applies to

most literary sources: facts are often accurate while motivations attributed to the

characters should not be taken as secure.

Diodorus and Later Sources

For some periods of Greek history, no near-contemporary accounts exist and we

must be satisfied with narrative histories written later, such as that of Diodorus, writing at

the end of the Roman Republic, or snippets of information gleaned from antiquarian or

other sources, especially the geographer Strabo (Augustan era) and the travel writer

Pausanias (second century CE). These writers, living centuries after the events they

described and in societies that differed greatly from those that existed earlier, may

completely misunderstand the identities of the people they describe. In some cases, such

misunderstanding is clearly demonstrable, but in others, it is harder to root out.

Fortunately, these writers often used earlier, better sources – some of which were

indeed written by Sicilians, primarily Antiochus and Philistus of Syracuse and Timaeus

of Tauromenion. The genre of the *Sikelika* – histories of Sicily or of Sicily and Italy, now

entirely lost except for fragments – began with the works of Antiochus (*FGrH* 555), who

covered both Sicily and Italy down to 424 (Diod. 12.71.2). Thucydides may well have

known his work, which may have been the source for both the Sicilian Archaeology (6.2-

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[62] I reserve the somewhat thornier question of the historical value of Thucydidean speeches for discussion in Chapter Three, pp. 231-5.

5) and his favorable portrait of Hermocrates, and the extant fragments constitute a major source for the foundation legends of the Greek cities of Italy (see Chapter One, pp. 51-63). Philistus (*FGrH* 556), meanwhile, an intense partisan and associate of Dionysius I, was known as a writer of dry, factually-oriented narrative and is probably the ultimate source of much information on the early fourth century. But it is Timaeus (*FGrH* 566), writing in the late fourth and third centuries, who quickly became the standard reference for the history of Sicily and Italy. He, too, began in the mythic period, but covered the history of Italy and Sicily – with excurses on Rome and two separate books on Pyrrhus – down to the outbreak of the First Punic War in 264.

Whether Diodorus primarily used Timaeus or Ephorus for Western history has been endlessly debated, and I do not presume to offer a single answer.[63] Because Diodorus is the only narrative history for most periods of Sicilian history, the issue of how to approach his narrative is of the utmost importance. Not only is he a much later source, but he has often been taken as an uncritical one, who merely reproduces the mistakes of his sources.[64] On the other hand, scholars have tried to have it both ways: by thinking of Diodorus as a copyist who does not insert his own ideas into his work, we can arrive at a clear idea of what was contained in his sources – if we can identify them.[65] The difficulty with this *Quellenkritik* approach is that only fragments cited by name can with certainty be attributed to a given author (and even there, there is the possibility of error by the transmitting writer); to go beyond this, we are dependent on subjective

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[63] See, e.g., Laqueur, *RE* s.v. Timaios von Tauromenion; Jacoby, *FGrH* IIIB.2, 529-33; Pearson 1984; 1987; Sanders 1987, 110-73.

[64] See the comments of Rubincam 1998, 67-8; Green 2006, 1-2, 25-34.

[65] Recent examples of this *Quellenkritik* approach are Pearson 1987; Caven 1990, 1-6.

assessments of the texts of Diodorus and other writers that suggest, with little evidence or

analytical rigor, that a given passage is "in Timaeus' manner."[66]

A more reasonable approach to Diodorus is to take him seriously as a potential

source, but with great caution.[67] Since he certainly did use good sources, even if we

cannot precisely identify them, the facts he relates should be taken seriously and weighed

alongside any other available evidence. But he was more than just a transcriber: he may

have combined multiple sources for his own literary purposes – sometimes described in

the prefaces that he attached to every book – and added rhetorical flourishes and entire

rhetorical passages. As an example, consider Diodorus' narrative of the fall of the

Deinomenids (11.67.2-68.7). He begins with a retrospective of the three rulers: Gelon

was the best ruler, while Hieron was far worse and was only tolerated because of the

beloved memory of Gelon; Thrasybulus, however, was the worst of all. This three-tiered

schema owes far more to the rhetorical schools than to actual events and perceptions: in

particular, the description of Hieron as "avaricious and violent and, speaking generally,

an utter stranger to sincerity and nobility of character"[68] bears little relation to the Hieron

we find in other sources. However, simple statements – that Thrasybulus enrolled a large

body of mercenaries, for instance – are probably drawn from earlier sources with good

information and are thus unlikely to be totally fictitious. Passages that are obviously

rhetorical should be viewed with suspicion, but those relating simple facts are more likely

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[66] Pearson 1987, 95, with the important review of Rubincam 1990. Cf. also Brown 1958, 21-3; Brunt 1980.

[67] The most important recent work towards rehabilitating Diodorus as a serious historian is Sacks 1990; cf. also Green 2006.

[68] Diod. 11.67.4: φιλάργυρος καὶ βίαιος καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ καλοκἀγαθίας ἀλλοτριώτατος.

to be accurate, and a similar approach can be applied to other late sources, such as Strabo and Pausanias.[69]

Thus, a wide variety of sources can shed light on the functioning of identity in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy. Whether archaeological, numismatic, poetic, or historiographical, all of these sources require an abundance of caution, as I have described, but all provide unique insights and a variety of perspectives on the distinctive tapestry of collective identity among the Western Greeks.

What follows comprises four case studies that testify to the complexity, much richer than previously appreciated, of the varied and varying tapestry of identity in the Greek West. Chapter One examines the intertwining of two tiers of identity, civic and ethnic, as the Achaean cities of Italy constituted themselves through claims of dual origins – descent from the Homeric Achaean heroes and from settlers from the region of Achaea in the northern Peloponnese. These claims were bolstered by foundation myths, coinage, and especially cult practices, all cultural features that helped define their *polis* communities as belonging to the Achaean ethnic group. The important topic of the construction of ethnic identity thus appears much more complex when analyzed in conjunction with other tiers of identity.

Chapter Two forms a bridge between the primarily synchronic discussion of the first chapter and the diachronic analysis that follows. I compare the roles of two different sets of tyrants of Syracuse – the Deinomenids of the early fifth century and Dionysius I in the early fourth century – in altering and manipulating several tiers of identity at once to

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[69] For this distinction, see Bosworth 2003; Green 2006, 35-8.

legitimate their power and achieve political goals. Despite the intervening three-quarters of a century, Gelon, Hieron, and Dionysius all manipulated the identities of their subjects in several similar ways, while they differed in other respects.

Chapters Three and Four, by contrast, examine not the construction but the functioning of identity groups. Chapter Three looks in detail at the whirlwind of events in Sicily during the Peloponnesian War, for which we have an excellent and detailed source in the histories of Thucydides, an interested and opinionated observer of Sicilian affairs. My analysis centers around the small city of Camarina, which pivoted between three different tiers of identity (civic, geographic, and ethnic) in less than fifteen years, and the manipulation of Sicilian and Dorian identities by the Syracusan politician Hermocrates.

Finally, in Chapter Four, I address the changing nature of identity in the third century, when, amid a substantially altered ethnic landscape in Italy and Sicily, Greek perceptions of increasing conflicts with barbarians, including Rome, were exploited by kings such as Pyrrhus of Epirus and Hieron II of Syracuse. Reactions to these events were sharply contested: some saw Rome as a barbarian power and themselves as beacons of civilized Greekness, while others ignored this idea and emphasized local concerns. In all, these case studies offer a clear picture of the varied and varying tapestry of identity in the Greek West.

CHAPTER ONE

Becoming Achaean in Italy

The Achaean cities of southern Italy offer an opportunity to explore not one but two threads in the tapestry of identity, ethnicity and civic identity, two deeply interwoven tiers of identity in the sociopolitical context of southern Italy. The Achaeans constructed their communities – both the individual cities and the larger ethnic group – by claiming origins from two groups: the Achaeans of the northern Peloponnese and the Homeric Achaeans.[1] Although these two elements are connected by the story (found as early as Herodotus)[2] that the Achaeans of the northern Peloponnese were the descendents of refugees from the southern and eastern Peloponnese (especially the Argolid and Laconia, the realms of Agamemnon and Menelaus) who were driven out by Dorian invaders, this was not a myth brought by the original settlers to Italy. Rather, Achaean ethnicity was a new synthesis constructed in Italy.[3]

The fundamental basis of this ethnic group is its members' belief that they and their communities were descended from Achaeans of the heroic age, conflated with a

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[1] For the ambiguity of the term "Achaeans," see Goegebeur 1985, esp. 120-5; Morgan and Hall 1996, 212-14; Hall 2002a, 58-63; Kowalzig 2007, 298-9.

[2] 1.145, 7.94, 8.73.1; cf. Goegebeur 1985; Asheri in Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007, 175-6, and see below, p. 48.

[3] Cf. Morgan and Hall 1996, 212-14; Hall 2002a, 58-65.

claim to geographical origins in the historical-era Peloponnese; both beliefs were mediated especially through foundation myths. Generally speaking, the Achaean cities each have two sets of foundation stories, one in which a figure of the heroic age founds the city, usually one of the Homeric heroes during his *nostos* (the "heroic" foundation legend) and another in which a named oikist from the region of the northern Peloponnese later known as Achaea founds the city (the "historical" foundation legend, although I should stress that I make no claim to the historical authenticity of either set of stories). Similar tales are told of numerous other colonies; however, the combination of the two types of stories provides a unique insight into the construction of Achaean identity in Italy, which was predicated on a combination of these two origins. It is the fact that perceived origins, rather than geography or any other criterion, were the key factor in constructing the collective identity of the Achaeans that makes them an ethnic group, rather than a group espousing a different tier of identity.

But the Achaeans also supported this belief in shared origins – reminded themselves of it and proclaimed it to others – through a number of cultural practices, including coinage and, most especially, religion.[4] Religion, in particular, not only forged links to the imagined past of the community but also allowed individuals to perform, maintain, and pass down to the next generation their Achaean identity in the present. Coinage, too, circulated widely and was used, at least occasionally, by a wide variety of people; it thus became a primary means of proclaiming a community's identity.[5] The collective memory of various historical events and personages, often at least partially transformed into myth, such as the Battle of the Sagra and the Crotoniate civic hero Milo,

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[4] On cultural practices as supporting factors in the construction of ethnicity, see the Introduction, pp. 8-9.

[5] See the Introduction, pp. 29-31, for the use of coins as a source for identity.

also helped to unify the ethnic group. A comprehensive approach to Achaean ethnicity that appreciates the value of all these elements is needed.

Moreover, what has not been fully appreciated by scholars is that the Achaean ethnic group was composed of smaller communities, not individual persons. I will argue that the boundaries between ethnic and civic identities were often quite fluid; in fact, the two tiers were so closely intertwined that the same elements of descent, religion, and coinage helped construct civic identity as well. Each city considered itself Achaean, and came to realize that other cities did as well, leading to a broader sense of ethnic affiliation across southern Italy. Each city had its own civic identity, built up from various components such as Croton's famous doctors and Olympic victors, but included in each of these civic identities was a sense of Achaean ethnicity. The one tier is thus incorporated into the other, but it does not make it any less ethnic, since it is still predicated on descent from Homeric heroes and Peloponnesian immigrants. It is therefore still important to maintain the distinction between the tiers, while also recognizing the intense interaction between them.

The most important cities that comprise the Achaean ethnic group are Croton, Sybaris, and Metapontion, but the group also includes lesser cities such as Caulonia, Poseidonia, and several others, all of which are identified by one or more sources either as being of the Achaean *ethnos* or as having been founded by a named oikist from a specified city in Peloponnesian Achaea.[6] It is a relatively sharply bounded group: sources that disagree on the Achaean identity of these cities are usually late and

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[6] Also sometimes described as Achaean are Laus (a colony of Sybaris: Strabo 6.1.1), Pandosia (settled from Peloponnesian Achaea: Ps.-Scymnus 326-9), Terina (a colony of Croton: Ps.-Scymnus 306-7; Phlegon of Tralles F31), and possibly Temesa (see *IACP*, s.v., for Temesa's complicated ethnic traditions).
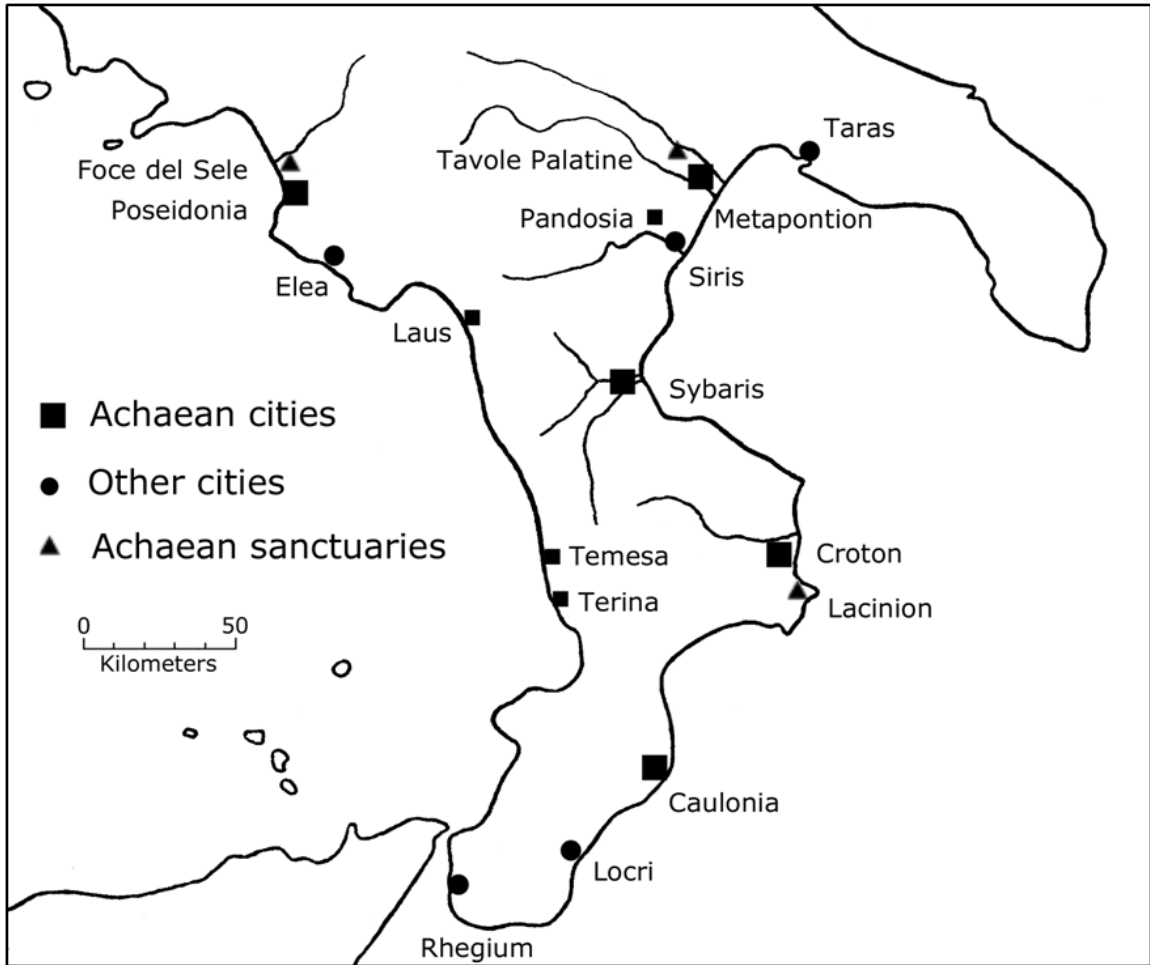
Map 1: Archaic southern Italy. Adapted from Dunbabin 1948.

unreliable.[7] Conversely, a few other cities share certain features with this set, such as

having a Homeric *nostos* foundation myth;[8] however, these traits are found singly and are

not connected in any systematic way. It is the systematic construction of ethnic identity

out of these component parts, the Homeric and the historical, understood in the larger

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[7] E.g., Solinus 2.10 states that Poseidonia was Dorian; this is often, but unnecessarily, taken to refer to the Troizenians who were expelled from Sybaris (Bérard 1963, 208-10; Pedley 1990, 28-9; Dunbabin 1948, 24-5, is more cautious). In particular, there is a strong tendency in later times to reduce the complexity of the ethnic landscape of early Greece to a simple tripartite structure of Ionians, Dorians, and Aeolians, and therefore to squeeze any unknown group into one of these categories. Although the later reception of early ethnicities is a fascinating topic in its own right, for my purposes here I simply discard these late variants.

[8] E.g., Siris was supposedly founded by Trojans (Arist. F584; Timaeus F51; *Mir. Ausc.* 106; Malkin 1998, 226-31); Diomedes founded several cities in Apulia and elsewhere (Malkin 1998, 234-57), as did Epeios and Philoctetes on the Ionian coast (for which see below, nn. 32, 59). Among non-Homeric heroes, Heracles was prolific throughout the western Mediterranean.

context of the discourse of Achaean identity, that signals the members of this ethnic group in Italy.

I should speak also of dates. Although Greek settlement in southern Italy began in the late eighth century,[9] this is not the beginning of Achaean ethnic identity in Italy. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to trace the colonization process itself and the earliest history of the colonies; suffice it to say that the initial settlements were most likely quite small and unofficial, without much sense of separate identity.[10] Moreover, many colonies may well have had a mixed population,[11] which would not be likely to produce a new collective identity instantaneously. Instead, some sort of communal identity seems to have developed only starting in the late seventh century, when cities throughout Italy began to expand greatly in population and, especially, initiated large public building projects such as temples. Literary sources, too, though difficult to interpret, seem to suggest that identity was newly created (or at least became newly important) in the course of the sixth century.[12] I therefore place my starting point around 600. At the other end, as I will discuss elsewhere, intra-Hellenic ethnic identity throughout the Greek West seems to have become less relevant after around 400, when attacks from "barbarians" and tyrants like Dionysius I led cities to band together as free Greeks, rather than as members

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[9] Literary evidence placed the foundations of both Croton and Sybaris in the late eighth century, although the precise dates vary, especially since the two were sometimes synchronized; archaeological evidence generally agrees (for details, see *IACP*, s.v.). For the other three cities, archaeological evidence is the only guide: Caulonia is generally put in the early seventh century, Metapontion around 630, and Poseidonia around 600 (see *IACP*, s.v.). See generally Morgan and Hall 1996, 202-11, and the respective entries in *IACP*.

[10] Osborne 1998, 256-69; Yntema 2000.

[11] The evidence is partly archaeological (for which see the last note) and partly based on literary references, for example, to the Troizenian contribution to Sybaris (Arist. *Pol.* 1303a.29).

[12] See esp. Morgan and Hall 1996, 211-14; Yntema 2000, 40-5.

of the same ethnic group.[13] As other tiers of identity, especially Hellenic, became more salient, the Achaeans as an *ethnos* slowly faded from political prominence and into the memory of antiquarians.

Because of the sparse and scattered nature of the sources, I will therefore treat the period c. 600-c. 400 for the most part synchronically, since there is simply too little evidence to document diachronic changes in Achaean ethnic identity, beyond my remarks above. Moreover, no text written by anyone from any of the five Achaean cities has come down to us, and most sources are later than 400. Hence, these sources, which are etic both chronologically and spatially, must be handled with extreme care (see further in the Introduction, pp. 35-38). Nevertheless, every scrap of information has value. Many late writers, especially Strabo, used earlier sources (such as Antiochus of Syracuse) that do fall within my chronological range, or at least much closer to it. *Quellenkritik* therefore allows us access to better sources, although it, too, must always be used with caution. Moreover, non-Achaean writers, though they necessarily do not have quite the same understanding of Achaean identity as an Achaean would, nonetheless may have access to quite good, emic information. Simply put, they are what we have and we must do what we can with them.

Peloponnesian Achaeans in Italy

In later times, the Achaeans of Italy and of the northern Peloponnese were considered to be members of the same ethnic group. This seems to be what lies behind

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[13] See esp. Chapter Two, p. 177.

Polybius' tendentious report (2.39) that, in the late fifth century, the Achaeans of Italy created a political league on the advice of their brethren in the Peloponnese.[14] However, it is dangerous simply to retroject this connection, as scholars once did,[15] by some three centuries to the era of the colonial foundations. There is simply no literary or archaeological evidence to suggest that Achaean identity was brought to Italy with the original colonists from Peloponnesian Achaea, and indeed there are some positive indications that a new Achaean identity was forged in Italy, in part out of elements imported from the Peloponnese. We must look to later periods, especially the sixth century, to explain the origins of this ethnic group.

Far from providing a well-established ethnic identity for Italians to adopt, Peloponnesian Achaea in the eighth century offers no evidence of any sense of unification or common identity.[16] The Achaean League, as an organized political entity, can only be traced as far back as the end of the fifth century.[17] As a looser ethnic association, the Achaeans appear clearly in the historical record throughout the fifth century,[18] and indeed in the mid-sixth, when Sparta "discovered" the bones of Teisamenos, the hero who led the Achaeans into the northern Peloponnese after their defeat by the Heraclids, in Helike.[19] However, it is difficult to project this ethnic identity further back into the period of colonization. It is worth noting, for instance, that the

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[14] On this passage, see Morgan and Hall 1996, 194-6.

[15] E.g., Larsen 1968, 83.

[16] Morgan and Hall 1996; Kowalzig 2007, 298-300; *contra*, Arena 2006-2007.

[17] Morgan and Hall 1996, 193-7.

[18] Hdt. 8.47, 8.73.1; Thuc. 3.92.5; cf. Morgan and Hall 1996, 197-9.

[19] Paus. 7.6.1-2, 7.1.8.

historical foundation stories ascribe the oikists not to Achaea as a whole but rather to individual cities, many of which are quite insignificant. This stands in sharp contrast to the foundation of Gela, for instance, which was carried out by Rhodians (not Lindians, Ialysians, or Camirians) and Cretans (not Gortynians or Cnossians).

Homeric Achaeans

There is also no evidence that certain critical aspects of the Italian Achaean identity were present in the Peloponnese. For example, cults of Hera, which I shall argue below (pp. 73-98) form a major facet of Achaean identity in Italy, are notably rare in Peloponnesian Achaea. Thus, even if some nascent sense of Achaean-ness was brought to Italy with the original colonists, it underwent a substantial and important development in Italy. Most importantly, however, the Achaeans of the Peloponnese did not make very much of their alleged connection to the Homeric Achaeans, especially in the early period. The Homeric heroes were, of course, panhellenic in their origins and in their ubiquity in the archaic period. Communities across the Greek world used Homeric heroes in various ways to construct their identity, and the popularity of Homeric scenes on figured vases found throughout the Greek world and even beyond, in Etruria and elsewhere, attests to the universality of these stories. But the Achaeans of Italy claimed an even closer connection to these heroes than other cities did. As founders of the city, not merely favored native sons, these heroes played a special role not found elsewhere in the Greek world, at least not in such a systematic way.

On the other hand, the Homeric Achaeans are not closely connected with the historical region of the northern Peloponnese. Rather, they are focused around other

centers, especially the Argolid and Laconia, the seats of Agamemnon and Menelaus, as well as Pylos and elsewhere. This disconnect between the geographical locations of the two primary referents of Achaean identity was partially resolved by the story that in the aftermath of the Return of the Herakleidai, the former inhabitants of the eastern and southern Peloponnese (that is, the immediate descendents of the Homeric heroes, such as Teisamenos, son of Orestes) were driven out and settled in the region later known as Achaea.[20] Thus, the "historical" settlers of the Achaean cities were also the descendents of Homeric heroes, allowing the Achaeans to claim both legacies. Their ethnic identity constituted a new synthesis that differed substantially from anything in the Peloponnese.

Achaean Colonization

A recent re-evaluation of the nature of early Greek colonization, spearheaded particularly by Robin Osborne (1998), has cast doubt on the notion that the majority of the original colonists would have come from the single city or region that came to be considered the colony's mother-city. Simply because we are told that the oikist of Croton was Myscellus of Rhype and that of Sybaris was Is of Helike does not mean that the majority of the original populations came from those two cities or even from the region of Achaea at all. It was once assumed that all, or nearly all, of the colonists came from the single mother city and that the ethnic identity of the new community was fixed from

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[20] This story was known to Herodotus (see above, n. 2) and certainly existed in the mid-sixth century, but it is unclear whether it developed first, allowing the Achaeans to make their claim, or whether it developed later as a way of explaining a connection that was already established; I find the latter more probable. For Goegebeur (1985), the Homeric (or pre-Dorian) element predominates in Herodotus' account and therefore the historian may not think the Achaean cities of Italy were settled from Peloponnesian Achaea at all. This seems somewhat extreme, given Herodotus' other statements about Achaeans in the Peloponnese, and leaves little room for the development of perceived origins there. On the other hand, a weaker form of Goegebeur's thesis, that the contribution of Achaea to the colonies was less than once assumed, seems likely.

the beginning on that basis. Along with a new appreciation of the nature of ethnicity as a

socially constructed phenomenon, however, has come a re-evaluation of the nature of the

colonial enterprise itself. Whereas once the model of a centrally-organized, state-run

expedition held sway, now many scholars prefer to see small-scale, privately organized

ventures that at first did not envision the foundation of a separate community; the latter

then evolved over a long period of time.[21] On this model, at least some of the colonists

could have, and most likely did, hail from diverse regions of Greece, and would thus need

time to forge a new collective identity for themselves. This makes it virtually impossible

to suppose that Croton's and Sybaris' Achaean identity was simply carried over to Italy

by a set of people who already considered themselves Achaeans.

On the other hand, some have argued that a significant proportion of the colonists

may have originated in Achaea, or the Peloponnese more generally, and these could have

brought with them certain elements that were later combined into Achaean identity.

Much of the evidence for this comes from cult connections, which I will discuss at length

below (pp. 79-92); for now let me suggest that parallels between important cults in Italian

Achaea and in Arcadia, Elis, Corinth, and the Argolid suggest that many of the colonists

came from those broader regions of the Peloponnese.[22] Parallels to Achaea itself are,

however, strikingly absent. Linguistic evidence, especially that of the epichoric alphabets,

also supports a northern-Peloponnesian origin for the colonists, although so few early

inscriptions are preserved from Achaea itself that the implications of this shared alphabet

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[21] Osborne 1998; Yntema 2000, 43-5.

[22] But cf. the cautionary remarks of Kowalzig 2007, 267-8, on the origins of the colonial cultic landscape, which was far more complicated than a simple importation of cults from the homeland.

must remain unclear, since it too may be primarily a creation of Italy.[23] Shared place

names, too, perhaps suggest that colonists named features of their new homes, especially

rivers, after similar features in their homeland, although caution is warranted.[24]

Archaeologically, there is little to connect the Achaean cities in Italy with Peloponnesian

Achaea. Although Achaean Grey Ware pottery is attested throughout Italy and the

northern Peloponnese, the overall pottery assemblages are quite different between the two

regions, and artistic styles show no real similarity to anything in Achaea.[25] Meanwhile,

there is also little to distinguish this group of cities from other, non-Achaean cities, such

as Taras and Locri, in the early period; rather, there seems to have been a general south-

Italian material culture *koinē*.[26]

The question of the origins of the original settlers is unanswerable in detail and is

likely to remain so. One possible hypothesis is that, at a minimum, a few (or more)

prominent early settlers came from Achaea, along with many others from other areas.

These people would all have introduced cultural practices, such as cults, and other ideas

from their own regions. Over time, however, certain practices came to be considered

prestigious and were more widely adopted, while others died out. In particular, a

"founder effect," in which later settlers of diverse origins adopted prestigious cultural

practices and ideas from the initial settlers, could then have played a role in establishing a

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[23] Morgan and Hall 1996, 212-13; Papadopoulos 2001, 378-9.

[24] Examples include the Sybaris and Crathis rivers, both paralleled in Achaea itself (Hdt. 1.145; Strabo 8.7.4-5; Paus. 7.25.11, 8.15.9): Dunbabin 1948, 24; Bérard 1963, 146-7; Morgan and Hall 1996, 212-13. A river Sybaris is also attested in Locris: Ant. Lib. 8.

[25] Morgan and Hall 1996, 202-11; Kowalzig 2007, 298-301; cf. also Yntema 2000. On Achaean ceramic traditions, see Papadopoulos 2001.

[26] Yntema 2000; Papadopoulos 2001, esp. 373-6.

strong perceived connection between certain Italian cities (and not others) and Achaea, and a shared sense of Achaean identity.

Alternatively, a broader slice of the Italian populations may have originated in the northern Peloponnese, but in any case, the origins of Achaean identity are much more complex. We should see the Achaean ethnic group in Italy as the result of the construction by a select group of cities of a new identity for themselves, emphasizing origins in the historical northern Peloponnese as well as descent from Homeric heroes. This newly created identity, however, must clearly be placed well after the earliest settlements and represents a much later phase of development that took place in an entirely different context. It is this context to which the various transmitted foundation narratives pertain, and which will be the object of my investigation here.

Achaean Foundations

One of the major ways any community defines its identity is through telling stories of its origins.[27] The Achaean cities are no exception: foundation stories abound, often with more than one entirely different story attested for each city. Major sanctuaries often had separate foundation myths as well.[28] In fact, two separate sets of stories, Homeric and historical, form a critical component of the Achaeans' synthesis of their new ethnic identity. Although these stories seem contradictory to modern readers, they

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[27] See, e.g., Smith 1986, 24-5; Malkin 1994, 98-106; Hall 1997, 25-6; 2002a, 30-6.

[28] E.g., Foce del Sele near Poseidonia, founded by Jason: Strabo 6.1.1; Plin. *NH* 3.5.70. Hera Lacinia near Croton, founded by Heracles (Diod. 4.24.7) or Thetis (Lyc. *Alex*. 856-8). Artemis at Metapontion, founded by Homeric Achaeans returning from Troy: Bacchyl. 11.113-26.

co-existed in antiquity with no apparent difficulty: in fact, their co-existence was a critical means by which the Achaeans articulated their ethnic identity. By appealing both to descent from Homeric heroes and to geographic origins in the Peloponnese, the Achaeans combined two separate elements to create their new identity.

We should further distinguish two types of foundation material. First, a number of brief and purely factual reports have come down to us; these usually include little but the origin and often the name of the founder. A typical example comes from Strabo (6.1.1): "After the mouth of the Silaris one comes to Lucania, and to the temple of the Argive Hera, built by Jason." There is no narrative but simply a statement of fact. Secondly, and more familiarly, we have a number of much more elaborate foundation narratives, which often involve familiar literary devices and tropes.[29] For instance, in one of several stories handed down about Myscellus, the founder of Croton, the oikist is told by Delphi to found his city where rain falls from a clear sky (*aithra*); he eventually finds a woman named Aithra who is weeping, recognizes the fulfillment of the oracle, and founds Croton there; the riddling oracle (and even the presence of the oracle itself) are stock features of a literary genre and not to be taken as historical.[30] Examples of both types of foundation reports, narrative and factual, are found among both the Homeric and historical foundation stories of the Achaean cities, and I take both types as offering solid information, not about the actual foundations of cities, but about origin myths that were salient at various times.

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[29] On the *ktisis* story as a literary genre, see esp. Dougherty 1993; Hall 2008, 385-6.

[30] Schol. ad Ar. *Nub*. 371b, d. Note in particular the very similar story told of Phalanthus, founder of Taras: Paus. 10.10.6-8; cf. Goegebeur 1990.

Of course, Achaean mythic founders were not restricted to the Homeric heroes in the narrow sense; important characters in other heroic sagas, such as Heracles and Jason, could also be treated as founders.[31] In part, this is possible because the entire early epic tradition was highly prestigious in Archaic Greece, not just the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Other characters in the Cyclic epics, such as Epeios and Philoctetes,[32] or in other early poems (such as the hypothesized early *Argonautica*) involving travel to distant lands could equally serve as prestigious founders that would lend their antiquity to the communities that claimed descent from them. Moreover, both Jason and especially Heracles played a particularly important role throughout the Greek West (not just in the Achaean cities) as culture heroes who bring civilization to unknown lands, thus providing a charter myth for communities that associated themselves with these heroes.[33] Although Heracles in particular is a hero whose presence and exploits were tied to a wide variety of locations throughout the West, in the Achaean cities (especially Croton) he plays an additional role as a connection to the Achaeans of the heroic age, broadly defined.

Historical Foundations

The use of foundation stories as evidence for actual historical events has been recognized for some time to be problematic at best. Numerous literary tropes, such as Myscellus as an unwilling oikist, several riddling oracles, and others, suggest that they should not be treated as historical fact but as the products of a later age, perhaps

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[31] Heracles at Croton (Diod. 4.24.7); Jason at Foce del Sele (Strabo 6.1.1).

[32] Epeios and Lagaria: Strabo 6.1.14; Lyc. *Alex*. 930, 946-50. Philoctetes and Petelia, Crimissa, Chone, and Makalla: Strabo 6.1.3; Lyc. *Alex*. 911-13, 919-20; *Mir.Ausc.* 108. In general, see Bérard 1963, 330-41; Malkin 1998, 210-33, and the articles collected in De La Geniére 1991.

[33] See esp. Malkin 1994, 206-9; 1998, 20-1; and see below (pp. 99-103) for Heracles at Croton.

influenced by literary concerns.[34] Indeed, the supposedly historical oikist of Croton, Myscellus of Rhype, appears in the stories as no less a legendary, heroic figure than Epeios, the architect of the Trojan Horse who was closely associated with an important extra-urban sanctuary in the territory of Metapontion.[35] Recent approaches to these stories accept their essentially fictitious nature but seek to contextualize them in the society in which they originated.[36] In other words, these stories offer historical insights not into the eighth century but into the later times in which such stories originated and were then deliberately preserved. What was it about the culture that produced these stories that led them to postulate these origins for themselves? One advantage of this method is that these kinds of questions can be asked not only of the "historical" foundation stories but also of ones that are more clearly legendary, such as the *nostoi* legends. This is clearly preferable, since it avoids making distinctions (between mythic and historic times) that the ancients would not have made, and it is this method which I will apply here.

For the Achaean cities in particular, the historical foundation stories offer the possibility of assigning a rough date to their development. Two stories about Myscellus, the founder of Croton, associate him with other cities. In one, he is told by the Delphic oracle to found a city at Croton, but after scouting the coast of Italy he prefers the site of Sybaris; Apollo then tells him to be content with the gift he was given.[37] This has often

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[34] See Dougherty 1993 for this line of argument.

[35] The temple, probably located at Lagaria, was dedicated to Athena Hellenia: *Mir.Ausc.* 108; cf. Malkin 1998, 213-14.

[36] See, e.g., Malkin 1994; 1998; Hall 2008, 386-7.

[37] Strabo 6.1.12; Diod. 8.17.

been treated as evidence that Croton was founded before Sybaris (since the site was available), but should rather provide a clue to the context in which the story was invented: during the time of rivalry between Croton and Sybaris in the second half of the sixth century.[38] A second story of Myscellus should perhaps be dated slightly later, to Croton's supremacy after the conquest of Sybaris: Myscellus and Archias, the founder of Syracuse, go to Delphi together and are asked by the god to choose between health and wealth; Myscellus chooses the former and Archias the latter.[39] The pairing of Croton and Syracuse suggests not that they were in fact founded in the same year but that they were, at the time of the invention of the story, considered to occupy similar hegemonic positions in Italy and Sicily, respectively. Moreover, this story could only have developed at a time when Croton was especially known for both its doctors (who restored health) and its athletes (who exploited it), which is to say the late sixth and early fifth centuries.[40]

Two accounts of the foundation of Metapontion, meanwhile, reflect the power of Sybaris and, most likely, two separate viewpoints, namely, that of Sybaris and of Metapontion.[41] In the first, Sybaris is represented as the prime mover, summoning Achaeans to settle the site as part of their struggle with Taras; in the second, Taras is again the enemy, but the focus is on the wily Leucippus, oikist of Metapontion,[42] who

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[38] Malkin 1987, 45-6; Giangiulio 1989, 143-4; Morgan and Hall 1996, 206-7.

[39] Strabo 6.2.4; schol. ad Ar. *Eq.* 1089; Steph. Byz. s.v. Syracusai; Suda s.v. Archias, Myscellus; Eustath. in Dion. Per. 369.

[40] Dunbabin 1948, 27; Morgan and Hall 1996, 206; Giangiulio 1989, 134, places it somewhat later.

[41] For both, see Strabo 6.1.15, citing Antiochus.

[42] Leucippus was recognized as the official oikist on Metapontion's coinage in the fourth century (Rutter 2001, 1552-3, 1555, 1573-4, 1622), but doubt has been cast on the existence of this story in earlier times, since Dionysius of Halicarnassus (19.3) reports the same story regarding the foundation of Callipolis; cf. Dunbabin 1948, 31; Bérard 1963, 172-3; Morgan and Hall 1996, 211.

tricks the Tarantines into giving his colonists the site, and the role of Sybaris is not

mentioned. One could argue that these stories are not incompatible but merely focus on

different aspects of a single larger story, but this is to miss the point entirely. Rather, the

two stories reflect opposing perspectives on the relationship between Sybaris and

Metapontion in a much later period, when Sybaris considered Metapontion its

dependency while the Metapontines thought of themselves as an independent community

responsible for their own foundation.

Even Caulonia, for which no large-scale narrative survives, yields some

information about opposing variants. Caulonia is said by most sources to be a foundation

of Croton, yet one source not only denies this but claims for the city an oikist, Typhon of

Aigiai, from a specific place in the Peloponnese.[43] These variants certainly emerged from

the struggle over Crotoniate control of much of Magna Graecia in the early fifth century.

Croton attempted to legitimate its control over Caulonia by claiming to be its mother city,

while Caulonia resisted by asserting its higher status as a colony founded directly from

the Peloponnese.[44] It is worth noting that all of the datable material discussed here most

likely derives from the second half of the sixth century or the first half of the fifth

century. This was a productive period in the generation of Achaean identity.

However, an important question remains: what social imperative, in that period or

any other, led these cities to claim, emphasize, or remember origins in the northern

Peloponnese? Jonathan Hall has suggested the mid-sixth-century struggle with the

Ionians of Siris as the most likely context for the ethnogenesis of the Achaeans, basing

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[43] Croton: Ps.-Scymnos 318-22; Sol. 2.10; Steph. Byz s.v. Aulon. Typhon of Aigiai: Paus. 6.3.12. Strabo (6.1.10) refers to it more generally as a foundation of Achaeans.

[44] Morgan and Hall 1996, 208-9.

his argument primarily on the "environment of claims and counter-claims" that he sees in the claims of Pylian descent on the part of Metapontion and of Siris's mother city, Colophon.[45] This is no doubt part of the answer, but in calling upon mythic origins, it does not address the question of why the Achaeans would want to claim descent from the Peloponnese.

I suggest that the answer lies in two parts, one relating to Sybaris and Metapontion and another relating to Croton and her dependencies. I have suggested above that the Achaeans of Italy (as a group) and the Achaeans of the northern Peloponnese arrived at their Achaean identity independently and only later came to be considered members of the same ethnic group. The same may have happened with the Achaean cities of Italy individually: after each developed a consciousness of Peloponnesian roots separately, they merged into a single ethnic group.

Sybaris and Metapontion may have staked their claim to Peloponnesian origins in response to Tarantine claims of Spartan origins. Indeed, the very foundation stories of Metapontion both refer to conflict with Taras, and one of them (the Sybarite version) involves Sybaris in this conflict as well. Historically, a period of tension between Taras and other cities is known in the 430s, culminating in the foundation of Heraclea.[46] While this period is too late to have any bearing on Sybaris or on the initial development of Achaean identity, such conflict may also have existed earlier, especially if we accept the historicity of the conflict implied in Metapontion's foundation narratives. Alternatively, conflict in the fifth century may have reinforced an existing sense of separate identity.

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[45] Hall 2002a, 58-66.

[46] Antiochus F11; cf. Morgan and Hall 1996, 210. See also *IvO* 254-6, Tarantine dedications of spoils taken from Thurii in c. 440.

Just as myth referred to conflict in the Peloponnese between the Dorian invaders and the pre-Dorian inhabitants who became the Achaeans, so that conflict was continued (as the participants would have seen it) or used as a model for a new conflict in Italy. This claim to the heritage of the opponents of the Dorians blends mythical and geographical origins in exactly the way I have been suggesting.

Croton, meanwhile, was locked in conflict with its southern neighbors, Rhegium and especially Locri, which led to Croton's defeat at the Battle of the Sagra River at an unknown date in the mid-sixth century. Although Locri was not itself Dorian, the city claimed close connections with Dorians, especially Sparta and its colony Taras.[47] Its foundation legend, modeled on that of Taras, involves Locrians fighting as allies of Sparta, and Pausanias (perhaps simply confused) actually calls Locri a Spartan colony.[48] More importantly, during the war that culminated in the Battle of the Sagra, Locri appealed to Sparta for an alliance.[49] Help was provided in the form of the Dioscuri, a particularly Spartan pair of divine figures, who duly assisted the Locrians in the battle and were given a cult in Locri, which is well attested from at least the beginning of the fifth century and is perhaps earlier.[50] Thus, it seems entirely possible that Croton, too, independently developed a sense of inheritance of the anti-Dorian mantle from the Peloponnese.

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[47] See esp. Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 191-2: "the Locrians may have found themselves *de facto* attached to the Dorian ethnos, their near relative" as a result of political pressures.

[48] Paus. 3.3.1; in a proposed emendation of Strabo 6.1.7, a hopelessly corrupt passage, Tarantines (perhaps the Spartans in question) are said to have assisted in the foundation of Locri. For the foundation stories, see Plb. 12.5-12, citing the contradictory opinions of Timaeus and Aristotle, a much-discussed passage. Cf. Bérard 1963, 199-203; Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 188-9.

[49] Diod. 8.32; Just. 10.2.10-3.9; on these legends in general, see Giangiulio 1983.

[50] Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 189-90.

Of course, in the Peloponnese, the major function of the claims of the Achaeans to the pre-Dorian heritage was to lay a deeper and older claim to the land than the Dorians had; the latter then resorted to the myth of the Return of the Heraclids to counteract this claim. In Italy, the situation would be somewhat different: neither side had a particularly deep connection to the land, which made both sides nervous. The presence of individuals of the heroic age was intended in part to fill in this gap.

Homeric Foundations

The collection of myths that refer to the presence of Homeric heroes or other characters from early epic have sometimes been explained as vague memories of Mycenaean presence in Italy.[51] There certainly was some Mycenaean activity in various parts of the Ionian coast, but nowhere did it rise to the level of colonization. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that orally transmitted memories could survive, however distorted, for nearly a millennium until they were recorded, perhaps for the first time, by Antiochus of Syracuse in the late fifth century. It is much more likely that they were created in a cultural context to which they had immediate, contemporary resonance.

Even if these legends were in fact dim recollections of the Mycenaean past, however, they no longer bore that meaning. It is a seldom-recognized fact that the Greeks did not know about Mycenaean civilization. Thucydides, for instance, in his Archaeology (1.2-19), recounts early history as a slow but uninterrupted progression from smaller and lesser things to larger and greater ones: he is totally unaware of a previous high point and

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[51] Cf. Kowalzig 2007, 301-2, and references there.

its precipitous collapse.[52] The Greeks were, of course, familiar with various Mycenaean

relics, such as the Cyclopean walls of Mycenae and other palaces, as well as Mycenaean

tombs at which they performed ancestor cult; in fact, they probably had more such relics

than we do today.[53] But they did not interpret them as remains of a previous Greek

civilization; rather, they understood them as relics of the heroic age and of their

ancestors. This is the model in which they interpreted material remains and also, perhaps,

certain orally transmitted tales. Whether these foundation myths were ultimately derived

from Mycenaean activity in Italy or not is irrelevant: what matters is the interpretive

framework within which they were understood by later Greeks, and this is clearly how

we should approach them.

Heroic-age figures were often seen as founders of cities. Metapontion was said to

have been founded by Pylians returning from Troy, for example, and the role of Heracles

as founder of Croton is attested on coinage, which supplements a less-clear literary

source.[54] Later writers usually rationalized the combination of foundation stories by

stating that the heroic-age colony died out before the historical period colony was

founded (e.g., Strabo 6.1.15). But if we take each myth on its own terms, there is direct

continuity between the heroic founders and the historical period. Thus, Nestor and his

Pylians could be (and were) said to be the ancestors of the Metapontines, and this myth of

fictive descent is precisely a crucial factor in creating an ethnic group. A community that

claimed to have been founded by a major figure among the Achaeans in both Homeric

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[52] Cf. Hornblower, *Comm.*, I.19.

[53] See below (p. 96) for the role of these relics in creating Achaean identity in the Argolid.

[54] Metapontion: Strabo 6.1.15; cf. Bacchyl. 11.113-26. Croton: Diod. 4.24.7; see below (pp. 65-7) for the coins and for more discussion.

epics was staking a strong claim to Achaean ethnicity. More precisely, it was the city as a whole, not any segment of the population, that traced its ancestry to Nestor: Achaean ethnicity was a crucial part of civic identity. Furthermore, this was no mere mythology: Bacchylides' eleventh ode, written for a Metapontine Olympic victor to glorify him and his city,[55] shows how an "ethnic continuum"[56] between the heroic age and the fifth century could be a living reality for the city. These beliefs had real-life implications for cult practice, as I will discuss at length below (pp. 73-111); for now, let me just mention one example (Strabo 6.1.15), the sacrifice performed at Metapontion to the shades of the Neleids, as if to an oikist – or to an ancestor?

Homeric foundation legends also concerned important points in the cities' *chorai*, especially sanctuaries or boundary points such as rivers or promontories. For example, the northern boundary of Crotoniate territory, the Crimissa promontory, was associated with Philoctetes, while the river Neaithus near Croton was said to be named for the ships burned by captive Trojan women while the Achaeans were returning to Greece. Similarly the important sanctuary of Argive Hera at Foce del Sele outside Poseidonia was founded by Jason and that of Hera Lacinia near Croton by Heracles.[57] This is a salutary reminder that a *polis* consisted of both a city and a territory; both were equally important for the community's identity. In fact, François de Polignac has argued that extra-urban sanctuaries played a critical role in establishing the boundaries of a community and

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[55] Cf. Cairns 2005; Kowalzig 2007, 325-6.

[56] Hall 2002a, 61; on Bacchylides 11, see further below, pp. 95-96.

[57] Crimissa: Strabo 6.1.3. Neaithus: Strabo 6.1.12. Foce del Sele: Strabo 6.1.1; Plin. *N.H.* 3.5.70; Solinus 2.12. Hera Lacinia: Diod. 4.24.7.

simultaneously staking a claim to its territory.[58] Homeric heroes as founders of sanctuaries play an important role in establishing this claim.

Greek colonies faced an important conceptual difficulty. In the Greece that the colonists left, they had centuries-old connections to the land. They had tombs of their ancestors, temples of their gods, and landscapes that were familiar through long agricultural and pastoral experience. In their new homes, they initially had none of this, and they had to create these connections from scratch. Moreover, these new lands were not empty: the native peoples that the Greeks met had to be dealt with and understood in some way, whether in a friendly or hostile manner, and Greek possession of the land had to be legitimated. By planting sanctuaries across the landscape and by then creating myths that retrojected their presence into the heroic past, the colonists insisted that they were merely reclaiming territory from the natives that had in fact been Greek in the distant past. Even stories, such as some of those involving Epeios and Philoctetes, in which the hero is not actually the founder of a sanctuary but makes his presence known there, usually through a dedication, serve the same function: to proclaim that the region had been Greek since the heroic age.[59] This claim to territory was central to any *polis* community and contributed greatly to defining the identity of the community. By making heroes the founders of the sanctuaries, they made these prestigious figures the source from which the community had sprung and the ultimate arbiters of the boundaries of the

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[58] De Polignac 1995.

[59] Epeios dedicated his tools at the temple of Athena Hellenia: *Mir.Ausc.* 108; Lyc. *Alex.* 930, 946-50. Philoctetes dedicated the bow and arrows of Heracles at Makalla: *Mir.Ausc.* 108. On these, see Malkin 1998, 213-26.

community. In other words, these Homeric Achaeans defined the identity of the community. They were thus treated as its founders just as much as the "historical" oikists.

None of these stories, however, whether historical or Homeric, gives any sense that all of the Achaean cities together form a single unit of common origin; rather, these are told of individual cities. Many of the historical stories even involve conflict or suggest tension between different Achaean communities. This suggests that several Italian Greek cities separately developed foundation legends that claimed Achaean origins; moreover, in these communities civic identity as Achaeans had the same two main components as Achaean ethnic identity. Civic identity has taken on an ethnic component, and the deeply intertwined relationship between these two tiers emerges.

Achaean Coinage

The coinage minted by various cities in Archaic and Classical Greece played an important role in civic ideology and identity, as I have discussed in the Introduction (pp. 29-31). Since coinage was a broadly circulating means of disseminating ideas to a wide swath of the population, the symbolic language of the images or types on coins provide an excellent source for the study of Achaean identity. Each community chose a single emblem to represent themselves, and these remained remarkably constant over a period of centuries; hence, individuals who may not have used coins frequently could become familiar with their city's type over a long period of time.[60] Importantly, however, coinage

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[60] See more generally the Introduction, pp. 29-31.

was exclusively the province of the *poleis*; the Achaean *ethnos* as a whole never minted

coins. Thus, we shall here investigate the civic identities of three Achaean cities –

Croton, Metapontion, and Sybaris – to explore how Achaean identity was constructed by

civic communities.

It should be no surprise that the emblems chosen to represent the Achaean cities

reflect both historical and Homeric elements. In an important 2002 article, John

Papadopoulos has argued that "the images and emblems chosen are taken not from the

contemporary cultural landscape of the historic Achaeans, but actively recall the world of

the heroic Achaeans of the Bronze Age."[61] This search for meaning in the deep past,

rather than the present, is an important step forward, although in my opinion

Papadopoulos goes too far in discounting contemporary resonances in the images on the

coins. More importantly, however, as I have argued above (p. 59), the Greeks did not

know about Mycenaean civilization, and although the Greeks may have been familiar

with some of Papadopoulos' examples through chance finds,[62] we should look instead to

a much more prestigious source, Homeric society and the Homeric poems themselves.

The choice of emblems on coins from three cities – Croton's tripod, Metapontion's ear of

barley, and the Sybarite bull – reflect multiple layers of meaning that refer to mythical

origins while simultaneously maintaining contemporary resonances.[63]

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[61] Papadopoulos 2002, 23.

[62] Papadopoulos 2002, 29-36, compares the images with various Mycenaean artifacts, suggesting that "they share a common pedigree" (29); cf. Gorini 1975, 77. This seems to me to miss the crucial point, that the Greeks would not have thought of it this way.

[63] I cite the coins of Metapontion according to Noe 1984. Since no monographs exist on the coinages of Croton or Sybaris (or the other cities which I briefly mention), I cite the coins of these cities according to Rutter 2001.

Croton

The tripods depicted on the coinage of Croton are among the most varied and iconic images from southern Italy, yet their interpretation has been a matter of debate.[64] They appear in a number of forms, both alone and combined with other objects or figures (such as a crab, an eagle, or a marsh bird), over a span of at least two centuries (c. 530-350).[65] After about the mid-fourth century, the tripod fades into the background and other types, especially various images of Heracles, become more important. The prominence of the tripod, therefore, approximately corresponds to the period in which Achaean identity was in play.

Some scholars have seen a reference to the tripod on which the Pythia sat at the Delphic oracle and thereby to Croton's "historical" foundation stories.[66] Indeed, Croton is strongly connected to Delphi in the historical stories discussed above, and it is a striking coincidence that coinage begins at Croton just at the time when I have suggested that these foundations stories were beginning to develop. The role of Delphi in the foundation of the city is surely one layer of meaning behind the Crotoniate tripod. One series in particular, dated to c. 420, depicts a large tripod on the reverse with a standing figure of Apollo with his bow and a snake, presumably representing Python; the text on the obverse reads ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ, leading many to suggest a strong reference to Delphi and to historical foundation legends. But the nude figure on the obverse holds a club, with a lion

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[64] On the coinage generally, see Gorini 1975, 146-67; Rutter 1997, 29-30, 34-9, 82-3; 2001, 166-75; Papadopoulos 2002, 32-4.

[65] Rutter 2001, 166-75.

[66] Kraay 1966, 310; Gorini 1975, 148; Rutter 1997, 29; Papadopoulos 2002, 32-3.

skin draped over a nearby rock:[67] he is clearly not Myscellus, but Heracles. Thus, the

supposedly historical foundation story is conflated with a legendary foundation by

Heracles (on this, see further below, pp. 99-103). Thus, while a Pythian tripod seems to

be one likely reference point, it does not seem sufficient to explain the ubiquity of tripods

on Crotoniate coinage.

Other scholars have seen in these images the prizes given at agonal festivals,

especially that at Olympia.[68] And indeed, while the Olympic festival was a crucial

meeting place for the Western Greeks (see Chapter Two, p. 152), Croton had a particular

connection to agonal games. Crotoniate athletes were among the best in the Greek world,

and the city was intensely proud of its record of success in athletic competition with other

cities. This could indeed be a key aspect of Crotoniate identity that they would emphasize

in their ideology and on their coinage. Heracles, too, was closely associated with the

Olympic festival, and his appearance on coins – as well as his proclaimed status as oikist

– strengthens the link between Croton and Olympia.[69] These two contemporary

references, to Delphi and Olympia, were surely an important part of the meaning

Crotoniates would have perceived in their coins.

But tripods have another very strong resonance in Greek culture: they are an

important feature of Homeric society. In Homer, tripods are awarded as prizes at athletic

contests[70] and are given as prestige gifts from one *basileus* to another,[71] as well as being

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[67] Rutter 2001, no. 2140; cf. Papadopoulos 2002, 32-3.

[68] Head 1911, 99; Gorini 1975, 77-8; Papadopoulos 2002, 32-3.

[69] Cf. also the coins (Rutter 2001, nos. 2126, 2130) showing a tripod with two small snakes, which are less reminiscent of the monster Pytho than of the myth that the infant Heracles strangled two snakes that attacked him – a scene actually depicted on early fourth-century coins (Rutter 2001, nos. 2157-8).

[70] Especially at the funeral games of Patroclus: *Il*. 23.259-64, 485, 513, 702, 718; cf. 9.407, 11.700.

used for practical purposes.[72] These Homeric resonances add to the prestige associated with tripods in sixth-century Greek society and suggest that the Crotoniates were attempting to link themselves not only with a prestigious symbol of wealth and power but also with their Homeric ancestry. They were claiming to be descendents of the Homeric Achaeans through their use of tripods as symbolic representations of their participation in the same activities. If it was no longer practical to use actual bronze tripods as a store of value, coins with the image of a tripod could serve the same function.[73] Thus, by exchanging these coins, the Crotoniates were actually performing their identity as Achaeans.

In the final analysis, all of these layers of meaning interact to create a much larger web of resonances and interrelationships. Tripods appear as prizes in athletic contests in Homer; Homeric resonances appear at Olympia as victors are compared to Homeric heroes; and, of course, Delphi hosted athletic contests nearly as prestigious as those at Olympia. The Crotoniates intended all of these resonances to be felt in the single emblem on their coinage and wanted to proclaim all of them as their identity.

Metapontion

A similar phenomenon occurred at Metapontion, where the consistent emblem is an ear of barley.[74] The copious coinage, better attested than that of any other Achaean

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[71] *Il*. 8.290; *Od*. 15.84.

[72] *Il*. 18.344-8, 22.443, 23.40; *Od*. 8.434-7, 10.359-61.

[73] On tripods as a store of value, see Papadopoulos 2002, 33-4.

[74] On the coinage generally, see Gorini 1975, 126-45; Noe 1984; Rutter 1997, 27-9, 47-51, 95-6; 2001, 130-42; Papadopoulos 2002, 31.

mint, offers nothing but barley, occasionally with subsidiary images associated with fields and grain – such as grasshoppers or mules' heads – for centuries.[75] On the one hand, this is clearly a reference to the fabled fertility of Italy's arable land, which formed much of the basis for the wealth of the region.[76] It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Metapontion's wealth in grain was a feature that its citizens were proud of and that thereby resonated sufficiently strongly to be included on its coinage.

But barley also had Homeric resonances, since in the epics it is mentioned as food far more often than wheat or other grains.[77] Moreover, barley is strongly associated with the ritual of animal sacrifice, and this grain continued to be a feature of Greek sacrificial ritual in the historical period.[78] The Metapontines were thereby claiming a special relationship to worship of the Homeric gods, and indeed as the successors to the heroes who carried out such rituals. Even more specifically, however, the Metapontine ear of grain quite possibly refers to the "golden harvest" dedicated at Delphi. According to Strabo (6.1.15), this was done by the Pylians who first settled the area, not by anyone in historical times. In other words, the ear of barley is a specific reference to Metapontion's Homeric Achaean heritage. By combining two critical elements – the wealth of their land and their connection to Homeric religion – the Metapontines used their coinage to proclaim their Achaean civic identity.

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[75] Noe 1984, 6-7, with over 300 examples of the barley head, dating as late as the early third century (Rutter 2001, 131-9). Examples with grasshoppers include Noe 1984, nos. 100-5; with mules' heads, Noe 1984, nos. 231-2.

[76] Kraay 1966, 306.

[77] E.g., *Il*. 11.631, 640, 18.560; *Od*. 2.290, 354-5, 380, 10.234, 520, 11.28, 14.77, 19.197.

[78] *Od*. 3.441; cf. Hdt. 1.132.1, 160.5; Ar. *Peace* 948; Burkert 1983, 4-5; 1985, 56-7.

Sybaris

Despite all the vicissitudes of fortune suffered by Sybaris between the late sixth and late fifth centuries, the bull, normally shown with its head turned back and with few other symbols, appears on coins of all five incarnations of the city and of at least one city that received Sybarite exiles.[79] It may be thought, therefore, that this emblem was remembered by Sybarite refugees and continually revived as the city was repeatedly refounded; the Sybarites clung to their bull as the last remaining shred of their civic identity. In other words, part of what made each event a refoundation of Sybaris, as opposed to a new foundation (as Heraclea was founded as a replacement of Siris), was, among other things, the adoption of the same coin type. Indeed, Croton seems to have thought that the bull symbolized Sybaris sufficiently clearly that its conqueror could adopt it to symbolize Sybaris' dependence on Croton: the famous "alliance" coinage depicts Croton's tripod on the obverse (with the legend ϘPO) and the Sybarite bull with ΣΥ on the reverse.[80]

The significance of the bull, however, is quite complex. On Greek coinage, bulls frequently represent river gods, especially when they are depicted with raised front feet, indicating swimming. The fifth-century coinage of Gela in Sicily – supposedly named

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[79] The five are the original city; the city subordinate to Croton that was besieged by the latter in 476/5 (Diod. 11.48.4); the city refounded in the mid-fifth century and quickly destroyed again (Diod. 11.90.3-4, 12.10.2); the city briefly called Sybaris before being renamed Thurii (Diod. 12.10.3-6); and Sybaris on the Traeis. On this sequence, see esp. Kraay 1976, 172-4; Rutter 1997, 39-45; *IACP*, 295-8. The Sybarite bull also appears on certain coins of Laus, a Sybarite colony known to have received refugees (Hdt. 6.21; Rutter 2001, nos. 2273-4, 2284-5). On the coinage generally, see Gorini 1975, 102-13; Rutter 1997, 22-7; 2001, 144-6; Papadopoulos 2002, 28-31.

[80] Rutter 2001, no. 2098. This practice of symbolizing dependence by incorporating the dominant city's emblem on the subordinate city's coinage is known from several other examples: see Gorini 1975, 149; Kraay 1976, 166-8; Rutter 1997, 24-7, 35-7.

after the river Gelas – offers a good parallel.[81] Sybaris' location between the Crathis and Sybaris rivers was a key feature of its civic identity: the coins refer to the Sybarites' sense of belonging to a place.[82] On the coins after 510, this reference to place had an additional resonance as it reminded the exiled Sybarites of their shared history at this location. Like Metapontion's barley, the bull may also refer to the extensive pasture lands under Sybarite control and thus to the wealth of the city and the territory it controlled.[83] Moreover, a widely known folk etymology derived the name Italy from an Italic word based on the same root as Latin *vitulus* or calf:[84] perhaps Sybaris' bull also symbolized the city's powerful position in Italy.

On the other hand, in Greek thought, as today, bulls symbolized strength and power. Homeric shields were made of multiple layers of bull's hide and were often described by the epithet ταύρειος,[85] and a bull appears in several similes as a worthy opponent to a lion.[86] This is a natural symbol for a city that, in the sixth century, was the most powerful in Italy and, we are told, ruled four *ethne* and twenty-five cities (Strabo 6.1.13). Indeed, on one coin the bull is paired with the legend ΝΙΚΑ, perhaps indicating a

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[81] Jenkins 1970, 165; Rutter 1997, 118, 131-4; Thuc. 6.4.3. See Chapter Two, pp. 134-5.

[82] Rutter 1997, 22-3. For the importance of place in civic identity, cf. Chapter Two, pp. 125-30, 134-6.

[83] Kraay 1976, 165.

[84] Known (and disputed) as early as Hellanicus F111; Timaeus F42; *contra*, Antiochus F5.

[85] *Il*. 7.223, 10.258, 13.161, 163, 16.360.

[86] *Il*. 16.487-9, 17.542, 18.580.

victory over its neighbors or an athletic victory; another coin with a laurel branch suggests a similar theme.[87]

But the bull has Homeric associations as well.[88] As in the case of the grain of Metapontion, animal sacrifice, especially of bulls or other bovines, was an important feature of Homeric religion and Homeric society.[89] On social occasions, important men would sacrifice bovines to the gods and then dine on them with their guests.[90] Cattle could also serve as a measure of value, as in the famous case of the exchange of armor between Diomedes and Glaucus[91] - a measure of value that is now transferred to the more abstract notion of coin types. The Sybarites were thus staking a claim to participate in these features of Homeric society. Moreover, as I will argue further below (pp. 73-98), the worship of Hera, a deity strongly connected with bovines, was an important feature in Achaean identity. Thus, Sybarite coinage, too, combines multiple layers of meaning into a single symbolic proclamation of Achaean identity.

Incuse Coinage and Identity

I have avoided until now two features of Achaean coinage that have attracted much attention in the past. First, whereas most ancient coins employed a double-relief system, in which two different images were stamped in positive relief on the obverse and

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[87] Rutter 2001, nos. 1730, 1732, both dated (with their series) to c. 550-510. The NIKA legend may also be an abbreviation of a personal name: Rutter 1997, 23; Gorini 1975, 104.

[88] In general, see *Il*. 13.703-7, 15.630-6, 17.61-7, 17.657-64, 18.520-34, 18.573-86, *Od*. 14.100, 20.209-12.

[89] *Il*. 1.41, 316, 2.550, 3.178, 11.726-8, 21.131; *Od*. 1.25, 3.6-8, 11.131, 13.181-4, 23.278.

[90] *Il*. 7.466, 23.30, *Od*. 3.421-63

[91] *Il*. 6.236; cf. *Il*. 23.703-5, *Od*. 1.431; Papadopoulos 2002, 30.

reverse of the coin, the early Achaean mints[92] employed a unique system in which the

reverse of the coin was stamped in negative relief (the so-called "incuse" system) and

was usually (but not always) the same type as the obverse.[93] This system is most closely

associated with four Achaean cities (Croton, Sybaris, Metapontion, and Caulonia), and

was once taken to offer a glimpse into some sort of shared identity or even a federal

league.[94] But scholars have long realized that on closer examination this theory falls

apart, for the incuse system was not restricted to Achaean cities:[95] it is well-known at

Taras in the late sixth century, and even occurs in limited issues at both Rhegium and

Zancle in the same period.[96] Similarly, the "Achaean" weight standard – a stater of about

eight grams, divided into three drachmas[97] – was neither universal among Achaean cities

nor unique to them: Poseidonia instead used the Phocaean standard, apparently reflecting

close commercial ties with nearby Elea,[98] whereas both Heraclea, the Tarantine colony of

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[92] Dating the incuse coinages is difficult; see Gorini 1975, 59-61, and the appropriate entries in Rutter 2001. For Croton, Metapontion, and Sybaris, dates are generally given as 550 or somewhat later. All three cities switch over to double relief coinage in the mid-fifth century. Thus, the incuse technique was abandoned half a century earlier than the date I have suggested for the gradual dissolution of Achaean ethnic identity; this is another reason why the incuse technique itself cannot be a marker of ethnic identity. The emblems discussed here, which I have argued *are* related to identity, are the primary feature of their cities' coinage through at least the late fifth century and often later; thereafter, other types become prominent as well, especially heads of deities, but the old emblems continue to be used either on the reverse or in some subsidiary manner.

[93] See Gorini 1975, 37-93, for an extensive general discussion; Rutter 1997, 17-21, for an overview of the technique; Kraay 1976, 163-4; Papadopoulos 2002, 28.

[94] Mommsen 1968, I.148-9; Lenormant 1969, I.260-1; Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 191; for a review of scholarship, see Gorini 1975, 38-48.

[95] Head 1911, li-liii; Noe 1984, 3; Rutter 1997, 20.

[96] Rutter 1997, 52-3, 109-10; Gorini 1975, 194-203, 220-7. The Rhegium and Zancle examples (Rutter 2001, no. 2468, and Kraay 1966, no. 48, respectively) are particularly striking as these cities normally fall into the Sicilian sphere as far as coinage is concerned: Rutter 1997, 101.

[97] Rutter 1997, 17.

[98] Rutter 1997, 32.

the later fifth century, and Taras itself struck staters that weighed the same as those on the Achaean standard, but were divided into two subunits instead of three.[99] Thus, I see no room for either the incuse technique or the weight standard to contribute to a collective Achaean ethnic identity.

In fact, until the development of federal leagues and the spread of territorial kingdoms in the fourth century and the Hellenistic period, coinage was primarily a civic activity, not normally that of an *ethnos* or any other larger entity. Indeed, I have offered several examples of how the emblems employed by a city have particular resonances open to that city alone, along with ones that could be more generally applicable. Coinage thus reflects civic identity. But I have been arguing that the ideology of coinage follows the same patterns as Achaean ethnic identity. It is therefore important to recognize that each city seems to have developed in this pattern at least somewhat independently. They are proclaiming their civic identity – an identity that is at heart Achaean.

Achaean Religion

Religion means many things and comprises many activities. Here I focus primarily on cult practices, another critical means by which the Achaeans fused Peloponnesian and Homeric elements to create their new ethnic identity. In particular, cults of Hera played a prominent role in the Achaean cities of Italy. Surprisingly, however, Hera is not a major deity in Peloponnesian Achaea. Rather, we have to look farther afield, in the rest of the Peloponnese and especially in the Argolid, to find cultic

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[99] Rutter 1997, 45-6, 52-3.

parallels. I suggest that the prominence of cults of Hera in the Achaean cities represents

an intentional reference to cult practices in the Argolid that, as Jonathan Hall has argued,

have an ethnic dimension. Just as seventh- and sixth-century inhabitants of the eastern

Argolid used the cultic landscape to define themselves as descendents of the Homeric

Achaeans (in the home territory of Agamemnon) against the Dorian invaders in Argos, so

the Italian Achaeans linked themselves into this same cultic and ethnic pattern. They

believed that they were participating in the same religious experience as their ancestors,

the Homeric heroes. Moreover, since certain aspects of Hera in the Achaean cities are

derived from cults in other parts of the Peloponnese, Achaean religion again supports the

concept of Achaean ethnic identity as a fusion of Homeric and Peloponnesian elements.

There were a number of major sanctuaries of Hera in various Achaean cities. The

sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, also referred to as the Lacinion, located on a large promontory

about six miles from Croton, which I will discuss at length below (pp. 98-111), is only

the most famous. Croton also boasted a suburban sanctuary, probably dedicated to Hera,

on a small hill called Vigna Nuova.[100] Elsewhere, a major sanctuary – described by

several writers as dedicated specifically to Argive Hera – has been excavated since the

1930s at Foce del Sele outside Poseidonia,[101] not to mention the two temples of Hera

which stood side by side in Poseidonia itself.[102] There was the extramural sanctuary at

Tavole Palatine three kilometers from Metapontion, mentioned by Pliny,[103] as well as the

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[100] Spadea 1984, 144-50; 1997, 251-8; Osanna 1992, 191.

[101] Strabo 6.1.1; Plin. *N.H.* 3.5.70; Solinus 2.12. For the archaeology, see Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937; *Foce del Sele* I; Pedley 1990, 61-75.

[102] Pedley 1990, 43-54, 81-9.

[103] *N.H.* 14.2.9. The identification as a temple of Hera is based on one archaic inscription: Nenci 1966; Lo Porto 1982, 27.

large temple in the city's urban sanctuary. Although Sybaris is much less well known, the

city seems to have had a temple of Hera, possibly at Parco del Cavallo,[104] as well as

another sanctuary somewhere in its territory.[105] Caulonia alone of the major Achaean

colonies is not known to have had such a sanctuary. The prominence of cults of Hera in

the Achaean region – and not in other parts of Greek Italy, such as Taras, Locri or

Rhegium – has been remarked upon as a particular feature that sets these cities apart.[106] It

is not the presence or absence of any individual cult of Hera in any one city that is

remarkable but rather the accumulation of a pattern across a number of cities; each data

point is only significant when placed in its larger context.

Moreover, these sanctuaries are all of archaic date, though most of them survived

into much later times (even the Roman period, in most cases). In fact, nearly all of them

seem to have begun receiving dedications in the years immediately before and after 600,

although monumental building projects did not always begin until the mid-sixth century.

At Tavole Palatine, for instance, the first temple dates to c. 540, but substantial finds of

Corinthian pottery suggests continual activity from the reorganization of the *polis* around

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[104] This temple is known from the portents described by several authors (Ael. *VH* 3.43, Athen. 12.518c, Plut. *de sera num. vind.* 12; Steph.Byz. s.v. *Sybaris*) as occurring shortly before the city's destruction. In these stories, Hera is described as abandoning the city; hence, she has been considered Sybaris' poliadic deity: Giannelli 1963, 101-3; cf. Torelli 1988, 594-5. On possible archaeological remains, see Zancani Montuoro 1972-73, esp. 57-9.

[105] A lone dedication of the mid-sixth century – a bronze axe-head dedicated by one Kyniskos to Hera of the Plain with the formula *tās hērās hiaros ēmi tās en pediōi* (IG XIV 643) – has been found, divorced from all context, at San Sosti, about forty kilometers from Sybaris. The epithet "in the plain" is very surprising, since the location is quite mountainous (nearby peaks reach nearly 1800 meters); hence, scholars have attributed the cult to Sybaris, which possessed the largest plain nearby: Guarducci 1968-69; 1987, 265-6; Lucca 1994.

[106] Hall 2002a, 61-2. Elsewhere in Greek Italy, Hera is only known from incidental indications, such as the fourth-century coinage of Taras and a few other places: Giannelli 1963. This coinage of Taras dates from a period when Achaean identity had begun to vanish, and moreover represents a deliberate attempt by the Tarantines to insert themselves into Croton's leadership role by, among other things, putting Hera Lacinia on their coins.

630.[107] At Poseidonia, which seems to have been settled around 600, ceramic evidence

from Foce del Sele suggests that the sanctuary was founded at the same time as the city,

though the earliest building does not appear until c. 580-560.[108] The two urban temples of

Hera, meanwhile, constructed in the mid-sixth century and in the mid-fifth, show the

continued importance of this divinity over a lengthy period.[109] The Lacinion, meanwhile,

received a cult structure around 600, but bronze dedications imply continuous cult

activity from at least the mid-seventh century.[110] What is striking is that these cults all

began at about the same time, regardless of when the city in question was founded: in

both the early group (Croton and Sybaris) and the later group (Metapontion and

Poseidonia) cult activity begins in the late seventh or early sixth centuries.[111] These dates

suggest that any impact these sanctuaries had on the construction and maintenance of

identity began in the early sixth century. This coheres well with the data I have adduced

above (pp. 44-45) for the date of the ethnogenesis of the Achaeans, and we should

probably envision a co-development of cult and identity in which each reinforced the

other.

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[107] *IACP*, 281; Lo Porto 1982, 36-7; Osanna 1992, 78; *contra*, Carter 1994, 162-8, 174-6.

[108] For the city, see Pedley 1990, 30; *IACP*, 287; for the sanctuary, see Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 322-8; Pedley 1990, 73. For the earliest buildings at Foce del Sele, see Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 331; Tocco Sciarelli, De La Geniere, and Greco 1987, 386; Pedley 1990, 63.

[109] The dates are based on stylistic considerations and have ranged from the 570s to the 520s for the earlier temple and c. 470-460 for the later one: Pedley 1990, 43, 52, 88.

[110] Spadea 1996, 48-50; cf. Osanna 1992, 179-80, who prefers a slightly later date.

[111] Hall 2002a, 61-2.

Meanwhile, the worship of Hera was not a significant factor in Peloponnesian

Achaea, since only two cults of Hera are known there.[112] Other deities were much more

prominent in this region, such as Zeus, especially Zeus Homarios or Hamarios, who

eventually became the tutelary deity of the Achaean League; Poseidon, the patron of

Helike, allegedly the mother-city of Sybaris; as well as Dionysus, Artemis, and several

others.[113] We must therefore look somewhat farther afield for the source of these cults of

Hera. Although parallels for most features of these cults can be found in most parts of the

Greek world, the Argolid, and especially the famous Argive Heraion, provides the most

important parallel for the cultic construct as a whole, while cults in the larger region of

the northern Peloponnese (outside Achaea, narrowly defined), such as Arcadia, Corinth,

and Elis also offer instructive parallels.[114]

Achaean Hera

It is above all the particular form of Hera worshipped in the Achaean cities at the

sanctuaries listed above that binds them together.[115] This term, Achaean Hera, is not

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[112] In Patrai and Aigion: Osanna 1996, who (307-9) partially attributes Hera's lack of prominence in comparison to Italy to the fragmentary evidence for Peloponnesian Achaea.

[113] See esp. the catalogue of Osanna 1996, in which each of these deities is attested far more often than Hera; see esp. his conclusions (303-12), and cf. Giangiulio 1989, 174-8; Osanna 2002, 275-6; Hall 2002a, 61.

[114] See esp. the detailed work of Giovanna Greco (1998) comparing votive deposits in the Achaean West and various Peloponnesian sanctuaries; also Giangiulio 1982, 64-9; 1989, 177-82.

[115] On the Hera worshipped at Poseidonia, see generally Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 218-28; *Foce del Sele* I, 14-19; Sestieri 1955; Kerenyi 1975, 167-79; Greco 1998. At the Lacinion: Giannelli 1963, 143-7; Giangiulio 1982, 6-41; 1989, 54-79; Spadea 1997, 245-51. At Tavole Palatine: Lo Porto 1982, 36-8. In what follows, I cite these and other works sparingly, focusing on specific evidence, primarily archaeological.

ancient; I will use it only for convenience.[116] The invention of a category here necessarily elides important differences between these cults, but these are few enough and the similarities great enough that, with this caveat, I believe the term is useful. More seriously, however, our information about Achaean Hera is quite limited. We must depend more than we would like on the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, site of the most famous of the Italian cults and hence the one about which we have the most information from literary sources. The most thoroughly excavated sites are those of the Heraion at Foce del Sele and the urban sanctuary in Poseidonia, which therefore provide the bulk of the archaeological material, especially votive material. However, the more fragmentary evidence for other cults offers much the same picture, drawn from both literary and archaeological sources.[117]

It is a methodological fallacy to treat the material record as either confirming or denying literary evidence: the two require different methods and allow us to ask entirely different questions. Literary evidence speaks to what was considered prestigious or important about these cults – an important aspect of identity, since not all activities were necessarily incorporated into concepts of identity – bklut it is limited in that it is non-contemporary and generally offers an elite perspective only. Archaeology, meanwhile, offers contemporary evidence from a broad cross-section of society, but offers little help in determining what meaning or significance the votive offerings had for those who dedicated them. Since these two independent lines of evidence are talking past each

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[116] Cf. Osanna 2002, 277, who uses the phrase "la Hera achea."

[117] Giangiulio 1982, 7, makes a similar point from the reverse perspective: although Hera Lacinia is the best known of these cults, our information about it is nonetheless fragmentary and may, with care, be supplemented with information from elsewhere in the Achaean West and in the Peloponnese.

other, it is all the more remarkable that they do offer a broadly similar picture, suggesting that conclusions can be drawn from both together.

In this section, I will outline a number of features common to most of these cults and draw two major points. First, Achaean Hera is a very archaic form of a female divinity with extremely broad functions, including control over animal and plant life and fertility, protection of warriors, patronage of child-rearing and other aspects of women's lives, and control of the sea. All of these are functions that elsewhere in the Greek world generally belong to other deities, such as Artemis, Aphrodite, and Athena, among others.[118] In fact, she probably represents, as has been suggested by several scholars, a survival of the Mycenaean chief female deity.[119] Although I have argued above (p. 59) that the Greeks did not know about Mycenaean civilization *per se*, this does not exclude the possibility that various cultural features (religion, most especially) may have survived: it merely excludes that the Greeks thought of them in those terms. Anything connected with the deep past was, in Archaic minds, attributed not to a previous height of civilization but rather to the Heroic Age as they knew it from myth. I suggest that the Achaeans of Italy thought they were worshipping in an old and therefore prestigious manner and, in particular, in the same way as their putative ancestors, the Homeric heroes. Cult practices in honor of Achaean Hera, therefore, contribute to the proclamation of Achaean ethnic identity.

Secondly, as noted above, the close parallels between cults of Achaean Hera and those of the Peloponnese remind us that, although the link to the Homeric heroes through

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[118] Giannelli 1963, 145-6; Kerenyi 1975, 172-3; Maddoli 1984, 321-4.

[119] Kerenyi 1975, 173; Giangiulio 1982, 35-41; Hall 1997, 105-6; Osanna 2002, 277-8; cf. Burkert 1983, 80-1, and more generally, Burkert 1985, 119-20.

the pre-Dorian population of the Argolid was crucial, Peloponnesian origins were also a crucial part of Achaean ethnic identity. Cultic parallels help draw this connection by recalling the other half of Achaean ethnic identity, namely, origins in the historical Peloponnese.[120] In fact, a similar sort of female deity with very broad functions was worshipped under various names in several parts of the Peloponnese, such as Athena Alea at Tegea and Demeter in the eastern Argolid.[121] As discussed above (pp. 49-51), the original populations of the Achaean cities may well have come from many regions of the northern Peloponnese, and they probably brought cults and cult practices with them from home, which were then fused into a new, synthetic conception of Hera.[122] By worshipping in the same way as these ancestors did, the Achaeans were performing their identity as Achaeans of the Peloponnese as well as Homeric Achaeans.

Flora and Fauna

Both the Argive Heraion and the Achaean cults give Hera a particular role as *potnia therōn* with control over both flora and fauna,[123] a role that is elsewhere normally associated with various eastern goddesses, such as Cybele, but also especially with

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[120] It is worth noting that these regions – the Argolid, Arcadia and Corinth – overlap substantially (but not perfectly) with the area described in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il*. 2.569-80) as the domain of Agamemnon (Osanna 2002; Kowalzig 2007, 306-8; Arena 2006-2007, 27-34), suggesting that this larger area may have had some lingering significance as a "Greater Achaea" associated with the heroic past, thus linking the two domains of Achaean identity.

[121] Giangiulio 1989, 65-6; Hall 1997, 101-5..

[122] Hall 2002a, 61-2; Giangiulio 2002, esp. his important comments (304-5) on the necessity of considering gradual development of religious ideologies in the Achaean colonies, rather than assuming cults were taken over wholesale from any other region.

[123] On the figure of the *potnia therōn* generally, see Giangiulio 1982, 8-10; Maddoli 1984, 315-16; Burkert 1983, 80-1. For Hera's association with bovines, see Giangiulio 1982, 8-9; Burkert 1983, 162-8.

Artemis.[124] The Argive Heraion was particularly associated with bovines.[125] In a well-known annual ritual immortalized by the story of Cleobis and Biton (Hdt. 1.31), the priestess of Hera was carried to the sanctuary in an ox-cart. Moreover, the mountain behind the temple was called Euboea ("good for cattle"), and this name is tightly linked to Hera herself through the myth in which the goddess was raised by the three daughters of the river Asterion, one of whom was Euboea (Paus. 2.17). Finally, the myth-complex of Io, Hermes, and Argos, which involves bovines at central points, was localized near the Heraion and in fact formed its *hieros logos*.[126] Evidence for the West primarily concerns Hera Lacinia. The sanctuary maintained an extensive sacred herd, while Theocritus writes of a bull sacrificed to Hera Lacinia.[127] Moreover, the founder of the sanctuary, Thetis, is described by Lycophron as a heifer, and Hannibal is said to have dedicated a golden heifer on top of a pre-existing golden column.[128] We may recall Hera's frequent epithet in Homer, βοῶπις, and the arguments adduced above (p. 71) for the centrality of bovines in Homeric society. Here a cultic attribute has entered literature – and perhaps the prestige of the literary tradition in turn lent additional meaning to the cult practice for those who claimed descent from the Homeric heroes.

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[124] Cf. Giangiulio 1982, 8-10.

[125] Giannelli 1963, 144-7; Burkert 1983, 161-8; De Polignac 1995, 41-3.

[126] Apollodorus 2.6; Plin. *NH* 16.239; Burkert 1983, 162-6.

[127] Sacred herd: Liv. 24.3.4-6. Bull sacrifice: Theoc. 4.20-22; see below (p. 106) for more discussion. Cf. Giangiulio 1982; De Polignac 1995, 103.

[128] Thetis: Lyc. *Alex*. 857-8. Hannibal: Cic. *De Div*. 1.48.

Achaean Hera was also associated with horses, even though Poseidon is more generally the patron of horses.[129] Diodorus (4.15.4) reports that a herd of horses, brought back to Eurystheus from Thrace by Heracles and dedicated to Hera, remained until the time of Alexander at (presumably) the Argive Heraion, within a few kilometers of Eurystheus' seat in the Argolid. Elsewhere in the Peloponnese, Hera was called *Hippia* at Olympia (Paus. 5.15.3.). Dedications of horses in both bronze and terracotta were found at Argos, Tiryns, Sicyon and Perachora, and a bronze horse is known from the Lacinion.[130] But the most extensive evidence comes from Poseidonia, where both at the urban sanctuary and at Foce del Sele, figurines have been unearthed of Hera holding small horses, a type also known from the same list of Peloponnesian sanctuaries, as well as Croton, Metapontion and Sybaris.[131] Hera's role as patron of horses in the West seems to be a reference to the way her worshippers' Peloponnesian ancestors perceived her.

In the floral realm, both Argive Hera and Lacinian Hera are strongly associated with pomegranates.[132] Argive Hera's cult statue by Polycleitus carried one, as did the statue of Milo, priest of Hera Lacinia.[133] Terracotta figurines of Hera holding a pomegranate and patera have been found at Poseidonia (both at Foce del Sele and at the

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[129] Yalouris 1950, 81-3; Giangiulio 1982, 9; Greco 1998, 52-3.

[130] Peloponnese: *Perachora* I, 126, 228-9; Greco 1998, 52, with references there. Lacinion: Spadea 1996, 54-5.

[131] Zancani Montuoro 1961, 35-7; Pedley 1990, 86, fig. IX; Greco 1998, 52-3, with references there.

[132] On Hera and the floral realm generally, see Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 19-25; *Foce del Sele* I, 15-16; Kerenyi 1975, 172; Giangiulio 1982, 10; 1989, 63. For pomegranates, see Muthmann 1982, 52-64; Giangiulio 1982, 11-12; Greco 1998, 57-8.

[133] Argive Heraion: Paus. 2.17.4. Milo: Philostr. *VA* 4.28; Paus. 6.14.5-6. For a further story associating Milo with pomegranates, see Ael. *Var. Hist.* 2.24; cf. Giangiulio 1982, 11; Greco 1998, 58.

urban sanctuary) and at Perachora.[134] Meanwhile, the terracotta pomegranates found at Foce del Sele strongly suggest that real ones were offered as well and constituted an important feature of this goddess' cult practice.[135] That Hera has here taken over an attribute more usually associated with Demeter and Kore – and with marriage and fertility – cannot be coincidental.[136]

Moreover, Livy describes an extensive sacred grove on the Lacinian promontory belonging to the sanctuary, a feature which led Lycophron to describe the sanctuary as a whole as an ὄρχατος and a κῆπος.[137] As in the case of the pomegranates, the terracotta flowers found at Foce del Sele probably indicate that fresh ones were offered as well.[138] Moreover, figurines combining a bust of Hera with flowers have been found at Poseidonia and at Tavole Palatine.[139] Meanwhile, Argive Hera had the additional epithet *Antheia* (Paus. 2.22.1), and in an annual festival her cult statue was crowned with flowers; this recalls the gold floral crown found in the archaic treasury at the Lacinion.[140] Flowers – the reproductive organs of certain plants that appear especially in the spring – were widely associated with the renewed fertility of nature after the winter, and symbolize nature's ability to regenerate itself without recourse to human civilization.

[134] Poseidonia: Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 220-2, fig. 7; Sestieri 1955, 155, figs. 10-11; Muthmann 1982, 53-5; Pedley 1990, 74, 88. Perachora: Greco 1998, 58; *Perachora* I, 218-9, pl. 95.

[135] Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 220-4, fig. 9.

[136] Giangiulio 1982, 11-12.

[137] Liv. 24.3.4; Lyc. *Alex*. 857-58 with schol.

[138] Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 219, 224-5, 338, fig. 11.

[139] Poseidonia: Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 222-6, fig. 13; *Foce del Sele* I, 16-17 with Tav. VII; Sestieri 1955,152, fig. 6. Tavole Palatine: Lo Porto 1982, fig. 24.5-7; De Juliis 2001, 96.

[140] Hera Antheia: Paus. 2.22.1, Pollux s.v. anthesphoroi; cf. Giangiulio 1982, 10. Festival: Paus. 2.17.3; Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 222. Lacinion: Spadea 1996, 76-9.

In general, Hera's connection with the natural world, and particularly with non-human fertility, is a key feature that links the Achaean, Argolic, and other Peloponnesian cults. We may compare the famous *hieros gamos* scene in the *Iliad* (14.346-9), in which the lovemaking of Hera and Zeus causes the natural world around them to flourish.[141] The union of Hera and Zeus – though it bears little resemblance to the Homeric version – is depicted on several clay *pinakes* unearthed at the urban sanctuary of Hera in Metapontion that have close parallels at three Peloponnesian sites: Perachora, the Argive Heraion, and the mountaintop sanctuary of Profitis Elias in the Argolid.[142] By worshipping Hera as a particularly Peloponnesian deity, the Achaeans were actively performing their identity according to their geographical origins, but they also believed that they were worshipping the same goddess their ancestors of the heroic age did.

Hera the Warrior

The role of patroness of warfare is more usually associated with Athena, but it is one of the most characteristic features of Achaean Hera.[143] One of the most distinctive rituals at the Argive Heraion involved a procession of ephebes in full armor, carrying a shield sacred to Hera, clearly treated as the patron of the citizen-soldier.[144] Moreover, the festival also included a contest in which the prize was a shield.[145] According to Pausanias

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[141] Kerenyi 1975, 99-103; Janko 1992, 171-2, 206; cf. Giangiulio 1982, 10.

[142] Mertens-Horn 2002.

[143] Guarducci 1952, 151-2; Sestieri 1955, 155-7; Giangiulio 1982, 15-19; 1989, 56-8; 2002, 294-6; Maddoli 1984, 316-17; Greco 1998, 49-51.

[144] Amandry 1980; Burkert 1983, 163-8; De Polignac 1995, 46.

[145] Pindar *Ol*. 7.83, *Nem*. 10.22-3; schol. ad Pind. *Ol*. 7.152, *Nem*. 10.39; cf. Arnold 1937; Giangiulio 1982, 17-18; Burkert 1983, 163; De Polignac 1995, 46-7.

(2.17.3), the shield taken from Euphorbus by Menelaus at Troy was displayed at the Heraion, thereby proclaiming Hera's role as a patron of warriors – and the connection of the cult to the Homeric heroes – to anyone who saw it.

Hera Lacinia, meanwhile, was associated by Lycophron (according to his commentator, Tzetzes) with a cult of Hera Hoplosmia in Elis; this epithet is extremely obscure, but clearly refers to the *hoplon*, the hoplite's shield. Strikingly, and importantly, the same epithet is also applied by Lycophron to Argive Hera (614): this Hellenistic scholar saw a strong connection between the two cults.[146] Other warrior Heras can be adduced from the northern Peloponnese, including at Sicyon, where she is called Alexandros, Prodromia, and Tropaia.[147] Further, the association of the cult of Hera Lacinia with a hero cult of Achilles (discussed below, pp. 109-111) offers a further connection between Achaean Hera and the greatest of the Homeric warriors.

The figure of Hera as the protector of the warrior is equally strong on the evidence of dedications. Warrior figurines, as well as dedications of actual or miniature weapons, have been found at Argos, Tiryns and Perachora, among Peloponnesian sites.[148] Western evidence comes primarily from Poseidonia, where a similar array of small arms and figurines has been found at the urban sanctuary. These include two small statues of Hera Promachos, a remarkable appropriation by one deity, Hera, of an iconographical

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[146] Giangiulio 1982, 15-16, quite correctly points out (against Giannelli 1963, 144, who argued that this epithet was invented by Lycophron) that Tzetzes illustrates the word by the Elean parallel, which is not recoverable solely from the text of the *Alexandra*; hence, Tzetzes found it in another source. Furthermore, it is *prima facie* unlikely that an Alexandrian poet-scholar such as Lycophron would invent such a datum.

[147] Alexandros: schol. ad Pind. *Nem*. 30. Prodromia: Paus. 2.11.2. Tropaia: Lyc. *Alex*. 1328. Cf. Guarducci 1952, 151-2.

[148] Guarducci 1952, 152, with references; Giangiulio 1982, 16-17; 2002, 294-6.

style usually associated with another, Athena.[149] Another important find from Poseidonia is a small silver disc with a sixth-century inscription calling on Hera as patron of the bow.[150] At the Lacinion, nothing fitting this model has been found, although, since no votive pits have been excavated, we must reserve judgment for lack of evidence.[151]

The figure of Milo, however, offers an intriguing possibility: he was the priest of Hera Lacinia, but also Croton's general in the war against Sybaris. Although he was a historical figure and thus this fact may seem to have little significance, Milo was sufficiently mythologized in the fifth century and later that such facts probably do have significance if they were remembered.[152] The image of Hera as a warrior appears to be a very old conception of the deity, widespread in the Peloponnese but particularly well developed in the Achaean West. This further demonstrates how Achaean Hera was perceived as referring to both the Homeric warriors and the warrior Heras of the Peloponnese, in order to construct an Achaean identity that incorporated both.

Women

Meanwhile, Hera's kourotrophic function is equally prominent.[153] This role as protector of human fertility is quite distinctive and differs from her better-known role in myth as the patron of marriage. She is widely assimilated to Eileithyia, another of the

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[149] Sestieri 1955, 156; Giangiulio 1982, 17 n. 52; Pedley 1990, 88. Hera Promachos: Sestieri 1955, 156-7.

[150] Guarducci 1952.

[151] Cf. Giangiulio 1982, 17.

[152] Giangiulio 1982, 18.

[153] *Foce del Sele* I,14-15; Sestieri 1955, 151-5; Kerenyi 1975, 172-3; Price 1978, esp. 141-7, 179-81; Giangiulio 1982, 26-30; Maddoli 1984, 318-18; Greco 1998, 48-9.

epithets used at the Argive Heraion,[154] and this connection to childbirth is related to the

statements in Homer (*Il*. 11.269ff) and Hesiod (*Theog*. 921-3) that Eileithyia was the

daughter of Hera. At Foce del Sele, meanwhile, a number of fourth-century figurines

depict Hera as Eileithyia.[155] More to the point, the skeletal remains of dogs sacrificed to

Hera in the *bothros* at Foce del Sele have puzzled scholars, since the Greeks did not

normally sacrifice dogs. But Eileithyia is one of the few exceptions, since dogs were

sacrificed to her at Argos.[156]

　　The ubiquitous terracotta figurines that were among the most common categories

of votives at all Greek sanctuaries also provide evidence of a close connection between

Hera and child-rearing, both in the Peloponnese and in the West. The type of a woman

holding an infant was most popular at Poseidonia.[157] Another type was the female with

both hands holding her breasts, of which innumerable examples have been found.[158] At

Poseidonia, this type was incorporated into a remarkable object, interpreted as a lamp, in

which four such figurines functioned as caryatids; parallels have now been adduced from

the Lacinion and elsewhere.[159] Although it is unclear whether these figurines are intended

to represent the dedicator or the goddess, in either case the image is of a mother nursing a

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[154] Hesych. s.v. *Eileithyias*.

[155] Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 219, fig. 8.

[156] Plut. Quaest. Rom. 52; cf. Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 306.

[157] Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 219, figs. 5-6; Pedley 1990, 74. 88.

[158] *Argive Heraeum*, 13 n. 12, 21 n. 57; Orsi 1911, 116; *Foce del Sele* I, 14; Sestieri 1955, 152-4; Giangiulio 1982, 29.

[159] Zancani Montuoro 1960; Giangiulio 1982, 27-30. Aspects of this lamp are also paralleled at the Persephoneion of Locri, and Zancani Montuoro (77) attributes all of them to a workshop at Taras.

child and the dedication represents Hera's patronage over this area of life.[160] This is a role

that Hera shares with numerous other deities, such as Artemis and Aphrodite.[161] That

Achaean Hera has retained functions that elsewhere were given to other goddesses further

supports the suggestion that she was a survival of an archaic generic female deity, which

the Achaeans would have seen in the light of their traditions of Homeric descent.

Rounding out the women's sphere, we may add dedications of clothing as a

further example of the connection of Hera to women's activities, since women were

generally in charge of weaving and the manufacture of clothing (including the prestigious

example of Homer's Penelope).[162] There is the story, preserved in Justin and Iamblichus,

that Pythagoras convinced the women of Croton to dedicate their luxurious clothing to

Hera.[163] A fabulous cloak is said to have been dedicated to Hera Lacinia by the Sybarite

Alkisthenes, and was still on display there during the reign of Dionysius I.[164] Finally, an

epigram (*Pal. Anth.* 6.265) by Nossis of Locri, a woman of the Hellenistic period, records

the dedication of her linenwork in the company of her mother and grandmother; this

remarkable epigram shows the socialization of younger generations by their elders as

they perform rituals at the sanctuary together.

Elsewhere in the Greek world, rituals involving clothing are known for a number

of deities, such as the well-known *peplophoros* for Athena at Athens (paralleled

elsewhere, including at the Samian Heraion). But at the Argive Heraion in particular,

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[160] Cf. Price 1978; 145-6.

[161] Price 1978; Giangiulio 1982, 29.

[162] Giangiulio 1982, 30-2; 1989, 61-2; Greco 1997, 194-9.

[163] Just. 20.4.12; Iamb. *VP* 56.

[164] *Mir. Ausc.* 96; Athen. 12.541a-b.

select young women wove clothing for Hera (Callim. F66.2-4), and a similar ritual occurred in the agora of Elis, where clothing was woven for dedication to Hera at Olympia (Paus. 6.24.10, 5.16.2). Although no dedications of clothing have survived to the present, due to the perishable nature of textiles, their necessary counterparts, loomweights, have been found as dedications at Foce del Sele.[165] These Peloponnesian parallels suggest that the association of Achaean Hera with clothing was felt to refer back to origins in the Peloponnese. On the other hand, again, Hera's appropriation of the spheres of other deities suggests that the Achaeans believed they were worshipping the same archaic divinity as their heroic ancestors.

The Sea

A final characteristic sphere of activity for Achaean Hera is the sea, sailing, and navigation – an obvious appropriation from Poseidon.[166] The most obvious way in which several sanctuaries make reference to the sea is in their location. The sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, on a large promontory in the territory of Corinth, allows its striking physical setting to speak for itself. Moreover, its location as the eastern end of the Corinthian Gulf made it a major stopping point for seaborne traffic, as suggested by the epithet of one of Perachora's subunits, the sanctuary of Hera Limenaia. Foce del Sele, too, was located at the junction between land and sea, at a river mouth that was used as a harbor,[167] suggesting that the sanctuary's association with the sea was seen in much the same light.

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[165] Greco 1997, 190-4.

[166] Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 227-8; *Foce del Sele* I, 17-19; Giangiulio 1982, 12-14; De Polignac 1994, 6-7.

[167] *IACP*, 287.

Moreover, a remarkable find of votive fishhooks indicates a continuing association between the Hera of Poseidonia and the sea.[168]

Most especially, however, the Lacinian promontory was a major coastal landmark, the most prominent feature on the entire Ionian coast.[169] It appears in virtually every *periplus* from Ps.-Scylax in the fourth century onwards, and it was frequently listed in geographical catalogues as a natural dividing point in theoretical geography (especially as a boundary of the Gulf of Tarentum), as an eminently practical navigational point, and as a way-station for ships making a coasting voyage.[170] Furthermore, although it is impossible to draw more than anecdotal conclusions from a single dedication, one of the most remarkable finds in the treasury at the Lacinion is a bronze model boat, most likely made by the Nuragic culture of Sardinia in the ninth century and then redeposited at least two centuries later.[171] Although this object was clearly not made specifically for dedication to Hera Lacinia, it is striking that a model boat was considered an appropriate offering to this goddess, who had control over the sea and seafaring. Moreover, the small pairs of ox-carts and doves attached to the boat draw a connection between Hera's roles as patron of navigation and of animals, showing how all of these seemingly disparate elements are in fact tightly interwoven into a new coherent whole: Achaean Hera.

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[168] Zancani Montuoro and Zanotti-Bianco 1937, 227, fig. 14.

[169] De Polignac 1995, 104.

[170] E.g., Ps.-Scylax 13; Dion. Per. 371; Plb. 34.11.9-10; Strabo 1.6.11; Pliny *NH* 3.5.43, 3.10.97; Ptol. *Geog*. 3.1.10; Verg. *Aen*. 3.552; App.*Samn*. 7.1.

[171] Spadea 1996, 56-8; Lilliu 2000.

Achaean Hera and Identity

It is important to question whether these cult attributes are in fact related to identity in any way. After all, the worship of Hera at these sanctuaries was open to anyone, whether Achaean, Greek, or even non-Greek, and such cult activity would have taken broadly similar forms regardless of who was involved. But context is everything, and while a certain superficial level of meaning would have pertained to everyone, those who subscribed to Achaean identity would have perceived a deeper level of meaning in these rituals, with major significance for their identity. The Achaeans claimed to be worshiping the gods in the same way that their ancestors – both Homeric and Peloponnesian – did, and hence they were proclaiming their belief in these origins each time they performed a ritual for Hera. Since cult activity was a central part of Greek life, and since Greek religion offered a bewildering array of possibilities (none of which were mutually exclusive), the specific way in which people chose to worship was a key variable in presenting their identity to themselves and to others.

Of course, the Achaeans worshiped many other gods as well. Important examples include the sanctuary of Apollo on the Crimissa promontory in the territory of Croton, the sanctuary of Poseidon at Agropoli at the southern boundary of Poseidonia's territory, and the temple of Athena Crathias set up by Croton on the site of the destroyed Sybaris, among many others,[172] and certainly most of these cults played important roles in constructing the multiple tiers of identity in which their worshippers participated. Most especially, the female deity worshipped at the sanctuary of San Biagio outside Metapontion seems from votive finds to have been a goddess of wide powers much like

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[172] The comprehensive catalog in Giannelli 1963 lists example of cults to almost every major deity in one or another Achaean city.

Achaean Hera, yet she is usually identified as Artemis, not Hera. Bacchylides (11.95-126) records the tradition that Artemis was brought to Metapontion by Achaean ancestors from Lousoi in Arcadia, a cult that drew influences from large areas of the northern Peloponnese.[173] The worship of Artemis thereby reminds the Metapontines of both their Homeric and Peloponnesian ancestry, and the worship of an archaic chief female deity, even if under a different name, plays a similar role in the construction of ethnic identity as Achaean Hera.

Indeed, it was Hera whose prominence across the cultic landscape of Achaean southern Italy – in stark contrast to other regions – was a noteworthy feature, one that demands an explanation. The Achaean cities of Italy – unlike the Achaeans of the Peloponnese – used the worship of this divinity as a means of constructing their ethnic identity out of two elements, Homeric and Peloponnesian, and it forms a major distinguishing feature of the Achaean ethnic group in Italy.

Argive Hera and Achaean Ethnicity

The connections between Achaean Hera and cults of Hera in the Argolid, moreover, offer an even deeper ethnic significance, since these Argolic cults – especially the famous Argive Heraion – played an important role in articulating the contrast between Achaean and Dorian identity. Although this famous temple is perhaps most familiar as an extra-urban sanctuary associated with the *polis* of Argos in, for example, the story of Cleobis and Biton in Herodotus (1.31), its status as a civic sanctuary only

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[173] Kowalzig 2007, 267-327, esp. 285-90 for Lousoi, 290-6 for San Biagio; see also Giangiulio 2002, 299-304; Morgan 2003, 183-4.

dates to the early fifth century.[174] Its take-over by Argos was part of a larger

consolidation of that city's role as hegemon of the Argolid in the 460s, marked especially

by the destruction of Mycenae and Tiryns.[175] It is from this later period, when the

Heraion had essentially become a civic sanctuary of Argos and a symbol of Argive

control of the region, that most of our evidence comes. This is why many scholars have

treated it as such,[176] and the question arises to what extent this evidence can be applied to

earlier times.

In order to assert control over the shrine for itself, Argos would need to take over

not just physical control of the sanctuary but also the rituals that constituted the

meaningful elements of the cult. For example, the agonic festival known as the Shield of

Argos was allegedly founded by the grandson of Danaos, a mythical figure closely

associated with Argos, rather than Mycenae or Tiryns, and, according to the same source,

the shield in question was in fact originally the shield of Danaos. Moreover, the first

temple at the Argive Heraion was said to have been built by Doros, the eponymous

ancestor of the Dorians.[177] These myths are a clear attempt to appropriate a pre-existing

ritual for the Dorian *polis* of Argos as a civic rite by tracing its establishment to a

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[174] Hall 1995; 1997, 104-5. The earliest definite evidence explicitly connecting Argive Heraion with the *polis* of Argos is Pin. *Nem*. 10.24, usually dated to 464.

[175] Hall 1995, 581-92. The independence of the eastern Argolic cities in the early fifth century is clear especially from the fact that while Argos took no part in the Persian Wars (Hdt. 7.148-52), Mycenae sent eighty hoplites to Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.202) and Mycenae and Tiryns together sent 400 to Plataea (Hdt. 9.28). It is a noteworthy feature of this assertion of hegemony by Argos that the archaic cult image from the Heraion at Tiryns was removed to the Argive Heraion, marking the centralization of Hera's worship and its take-over by Argos: Paus. 2.17.5, 8.46.3; Burkert 1983, 168-9.

[176] E.g., Burkert 1983, 162-8; De Polignac 1995, esp. 37, 52-3, somewhat revised in De Polignac 1994, 4-5. Cf. Hall 1995, 578-9.

[177] Danaos: Hyg. *Fab*. 273; cf. De Polignac 1995, 46; Giangiulio 1982, 17-8, and for his ethnic significance see Hall 1997, 87-99. Doros: Vitr. *De Arch*. 4.1.3.

quintessential Argive hero and the eponym of the *ethnos*, in an ethnically charged environment.[178] Thus, much of our evidence may reasonably be retrojected into the pre-Argive phase, and may be used to support what I argue here.

Prior to the mid-fifth century, the Argolid was the scene of ethnic division and conflict, claims and counter-claims, between the Dorians of Argos, on the western side of the Argive Plain, and the non-Dorians on the plain's eastern side, in cities such as Tiryns and (in the hills just at the border of the plain) Mycenae and Midea.[179] This ethnic boundary was constructed in part through different patterns of cult practices in different areas of the Argolid: cults of Hera were characteristic of the eastern side of the Argive Plain but were rare on the western side, including in the city of Argos.[180] On the eastern side, cults of Hera (and the Argive Heraion in particular) formed a focal point of non-Dorian resistance to the Dorians of Argos. They claimed to be the original inhabitants of the region, now threatened by invaders (the Dorians), and the worship of Hera was a means of putting into practice the myths by which they tried to stake their claim to the land.[181] This even played out in real-life politics in the run-up to the Argive destruction of Mycenae, since the latter city's claim to the Heraion was one of the main bones of contention (Diod. 11.65.2). Although these residents of the eastern Argive Plain are

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[178] Cf. Hall 1995, 608-10, on similar transformations of the Io myth, as well as those surrounding the Nemean Games.

[179] Hall 1997, 67-99, educes this conflict especially through competing myth-complexes localized on each side of the plain, especially that of the brothers Proitos and Akrisios, who divided the Argive Plain between them: Akrisios received Argos, while Proitos took "the Heraion, Midea, Tiryns, and the coastal parts" of the plain: Paus. 2.16.2, Apollodorus 2.2.1. The details of these myths do not seem to have had any significance in Italy, only the cult patterns.

[180] Hera's early prominence in the eastern plain can be seen in the eighth-century cults at Tiryns, Prosymna and the Heraion itself, as well as possibly on the citadel of Mycenae, at the Agamemnoneion, at Profitis Elias, and elsewhere: Hall 1995, 596-606; 1997, 104.

[181] Hall 1997, 99-106, 138-40.

nowhere explicitly called Achaeans, Jonathan Hall has argued that the term "Achaeans" did have contemporary relevance for these non-Dorians in the early Archaic Period.[182]

More importantly, these Argolic Achaeans do appear to have used the by-now familiar strategy of articulating a deeper claim to territory by appealing to a greater antiquity via the Homeric heroes – an appeal that was closely linked to their worship of Hera.[183] The builders of the so-called Old Temple Terrace wall at the Heraion may have deliberately imitated the Cyclopean architecture that they would have associated with visible remains of the Heroic Age.[184] Moreover, many of the shrines of Hera across the eastern Argive Plain were on sites where Bronze Age activity is attested,[185] suggesting that those who participated in rituals there thought they were doing so in the same manner – and in the same places – as their heroic-age predecessors. I suggest that the Achaeans of Italy deliberately adopted cults of Achaean Hera in order to insert themselves into the same framework of ethnic differentiation between Achaeans and Dorians that operated in the Argolid.[186]

Even Bacchylides' account of the cult of Artemis in Metapontion (11.95-126) employs this ethnic framework, albeit somewhat differently. The poet describes how the daughters of Proitos were driven mad when they insulted the wealth of Hera (presumably referring to her temple, the Argive Heraion); they fled to Lousoi in Arcadia, where

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[182] Hall 2002a, 54-5.

[183] Wright 1982, 193-200; Hall 1997, 138-40; 2002b, 96-7. For further discussion of the appeal to the heroic past, especially through tomb cult, see Antonaccio 1994; 1995, esp. 249-52, 262-3.

[184] Wright 1982, 197-0; Hall 1997, 138; *contra*, Antonaccio 1992, 95. These builders are usually assumed to be Argive (e.g., Wright 1982, 197-200; Antonaccio 1992, 103-5), but may equally well be Achaean.

[185] Hall 1995, 604; 1997, 138-40; 2002b, 94-6.

[186] Cf. Osanna 2002; Kowalzig 2007, 303-5.

Artemis gave them refuge, and she was eventually brought to Metapontion. The early scenes of this myth are firmly localized in the eastern Argive Plain, at the Heraion (47-52) and at Tiryns, where Proitos was king (57-8, 69-84).[187] Although the poem is an *aition* of a cult of Artemis, it is Hera who is the driving force in the myth. This is a good example of a resistance myth, in which a human individual or group offends a deity, is punished, and a ritual is founded in atonement.[188] Thus, the prominence of Hera in the poem is a reflection of her importance in Metapontine culture. Moreover, Artemis is subtly merged with Hera: Proitos offers Artemis a sacrifice of twenty oxen (Hera's animal) in exchange for his daughters (104-5) and refers to her by Hera's traditional epithet, βοῶπις (99).[189] I suggest that Bacchylides has recognized and incorporated into his myth the similarities between Metapontine Artemis and Achaean Hera and the role of both deities in constructing Achaean ethnicity via the Argolid.[190]

The significance of the distribution of Hera cults in the Argive Plain is underlined by comparison with the cultic landscape of the hill country of the eastern Argolid, a region that includes such cities as Troizen, Epidaurus, Hermione, and Asine. There, Hera cults are extremely rare (Pausanias reports only two in the entire region)[191] but Demeter is common. Demeter seems to fill the same cultic niche in the eastern Argolid as Hera does in the eastern Argive Plain. The same types of dedications – including terracotta

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[187] On the relationship between the Proitids, Hera, and the ethnic boundaries of the Argolid, see Kowalzig 2007, 274-83.

[188] Kowalzig 2007, 276.

[189] Kowalzig 2007, 278-81.

[190] Cf. Cairns 2005, 36-7.

[191] At Epidauros and Halieis: Paus. 2.29.1, 2.36.2. Cf. Hall 1997, 101-5.

pomegranates and cakes, as well as loomweights – are found in the two sets of

sanctuaries, and Pausanias' description of Polycleitus' cult image in the Argive Heraion

(2.17.4) indicates shared iconographical elements, especially the polos, wreath and

pomegranate. Demeter and Hera seem to be mutually exclusive cults in that they both

preside over the same functions, especially fertility and marriage, but in different regions.

They are essentially the same goddess – the Mycenaean chief female deity – under

different names.[192]

Thus, the sharply divided localization of Hera in the eastern Argive Plain is

especially striking and deserves a special explanation. Hall proposes that Hera was a

particular focus of worship for those on the eastern side of the Argive Plain who

constructed their identity as descendents of the pre-Dorian inhabitants of the same

regions, that is, heroic-age figures such as Agamemnon (usually located at Mycenae) and

Heracles (scion of the royal house of Tiryns).[193] I suggest that the Achaeans of Italy were

aware of this ethnic dimension to the worship of Hera (and not just of any Hera, but of

the particular type of Hera worshiped in the Argolid), and took it over for their own use.

This would be particularly relevant in the context of the creation of ethnic contrasts with

the Dorians of Taras and elsewhere, which I argued above (pp. 56-58) led to Achaean

ethnogenesis: just as conflict between the Dorians of Argos and the non-Dorians of other

Argolic communities was mediated for the latter by the worship of Hera, so too in Italy,

these cults helped the Achaeans declare their advantage in struggles against Taras and

Locri. The Achaeans began to construct their own identity as descendents of the Homeric

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[192] See generally Hall 1997, 101-4.

[193] Hall 1997, 105-6. For Heracles at Tiryns, cf. *Il*. 19.121-4; Hes. *Theog*. 292.

heroes – formerly resident in the Argolid – by importing this ethnic dimension onto their own cultic landscape.

The worship of Hera, therefore, played a crucial role in mediating Achaean ethnic identity. However, one point must be made clear: nowhere is participation in a Hera cult considered a defining criterion of Achaean ethnicity.[194] Rather, the cults provide a means by which another criterion – putative descent from Homeric heroes and Peloponnesian settlers – can be expressed and substantiated. The specific nature of Achaean Hera allowed the participants in her rituals to proclaim their double identity as Achaeans with both Homeric and Peloponnesian ancestors, but it was the claim of descent from these ancestors that actually defined the participant as Achaean. Moreover, the role of Hera in ethnic conflicts in the Argolid allowed the Achaeans of Italy to sharpen the focus of their constructed identity on these dual origins by linking their conflict with the Dorians of Taras to analogous ethnic conflicts in the Peloponnese. Thus, religion played a central and very complex role in the construction of a new Achaean ethnic identity in Italy.

Hera Lacinia, Croton, and the Achaeans

One Hera cult in particular offers an even more complex picture, in part because we have far more literary evidence for it than for any other cult of Achaean Hera. The sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, about six miles from Croton, played a crucial role in constructing both Crotoniate and Achaean identity. It serves as a case study, which I will investigate in more detail, for the interaction of two tiers of identity. While I argued

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[194] For the concept of the criteria of ethnicity, see the Introduction, pp. 4-5.

above that cults of Hera played a role in constructing Achaean ethnic identity, here I will argue that Hera Lacinia was crucial for Crotoniate civic identity and for the conflation – or rather, the parallel development – of the civic and ethnic tiers of identity.

Foundations

Like many major sanctuaries, Hera Lacinia has its own separate foundation stories, albeit ones that are tightly linked to those of the city of Croton. According to Diodorus (4.24.7),

> Heracles crossed over into Italy with the cattle and proceeded along the coast; there he slew Lacinius as he was attempting to steal some of the cattle, and to Croton, whom he killed by accident, he accorded a magnificent funeral and erected for him a tomb; and he foretold to the natives of the place that in later times a famous city would arise that would bear the name of the man who had died.

> Ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς μετὰ τῶν βοῶν περαιωθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προῆγε διὰ τῆς παραλίας, καὶ Λακίνιον μὲν κλέπτοντα τῶν βοῶν ἀνεῖλε, Κρότωνα δὲ ἀκουσίως ἀποκτείνας ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασε· προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ὅτι [καὶ] κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους ἔσται πόλις ἐπίσημος ὁμώνυμος τῷ τετελευτηκότι.

An important detail is added by a parallel source, Servius: Heracles also founded the sanctuary at this time.[195] Crucially, however, Heracles does not actually found the city of Croton (in fact, Servius does not even mention the city) but merely foretells a future foundation.[196] This unusual feature makes the sanctuary actually precede the city, and the city's existence is made to depend on that of the sanctuary.

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[195] Servius ad *Aen*. 3.552: Iunonis Laciniae templum, secundum quosdam a rege conditore dictum, secundum alios a latrone Lacinio, quem illic Hercules occidit, et loco expiato Iunoni templum constituit. Cf. Giangiulio 1982, 53.

[196] *Contra* Iambl. *VP* 50, where Heracles does found the city; this somewhat confused passage has most likely transformed the story into a more common type. On the prophetic role of Heracles here, see Giangiulio 1982, 56-7.

The prominence of Heracles at Croton dates from at least the late sixth century, when the general Milo marched off to war with Sybaris wearing a lion skin as a new Heracles (Diod. 12.9.5-6). The Crotoniates thus called upon Heracles as their civic hero to support them in this war. Not long afterwards, during the period of their supremacy, the Crotoniates brought the bow and arrows of Heracles from the extra-urban sanctuary where they had been dedicated by Philoctetes to Croton itself (Ps.-Arist. *Mir.Ausc.* 107). This seems to have been a political maneuver much like the Spartan repatriation of the bones of Orestes (Hdt. 1.67-8) or Cimon's of the bones of Theseus (Plut. *Thes*. 36.1-4), and allowed Croton to claim Heracles as its patron and divine helper. Later in the fifth century, a series of coins (see above, pp. 65-66) show Heracles as OIKIΣTHΣ, surely referring to a version of the story here, especially since another coin series is known combining a similar obverse of Heracles with a head of Hera Lacinia on the reverse.[197] Thus, although the sources for the Heracles foundation myth are late, sufficient evidence exists to make it quite likely that the myth itself dates back to the sixth century and the formative period of Crotoniate identity.

The presence of Greek heroes – whether Heracles, Jason, or a hero on his *nostos* from Troy – in the West, and the role such heroes play as founders of cities, have often been taken as charter myths, developed as a result of colonial anxiety over the recentness of their city's foundation. These myths served to retroject the colony's presence into the heroic past and legitimate its possession of territory in the present, since they allowed it to claim an older and deeper right to the land than any non-Greek natives (or anyone

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[197] The earlier coins are Rutter 2001, 2139-40; the latter are 2159-61. On Heracles at Croton in general, see Giangiulio 1982, 52-3; 1989, 70-2.

else).[198] In this myth, however, Heracles is the founder not of Croton but of the Lacinion itself. It is the sanctuary, not the city, that has a claim to the Lacinian promontory, and the city is subordinated to it, since the sanctuary pre-existed the city.[199] Croton's existence is therefore sanctioned by its association with the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, and its claim to its territory is legitimated through the sanctuary's ties to the land.

The goddess's cult epithet, Lacinia, offers further support for the idea that the cult's connection to the territory stands ahead of its connection to the city. The word is simply derived from the place-name: it has no meaning in Greek, but merely denotes that particular Hera who is worshipped on the Lacinian Promontory; she is thereby derived from this natural feature of the coastline.[200] The impression given is that the cult has been there since the time of Heracles; the goddess is as old as the promontory that gave her its name. However, this landform was part of the territory of the *polis* of Croton at all periods; city and promontory were inextricably linked.[201] The existence of a cult that was at once inextricably tied to the land and to the city helps to legitimate Crotoniate possession of this territory.

On the other hand, the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΣ coins suggest that, regardless of the myths that have been passed down to us in literary sources, Heracles was, at least sometimes, considered the founder of the city of Croton.[202] In fact, the city and the sanctuary seem to

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[198] On the concept of the charter myth, see Malkin 1994, 4; 1998, 20-1, and see above, pp. 60-3.

[199] Cf. Giannelli 1963, 144, who, however, takes far too historicizing an approach to this text.

[200] Giangiulio 1982, 7-8; 1989, 55.

[201] See Osanna 1992, 170-2, 242-3, for the extent of territory in different periods; more importantly, however, the Lacinian promontory was thought of as Crotoniate territory.

[202] Cf. Giannelli 1963, 143.

have been so entwined in the Crotoniates' minds that different versions of the myth flowed into each other: to found the Lacinion was to found the city, and vice versa. Thus, the important point is simply to recognize the close connection between the two. This myth embodies the sanctuary's critical role in the construction of Crotoniate identity in the close connection between the foundations and in the chronological relationship of the two.

Of course, the founding hero chosen is not any of the Homeric heroes, but rather Heracles, which causes some difficulty in attaching this myth to Achaean identity. Heracles was certainly an important figure in the heroic age who could easily play a central role in linking a community to an imagined Bronze Age past. Indeed, Heracles was a scion of the royal house of Tiryns, in the eastern Argive Plain, and thus specifically links Croton into the ethnically charged environment discussed above. Similarly, the close connection between Heracles and Hera, so different from what we see in most Heracles stories, is paralleled in the Argolid and thus represents another connection to cultic patterns on the eastern side of the Argive Plain.[203] On the other hand, Heracles featured in a great variety of stories, localized in numerous places. Diodorus' comprehensive account of his travels in Italy and Sicily (4.21-4) locates him at no fewer than eleven sites, and he founds a sanctuary or ritual in most of them.[204] It seems difficult, therefore, to distinguish Croton from other cities where Heracles traveled.

However, the Crotoniates would not have seen it this way. To them, Heracles was the founder both of their city itself and of their primary civic sanctuary, and the fact that

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[203] Giangiulio 1982, 53-7.

[204] Rome, Campi Phlegraei, Lake Avernus, Poseidonia, border of Locri and Rhegium, Himera, Eryx, Syracuse, Leontini, Agyrium, Croton.

other cities claimed Heracles for themselves would not have diminished their pride in their Heraclean origins. Heracles was thus central to Crotoniate identity as the founder who represented the city's link to its ancestors in the heroic age. Diodorus' foundation narrative has little bearing on Achaean identity, but instead indicates the sanctuary's significance for Crotoniate civic identity.

A different story, found in Lycophron (*Alexandra* 856-8), leads in an entirely different direction.[205]

> ἥξει δὲ Σῖριν καὶ Λακινίου μυχούς,
> ἐν οἶσι πόρτις ὄρχατον τεύξει θεᾷ
> Ὁπλοσμίᾳ φυτοῖσιν ἐξησκημένον.
>
> He (sc. Menelaus) will come to Siris and the inner corners of Lacinium,
> in which a heifer will dedicate a grove, adorned with trees,
> to the goddess Hoplosmia.

Although Lycophron's compressed and highly allusive style and delight in the obscure make interpretation difficult, we can make some headway. In the context of his *nostos*, Menelaus will come to "the inner corners of Lacinium," where a heifer (interpreted by the scholia as Thetis) will found a sanctuary to the goddess Hoplosmia (with which the scholiast identifies a cult of Hera in Elis). Like Diodorus, Lycophron puts the foundation of the Lacinion into the heroic age, but he associates it with the Homeric *nostoi* rather than Heracles, providing a closer association with Achaean identity than with the city of Croton. More specifically, the sanctuary of Hera is founded by Menelaus, one of the two leaders of the Homeric Achaeans, and Thetis, mother of their greatest champion. Lycophron then goes on to describe the hero cult of Achilles that also existed in the

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[205] The scholiast to Serv. ad *Aen*. 3.552 also knows the story of Thetis' gift, but offers no further details.

Lacinion (on which see below, pp. 109-111), and links this cult to the foundation of the sanctuary as a whole. The cult is closely associated with important Homeric heroes, and should contribute to the Homeric strand of Achaean identity.

On the other hand, the cult epithet Hoplosmia attributed to Hera Lacinia by Lycophron suggests a connection to a cult of Hera in Elis – in the historical Peloponnese, but not in Achaea itself.[206] Lycophron's emphasis on the Lacinion's connection to the Peloponnese is further illuminated by the existence of a ritual for Achilles in the city of Elis.[207] The strong connections between the cult of Hera Lacinia and the Peloponnesian strand of Achaean identity are on display here as well. In fact, it seems that Lycophron has recognized the combination of the two threads of Achaean identity: the Homeric Achaeans (in the persons of Menelaus and Thetis) and the Peloponnese as a whole. But, crucially, there is nothing about Croton: civic identity is entirely absent. These two entirely different foundation stories in Diodorus and Lycophron speak to the construction of two separate but related tiers of identity – civic and ethnic – through the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia.

Hera and the Crotoniates

The centrality of the cult of Hera Lacinia in Crotoniate civic identity appears in several other ways. One source, Theocritus 4.20-22, speaks of a sacrifice to Hera by the *dāmotai*; this passage is worth quoting in full:

λεπτὸς μὰν χὠ ταῦρος ὁ πυρρίχος. αἴθε λάχοιεν   20
τοὶ τῶ Λαμπριάδα, τοὶ δαμόται ὅκκα θύωντι

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[206] For the epithet, see above, p. 85.

[207] Paus. 6.23.3; Giangiulio 1982, 42-3.

τᾷ Ἥρᾳ, τοιόνδε· κακοχράσμων γὰρ ὁ δᾶμος.

The bull's thin too – the ruddy one. I hope Lampriadas'   20
folk may get such another when the demesmen sacrifice
to Hera: they're rascals in that deme. (trans. Gow)

The word *dāmotai* is not further elaborated. Although it is clear from the larger context that Theocritus' characters have met near Croton (see esp. 4.32-3, where the city and the Lacinian promontory are named), it is not clear which citizens are participating in this sacrifice. The word *dāmos* in line 22 has been taken to mean a deme, a rural community or civic subdivision on the Athenian model, and the *dāmotai* to be either members of that smaller community or (as Gow prefers) members of all such smaller communities.[208] I suggest further that the implication of the lack of specification is that, at least notionally and at least in Theocritus' mind, *all* the citizens of Croton were supposed to participate (whether divided into civic subunits or not). In other words, a requirement for being regarded as a full member of the civic community – not in terms of a legal or juridical category of citizenship but simply in the sense of being accepted as a member of the community – was participating in this sacrifice of a bull to Hera Lacinia. This interpretation implies the importance of this sanctuary for Crotoniate civic identity.

In particular, the festival that is implied here seems to have the function of bringing the citizens together and uniting them with their goddess, both men and (as we shall see below, pp. 109-110) women. Several scholars have suggested that the Crotoniate ritual of the bovine sacrifice played a similar role in civic life to those in other

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[208] Gow 1950, II.80-1; cf. Giangiulio 1982, 59.

cities, such as the Bouphonia at Athens and especially the Heraia at Argos.[209] On this

theory, the ritual mentioned by Theocritus would be a major civic festival marking the

renewal of the citizen body and re-establishing the civic order. The strong association of

the Lacinion with the foundation of Croton's civic order suggests that its (presumably

annual) refoundation would also involve rituals at the sanctuary, and these rituals in turn

imply the central role of Hera Lacinia in constructing Crotoniate civic identity.

Various historical events and personages also suggest the strong connection

between the Lacinion and Croton's civic identity. The Crotoniate civic hero Milo, who

dates to the latter part of the sixth century, is strongly connected to this cult: as mentioned

above, he was in fact a priest of Hera Lacinia.[210] Philostratus uses this datum to interpret

a statue of Milo at Olympia in which he is wearing a fillet as a priest and holding a

pomegranate, an important cult attribute of Hera (see above, pp. 82-83). While it is

usually accepted that Philostratus saw a genuine Late Archaic or Early Classical statue

set up by the Crotoniates, or even by Milo himself, it is less clear whether Philostratus'

interpretation of the statue's iconography accurately preserves the original intentions of

its erector some seven hundred years later, as Catherine Keesling has forcefully

argued.[211] On the other hand, Philostratus' account (unlike Pausanias', with which

Keesling is primarily concerned) requires the added information that Milo was a priest of

Hera, information that would most likely have been readily available in historiographical

sources now lost, especially those derived from Timaeus. If this fact is accurate, then the

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[209] Graf 1981, 167-70, drawing on Burkert 1983, 161-7; cf. Giangiulio 1982, 59-61; 1989, 73-7; 2002, 284-5, who educes the renewal of the community especially from the Heracles myth, in which the civic order originates from a primordial act of violence.

[210] Philostratus *VA* 4.28; cf. Paus. 6.14.5-6.

[211] Keesling 2005, 49-57.

official presentation to the outside world either of Milo by himself or of their civic hero by the Crotoniates, at a major panhellenic sanctuary, showed him integrally linked to Croton's civic cult. Olympic victories were always crucial to cities' pride in their accomplishments, and especially so for Croton;[212] Milo's status as civic hero seems to have originated in his remarkable string of eight Olympic victories in wrestling, including seven consecutively, in the late sixth century.[213] Thus, Milo's self-presentation suggests a nexus between Croton's civic identity, for which athletic prowess was crucial, and the cult of Hera Lacinia.

A second historical figure associated with Hera Lacinia is Astylus, another Crotoniate Olympic victor whose statue was set up in the Lacinion itself (Paus. 6.13.1). The location of this statue in an extra-urban sanctuary is particularly noteworthy, as victory statues were normally erected – if not at Olympia, as in the case of Milo – in the city itself, at important locations in civic life, such as the agora.[214] In this case, the choice of the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia suggests that the temple occupies this space in the civic identity of Croton. The postscript to this story, as found in Pausanias, is equally illuminating. Astylus won his first victory in 488 as a Crotoniate, but for his other two victories (in 484 and 480) he had himself proclaimed as a Syracusan, in order to please Hieron (or, more likely, Gelon: see Chapter Two, pp. 137-138). In response to this, the Crotoniates savagely attacked and tore down his statue and decreed that his house (presumably in the city of Croton) be turned into a prison. In other words, Astylus'

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[212] On Crotoniate athletics, see Giangiulio 1989, 102-21.

[213] Giangiulio 1989, 296-9.

[214] Giangiulio 1989, 297.

attempts to gain the favor of the tyrant of Syracuse by joining his court and his city were understood as a rejection of Croton's civic identity. Whereas at first the sanctuary had been the site of honors for a great civic hero, it now became the scene of the repudiation of those honors. This important civic site could not be allowed to be besmirched by the presence of someone who denied his Crotoniate identity, and it was considered an appropriate place for someone to be stripped of his membership in the community. These events suggest the importance role of the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia as a place where Crotoniate civic identity was constructed.

But the significance of the cult of Hera Lacinia went far beyond the civic identity of Croton. I have described above how the goddess and her cult were typical of the Achaean Hera. Thus, Hera Lacinia was also a goddess of the Achaean ethnic group. Now, this does not mean that her sanctuary was necessarily a focal point for all Achaean cities, either in the sense of a formal meeting place of a political league or as a less-formal shared gathering place of an *ethnos*.[215] Rather, I argue, it means that by worshipping this form of Hera as their primary civic deity, the Crotoniates were proclaiming their identity as Achaeans – their ethnic identity is part of their civic identity, and need not necessarily imply that other cities are felt to be part of the same ethnic group.

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[215] There is only one piece of evidence that leads in this direction: the reports in *Mir. Ausc.* (96) and in Athenaeus (12.541a-b) of the fabulous cloak of Alcimenes the Sybarite which was dedicated at the festival of Hera Lacinia "to which all the *Italiōtai* come" and which was stolen by Dionysius and sold to the Carthaginians. The word *Italiōtai* normally means "the Greeks of Italy," who of course included many non-Achaeans, and while I would not want to press the word divorced of context, the report that a Sybarite (i.e., an Achaean) made a dedication at the sanctuary is not enough to support the claim that the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia was a central shrine for the entire ethnic group.

Mourning for Achilles in Croton

This interpretation is strongly supported by the presence of a hero cult of Achilles

in the same sanctuary as the temple of Hera Lacinia. Again, the source is Lycophron's

Alexandra (859-65):

> γυναιξὶ δ' ἔσται τεθμὸς ἐγχώροις ἀεὶ
> πενθεῖν τὸν εἰνάπηχυν Αἰακοῦ τρίτον   860
> καὶ Δωρίδος, πρηστῆρα δαΐου μάχης,
> καὶ μήτε χρυσῷ φαιδρὰ καλλύνειν ῥέθη
> μήθ' ἁβροπήνους ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι πέπλους
> κάλχῃ φορυκτούς, οὕνεκεν θεᾷ θεὸς
> χέρσου μέγαν στόρθυγγα δωρεῖται κτίσαι.   865

> And it shall be for all time an ordinance for the women of the land
> to mourn the nine-cubit hero [sc. Achilles], third in descent from Aeacus   860
> and Doris, the hurricane of battle strife,
> and not to deck their radiant limbs with gold,
> nor array them in fine-spun robes stained
> with purple – because a goddess [sc. Thetis] to a goddess [sc. Hera]
> presents that great spur of land [sc. Lacinium] to be her dwelling-place.   865

The identity of these "women of the land" is not further specified, as in the passage of

Theocritus discussed above (p. 104), where the *dāmotai* who are to perform a sacrifice

are left unspecified. I therefore interpret this in like fashion, as reflecting an

understanding that, at least notionally, *all* women of the land (presumably Croton,

although that too is not specified) would participate in this mourning ritual.[216]

This ritual is undoubtedly early, as it seems to be presupposed in the story of

Leonymus, the Crotoniate general at the Sagra in the mid-sixth century, who was said to

have been wounded by the hero Ajax (who was fighting for Locri) and sent to the White

Island in the Black Sea to recover, where he met the shades of Achilles and other

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[216] Maurizio Giangiulio has argued that this phrase refers instead to a college of priestesses, on the basis of an Elean parallel (see next paragraph).

heroes.[217] Moreover, it is *prima facie* unlikely that such a ritual would be a later

development, since it fits closely together with its context and the associated cult of Hera,

especially through the role of Thetis in the foundation of Hera's cult.[218] Rather, the hero

cult of Achilles is well-integrated into its Achaean setting and must be accounted for.[219]

Cults of Achilles are known in a number of places, especially in the Black Sea region, as

well as mourning rituals for other heroes.[220] Most especially, in a ritual at the Old

Gymnasium in the agora of Elis – to which Lycophron draws an implicit parallel by

describing Hera Lacinia as Hoplosmia – the Elean women lamented for Achilles around a

cenotaph;[221] the identity of these women is not clear, either.[222] On the basis of these

scraps of information, it seems that the mourning ritual for Achilles was understood as a

continuation of rituals conducted by the Crotoniates' Peloponnesian ancestors and

thereby as a reference to their Peloponnesian identity.

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[217] Paus. 3.19.11-13; cf. Giannelli 1963, 149; Giangiulio 1982, 44.

[218] Giangiulio 1982, 44; 1989, 125-6; 2002, 287-8; Maddoli 1984, 317-18.

[219] Giangiulio 1982, 43-5; 1989, 68-9; 2002, 287-8.

[220] Achilles in the Black Sea: Farnell 1921, 286-7. Mourning rituals: Giangiulio 1982, 42-3.

[221] Paus. 6.23.3: Ἀχιλλεῖ δὲ οὐ βωμός, κενὸν δέ ἐστιν αὐτῷ μνῆμα ἐκ μαντείας· τῆς πανηγύρεως δὲ ἀρχομένης ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ περὶ ἀποκλίνοντα ἐς δυσμὰς τοῦ ἡλίου τὸν δρόμον αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Ἠλεῖαι ἄλλα τε τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως δρῶσιν ἐς τιμὴν καὶ κόπτεσθαι νομίζουσιν αὐτόν. Cf. Giangiulio 1982, 43-52; 1989, 123-6.

[222] Since the ritual was performed quadrennially on the day before the opening of the Olympic festival, the phrase αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Ἠλεῖαι has been taken to refer to a college of priestesses who also had functions at the festival (see Giangiulio 1982, 43 and references there; Giangiulio 1989, 124-6; 2002, 297). However, this is not necessary, and the phrase would more naturally refer to a broader group; more importantly, even if this hypothesis is correct, it need not necessarily have any bearing on the Crotoniate cult.

Now, women's mourning rituals are also common in Homer; lamenting the dead is a typical role for women to play in Homeric society.[223] Therefore, the significance of this ritual is to be found especially in its performative aspect: by mourning for Achilles, the best of the Achaeans, these women are performing their identity and actually *become* Homeric Achaean women.[224] Only a woman who does this, then, can be fully accepted as a member of the Achaean community. But we do not hear of Sybarite or Caulonian women participating in this ritual, though perhaps they could if they wished. The hero cult of Achilles on the Lacinian promontory, therefore, falls at the intersection of ethnic and civic identity, as indeed does the cult of Hera associated with it, since both were central to the construction of both Crotoniate and Achaean identity.

Conclusion

I have attempted to identify the ways in which the Achaean cities of Italy went to great lengths to construct both civic and ethnic identities for themselves through an intricately woven tapestry of elements such as myths of origin, images on coins, and cults and rituals. Neither of these identities stood in a vacuum. Civic identity most likely began to develop first, as each small settlement nucleus slowly began to organize itself as a *polis*. Cities such as Croton and Metapontion incorporated the concept of descent from both Homeric and Peloponnesian Achaeans into their civic identity, as we see from the

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[223] The Cyclic scene of lament of Thetis and the nymphs for Achilles (in the *Aithiopis*), is alluded to at *Od*. 24.15-94; Pind. *Isthm*. 8.62-4. For Homeric laments more generally, see, e.g., *Il*. 24.707-804. On the relationship of the Crotoniate cult to epic, see Giangiulio 1982, 45-6.

[224] Farnell 1921, 288-9.

close connection between the two tiers in the cult practices at the Lacinion. This development and the recognition that this claimed descent was common to a number of cities probably proceeded in tandem. The result was an ethnic group unlike many *ethnē* in mainland Greece, in which the *ethnos* comes before the *polis* or other nucleated settlement; rather, this was an ethnic group whose members were, first and foremost, cities, and for which ethnic identity was deeply intertwined with civic identity.

It is, meanwhile, important also to notice the tiers of identity that do not come into play in southern Italy in this period. Geographic identity seems nowhere to be found. There is no name for the region inhabited by the Achaeans of Italy as there is for Peloponnesian Achaea; hence the proliferation of paraphrases in this chapter. The Achaeans thus fail one of Smith's six tests for an ethnic group, as I discuss in the Introduction (pp. 6-7).[225] In fact, it is not even clear that what we think of as southern Italy was thought of as a unit until quite late. Although the word Italy is used quite early, it initially applied only to far southern Calabria, and was then extended to include the coastline from Poseidonia all the way around to Metapontion – thereby excluding Taras, which was considered part of Iapygia, a separate region.[226] Other regional terms such as Oenotria or Opicia applied at various periods as well,[227] so there could be no sense of geographic unity that would cut across ethnic lines. The word *Italiōtēs* appears in Herodotus (4.15.2), but first gained prominence in 415, when the Rhegines refused to give aid to the Athenians until a common decision of the Italiotes could be reached (it

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[225] Smith 1986, 22-30.

[226] Strabo 6.1.4, 15, citing Antiochus.

[227] Oenotria: Hdt. 1.167.3; Strabo 6.1.4. Opicia: Thuc. 6.4.5.

apparently never was).[228] A geographic identity then became more important in the fourth century as a result of the invasions of Dionysus of Syracuse. It is this slow shift and the simultaneous transfer of leadership from Croton to Taras in the mid-fourth century that signals the decline and eventual disappearance of the Achaean *ethnos* as a living entity.

Similarly, there is no firm indication that Hellenic identity was particularly prominent in Archaic Italy. There are mixed reports about the early relations between the Greek colonies and the indigenous peoples. Taras was allegedly founded as "a bane to the Iapygians," whereas several native cities between Croton and Sybaris were said to have been founded by Epeios or Philoctetes, in what Hall describes as an environment of familiarization, rather than of hostility.[229] But there was clearly no systematic subjugation of barbarians by a self-proclaimed superior Greek race. Although some native groups were clearly in a subordinate position to some Greeks (such as the four *ethnē* ruled by Sybaris), Greeks fought wars against other Greeks with alarming frequency as well. It is more likely that each city attempted to control its neighbors, regardless of whether they were Greek or native. Again, Hellenic identity seems to have become a much larger factor in the fourth century and later, due to a perception of increasing threats from non-Greeks (see Chapter Four, pp. 241-249), and this seems to have been a factor in the disappearance of Achaean identity from Italy.

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[228] 6.44.1; cf. 6.88.7, 6.90.2, 7.57.11, 8.91.2.

[229] Hall 2002a, 63-4; cf. Malkin 1998, 210-33, and above, p. 62 and n. 32.

CHAPTER TWO

Sicilian Tyranny and the Manipulation of Identity

Syracuse in the fifth and fourth centuries was the focal point of two successive dynasties of tyrants who sought not only to solidify their power over that city but also to extend it over all Sicily, thereby uniting the entire island into a single empire. Although the latter project ultimately failed, both the Deinomenids of the early fifth century and the two Dionysii in the fourth century established powerful monarchies that in some ways prefigured the territorial kingdoms of the Hellenistic period and, eventually, the Roman principate. Tyrants such as Gelon, Hieron I, and Dionysius I were the most powerful men of their times, but they nonetheless continuously had to legitimate their power. They did this in part by manipulating the collective identities of their subjects to convince them to unite behind the tyrant as their leader.

It is this fact of manipulation that has thus far prevented a study of the identity politics of the Sicilian tyrants. Previous scholars have discussed the propaganda of the tyrants, a term indicative of a one-way control of the rulers over a passive target audience.[1] A far more useful concept, I suggest, is that of "legitimation," a two-way discourse in which people actively accept the arguments offered them and restrict the

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[1] E.g., Luraghi 1994, 354-57.

possible range of tactics of legitimation that can be used by rulers. This is part of what Aristotle has in mind in Book 5 of the *Politics*, when he describes one of the differences between monarchy and tyranny: only the former is based on consent of the governed, and so monarchies tend towards greater stability (1313a5-10). For a tyranny to survive – and monarchical rulers are normally concerned especially with preserving their power – Aristotle offers two general methods, namely, making the population either unable or unwilling to revolt; tyrants attempting the latter should attempt to adopt certain features of monarchy (1314a29-1315b10). I suggest the Sicilian tyrants, at least to an extent, fell into this second camp and that a major way for them to obtain the consent of the governed was to convince the population to privilege particular types of identity that were useful for the tyrants' projects and to redefine these identities so that the tyrant became an integral part of them.

Identity can change rapidly to suit different situations, but only within a limited range of options. If a tyrant can convince the general population to adopt one tier of identity instead of another, then that is in fact their identity. If, on the other hand, people reject the proposed identity, they will fight back. For instance, Dionysius, after finding great success convincing the Syracusans to adopt a Greek identity opposed to Carthage, failed to persuade them to shift this identity to opposition to the Sikels when the war with Carthage was over. If properly used, manipulation of various types of identity thus became a crucial tool for legitimating monarchical power in Sicily.

In fact, both sets of tyrants, ruling nearly a century apart, used many of the same techniques and manipulated identity in many of the same ways to achieve their goals. In particular, Dionysius looked to Gelon, still a very popular figure, for models of how to

manipulate identity, especially regarding Greek identity and the struggle with Carthage.[2] Their actions thus show how the functioning of identity remained very similar over the period in question. At the same time however, certain differences between the two dynasties demonstrate how the options available for collective identities in Sicily changed over time: for example, Dionysius placed much greater emphasis on Greek identity, constructed in opposition to Carthage during bitterly contested wars, while ignoring the ethnic contrasts that were important for the Deinomenids.

Since the sources on the Deinomenids are much broader and more diverse than those on Dionysius (for whose career we are mostly limited to Diodorus), my analysis will focus especially on them. In a shorter section, I will then focus narrowly on the parallels and differences between Dionysius' and the Deinomenids' manipulation of identities. Finally, I will also consider responses to tyranny. When a tyranny ends or a revolt occurs, the tyrant's manipulations do not simply vanish, but are transformed or actively rejected by the citizenry. Thus, the effects of tyranny on collective identity in Sicily were both broad and long-lasting, even when the tyrants themselves were gone.

The Tyrant's House and Syracusan Identity

Throughout the period of Deinomenid rule in Syracuse (485-466), the tyrants faced a major problem in establishing their power there: they were not Syracusans. Rather, both Gelon and Hieron were Geloans who had previously been tyrants of Gela, and moreover Gelon had previously been second-in-command to a former tyrant of Gela,

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[2] Cf. Giuliani 1994, 107-8; Mafodda 2002.

Hippocrates. The Geloans under Hippocrates had dealt Syracuse a serious blow in the Battle of the Helorus in 492, and there was no love lost between the two cities. The new tyrants of Syracuse thus had an uphill battle to be accepted as Syracusans: they needed to legitimate their rule in their capital city, and they accomplished this by manipulating Syracusan civic identity, as they managed to co-opt the Syracusans' pre-existing civic identity and reshape it to insert themselves at its heart. Various symbols of Syracuse's civic identity, such as the city's most distinctive physical features, the island Ortygia and its spring Arethusa, as well as its Dorian identity, became symbols of the tyrants themselves. Syracuse's entire civic identity was reoriented to focus around the tyrants and their house in an attempt by the tyrants to legitimate their rule by building up a sense of identification of the people with their rulers.

Our knowledge of the Deinomenids', and particularly Hieron's, efforts to manipulate Syracusan civic identity is especially solid due to his patronage of poets, especially Pindar and Bacchylides. The victory odes of these two poets for Hieron (*Ol*. 1; *Pyth*. 1-3; Bacchyl. 3-5), as well as those for his close associates Hagesias (*Ol*. 6) and Chromius (*Nem*. 1, 9), made an ideal contribution to Hieron's project of placing himself in the center of Syracusan civic identity.[3] I have discussed the value of epinician poetry as a source for identity in more detail in the Introduction (pp. 31-32), but let me reiterate that epinician odes were written for public, choral performances, which were usually staged – either originally or in a reperformance – in Syracuse itself, so the ideas in them circulated to a fairly wide group; the odes could easily serve as a vehicle for the manipulation of identity by the tyrants who commissioned them.

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[3] Cf. Hirata 1996-97.

The Deinomenid tyrants went to great lengths to incorporate themselves into Syracusan civic identity and to associate themselves with key elements of it. As seen by Pindar and Bacchylides, this was predicated on two main components also found in other sources, albeit mostly later ones – the city's Dorian ethnicity and its unique topography – and Hieron is closely associated with both. Hieron's association with these elements allowed him to legitimate his power in Syracuse by suggesting that he, too, partook of the same civic identity that other citizens did.

Hieron the Dorian

The Dorian ethnicity of Syracuse was well-known. The city had been founded from Corinth, a Dorian city, and in the late fifth century Syracuse's Dorian ethnicity became a hot-button issue (see Chapter Three). Although its Dorian ethnicity was shared by many other cities, it came to be incorporated into Syracusan civic identity, much as Achaean ethnicity was incorporated into the civic identities of several communities in Italy.[4] Although this ethnic identification was an established fact and could not easily be changed, its salience did vary substantially. If most Syracusans privileged their status as Syracusans above other forms of identity, then a Geloan ruler could not last long. But if the tyrants could convince the Syracusans to emphasize their Dorian identity instead – something the Deinomenid family shared – then their rule could be seen as legitimate. Hieron took advantage of these contrasting tiers of identity to proclaim his ethnic *bona fides* – as seen especially in two of Pindar's most famous odes – and convince people that he was the right person to rule Syracuse.

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[4] See Chapter Three and, more generally, the Introduction, p. 16.

Pindar's *First Pythian*, although nominally written for Hieron's victory in the

chariot race of 470, really celebrates Hieron as the founder of Aetna, a new city founded

in 476 on the site of Catana, which Hieron had destroyed (Diod. 11.49.1-2). Because

Catana was a Chalcidian city (Thuc. 6.3.2) and the new foundation of Aetna was

explicitly intended to be Dorian, Hieron's action had an unmistakable, if perhaps latent,

ethnic valence.[5] While few scholars today would argue that ethnic tension actually caused

Hieron's expulsion of the Chalcidians of Catana (and Naxos),[6] nonetheless the discourse

at the time emphasized, if not the conflict, then at least the Dorian end product.

Pindar (*Pyth*. 1.60-66), for example, praises Hieron for giving Aetna a Dorian

constitution:

ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ	60
φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον·	60b
τῷ πόλιν κείναν θεοδμάτῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ	
Ὑλλίδος στάθμας Ἱέρων ἐν νόμοις ἔ-	
κτισσε· θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου	
καὶ μὰν Ἡρακλειδᾶν ἔκγονοι	
ὄχθαις ὕπο Ταϋγέτου ναίοντες αἰ-	
εὶ μένειν τεθμοῖσιν ἐν Αἰγιμιοῦ	
Δωριεῖς. ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας ὄλβιοι	65
Πινδόθεν ὀρνύμενοι, λευκοπώλων	
Τυνδαριδᾶν βαθύδοξοι	
γείτονες, ὧν κλέος ἄνθησεν αἰχμᾶς.	

Come, let us devise a welcome song for Aetna's king,	60
for whom Hieron founded that city with god-built freedom,	
according to the ordinances of Hyllus' rule;	
for the descendents of Pamphylus, and indeed of Heracles' sons,	
who live under the heights of Taygetus,	
desire as Dorians always to keep to the statutes of Aegimius.	
They came down from Pindus and occupied Amyclae in prosperity,	65
and were renowned neighbors to the Tyndarids of the white horses,	

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[5] Cf. Hubbard 1992, 107-8, 111.

[6] Actual factors probably included the need to secure the kingdom's northern borders, the desire to maintain a body of loyal troops, and Hieron's desire to become an oikist (Diod. 11.49.2): Luraghi 1994, 335-41.

and the fame of their spears increased.[7]

This lengthy passage is remarkable for its sustained emphasis on the Dorian nature of Hieron's new city, a character that is closely associated with the founder himself. Hieron is thus seen as a successor to other, legendary originators of Dorian *nomoi*, namely Hyllus and Aegimius, both sons of Heracles, and Pamphylus, son of Aegimius.[8] Hieron joins the ranks of the ancestral Dorians: he is the most Dorian of them all.

Pindar's words echo several of the most important features of an ethnic group, as outlined by Anthony Smith.[9] The collective name of the ethnic group, *Dōrieis*, is not only withheld for a time but is then displayed prominently at the beginning of a line (65) – and emphasized further by enjambment. The Dorians also constructed their identity in other ways: by the claim of descent from Heracles; by their ancestral homeland, the region of Doris in central Greece, not far from the Pindus range; and by their claim to the Peloponnese by right of conquest.[10] All three are prominently referenced here, and Hieron is thus linked to several important aspects of Dorian identity.

Within this encomium on Dorian history and identity, references specific to Sparta – Amyclae, one of Sparta's five constituent villages; Mt. Taygetus, which overhangs the city; and the Tyndarids (i.e., the Dioscuri), heroes particularly important at Sparta – closely link Hieron to the pre-eminent Dorian state of the age.[11] In fact, oddly,

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[7] I follow the Oxford text of Bowra; translations are by Anthony Verity (2007).

[8] Cf. Burton 1962, 103.

[9] Smith 1986, 22-31, and see the Introduction, pp. 6-7.

[10] Malkin 1994, 33-45; Hall 1997, 56-107.

[11] Of course, Sparta was known for its system of dual kingship; the references to Sparta have the added effect of suggesting an authoritative parallel for Hieron's rule: Luraghi 1994, 358-6; cf. Bowra 1964, 133.

the text seems to describe the desire of the Aetnaeans to remain Dorian, but refers to

them as Spartans, since only they live under the heights of Taygetus. Thus, Hieron's

settlers are actually assimilated to Spartans, a point which will become important shortly

(p. 123).

But Pindar also uses very similar language to describe Dorians at Thebes and

Aegina:

Isthm. 7.12-15
    ἢ Δωρίδ᾽ ἀποικίαν οὕνεκεν ὀρθῷ
    ἔστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῷ
    Λακεδαιμονίων, ἕλον δ᾽ Ἀμύκλας
    Αἰγεῖδαι σέθεν ἔκγονοι, μαντεύμασι Πυθίοις;   15

    Or when you [Thebes] founded the Dorian colony
    of Lacedaemon on a firm footing,
    and when your descendents the Aegeidae took Amyclae
    in obedience to the Pythian oracles?   15

F1.1-6 Bowra
    σὺν θεῶν δέ νιν αἴσᾳ
    Ὕλλου τε καὶ Αἰγιμιοῦ
    Δωριεὺς ἐλθὼν στρατός
    ἐκτίσσατο· τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ στάθμᾳ νέμονται
    οὐ θέμιν οὐδὲ δίκαν   5
    ξείνων ὑπερβαίνοντες.

    With the fortune of the gods,
    the Dorian folk of Hyllus and Aegimius
    came and founded her [Aegina]:
    they lived under the rule of these men,
    overstepping neither the customs   5
    nor the rights of guests.

In these passages, as in *Pyth*. 1, Pindar invokes Dorian identity by referring to allegedly

historical events (the capture of Amyclae and the settlement of the Peloponnese) and

personages (Hyllus and Aegimius), and refers to Dorian institutions as a στάθμα. These

parallels suggest that the mythical Dorian figures and other references in *Pyth*. 1 locate

Hieron within a much broader discourse of Dorian identity and work to solidify the

tyrant's connection to Dorians everywhere. An audience of Syracusans, proud of their

Dorian heritage, would recognize Hieron as one of their own.

Hieron's Dorian nature is further emphasized by his connection to the

Peloponnese in *Olympian* 1 (17-24).

> ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου
> λάμβαν', εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις
> νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν,
> ὅτε παρ' Ἀλφεῷ σύτο δέμας   20
> ἀκέντητον ἐν δρόμοισι παρέχων,
> κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπόταν,
> Συρακόσιον ἱπποχάρ-
> μαν βασιλῆα· λάμπει δέ οἱ κλέος
> ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ.

> Come then, take down the Dorian lyre from its peg,
> if the splendor of Olympian Pisa and of Pherenicus
> has caused the sweetest thoughts to steal into your mind,
> as it sped along unwhipped in the race beside Alpheus,   20
> and brought its master into victory's embrace –
> Hieron, Syracuse's horse-delighting king.
> His fame shines out over the land
> of fine men founded by Lydian Pelops.

Although many more groups besides Dorians inhabited the Peloponnese (seven *ethnē*,

according to Herodotus 8.73), it was already seen as the quintessential Dorian land: the

two were inextricably linked.[12] In the ode, the land of Lydian Pelops is clearly the

Peloponnese, as the topographical references to Pisa and the Alpheus show: both are not

only actual features of the Peloponnesian landscape but also traditional poetic ways of

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[12] This connection is fully established by the time of Thucydides (see 1.12.3-4, 1.124.1, 5.9.1, 6.77.1, with Vlassopoulos 2007), but the roots of it can be found even in Tyrtaeus F2 (see Hall 2002a, 85-6) and in the myth of the division of the Peloponnese between the Heraclidae (attested as early as Pind. *Pyth*. 5.70; see Malkin 1994, 33-4; Hall 1997, 57-8), since although the Dorians and the Heraclidae were ethnically distinct (Malkin 1994, 38-43; Hall 1997, 56-65), they were closely associated from a very early period (e.g., Pind. *Pyth*. 1.60-6).

referring to the Olympic festival.[13] Moreover, the ode's central myth recounts the foundation of the Olympic Games by Pelops. Hieron's fame most immediately shines across the region in which he won his victory.

But Peloponnesian origins were also of great importance to Sicilians and especially Syracusans. Several decades later, Thucydides has the Syracusan statesman Hermocrates claim that his fellow-citizens are "free Dorians from the autonomous Peloponnese, inhabiting Sicily."[14] Moreover, it was common to refer to citizens of a colony as members of their mother-community: thus, Corcyreans were actually Corinthians (Thuc. 7.57.7) and Pindar's Aetnaeans, as discussed above, were actually Dorians from Sparta (perhaps metonymically for the Peloponnese). Thus, I suggest, the "colony of Pelops" across which Hieron's fame shines could also include Sicily, and the island is thereby said to partake in the characteristics of the Peloponnese, including its association with Dorians. Moreover, the reference to the Alpheus would have added resonance to a Syracusan audience: the myth in which the river Alpheus travelled under the sea to emerge in the spring of Arethusa on Ortygia, in the center of Syracuse (see below, pp. 125-127) suggests a tight connection between the region of Olympia and Sicily.[15] Emblematic of this close connection is the story, probably of later date, that after the river Alpheus flooded the sanctuary at Olympia, a golden bowl and a quantity of cow manure turned up in the spring Arethusa after travelling underwater from the

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[13] Gerber 1982, 44, 46; Kirkwood 1982, 50.

[14] 6.77.1: Δωριῆς ἐλεύθεροι ἀπ' αὐτονόμου τῆς Πελοποννῆσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντες. On this passage, see further in Chapter Three.

[15] Harrell 1998, 156-9.

Peloponnese (Timaeus F41). Certainly, the fact that this ode was performed in Syracuse[16] suggests that its Sicilian audience may have been primed to hear a deeper layer of meaning, that Hieron's fame shines out across their own Dorian island.

Scholars have also noted that Pindar is at pains to draw parallels between Hieron and Pelops.[17] Towards the end of the ode (90-3), Pelops appears as the oikist of Olympia, with a tomb in the sanctuary he founded, and Pindar earlier describes his settlement of the Peloponnese as an *apoikia*.[18] Hieron, like Pelops, is also an oikist – in fact, his colony of Aetna was founded in 476, precisely the same year as the victory commemorated in *Olympian* 1, and his grand plans of colonization must have been a major focus of attention that year.[19] As discussed above, the foundation of Aetna was represented with a strong ethnic valence. Perhaps even the status of Syracuse itself as a colony may be in play here. Thus, Hieron is closely linked to the ancient origins of Syracuse as a Dorian *polis*: it is as if he has been in Syracuse from the beginning.

Hieron's association with Dorians, moreover, is strengthened by Pindar's description of his song as Dorian (17), a statement whose interpretation has defied scholarly consensus.[20] While the passage has sometimes been taken to refer to the Dorian features of his poetic dialect, this can hardly be the whole story, especially since later in

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[16] Athanassaki 2004, 337; Morrison 2007, 59-61, 93.

[17] E.g., Sicking 1983.

[18] Harrell 1998, 217-21; Eckerman 2007, 68-72.

[19] Hieron celebrated the foundation of his new city not only with the commission of *Pyth*. 1 (in 470), but also with that of Aeschylus' *Aetnaeans* and a reperformance of his *Persians*.

[20] For reviews of the literature, see Gerber 1982, 41-2; Morrison 2007, 61; cf. also Harrell 1998, 217.

the same poem he refers to it as an "Aeolian melody" (102).[21] Pindar's language is actually an artificial amalgam of elements from many dialects, with a strong Dorian component but also admixtures of Aeolic and epic forms and vocabulary.[22] Thus, even if Pindar is referring particularly to dialect, he is selecting elements that are significant for his purposes and ignoring others.[23] This purpose is most likely to suggest that a Dorian song is appropriate for his subject, Hieron. The tyrant is therefore connected to Syracuse's old and proud status as a Dorian city.

Thus, Pindar's poetry helps achieve Hieron's goal of presenting himself not merely as a Dorian but as a ruler who actively and energetically promotes and maintains the Dorian identities of his subjects. Since these poems were most likely performed in Syracuse and the ideas in them were probably ultimately disseminated to a wide audience, it is a reasonable conclusion that Hieron commissioned them at least partly in an attempt to manipulate the identities of the Syracusans so that they saw him as a legitimate Dorian ruler and, indeed, one of them.

Hieron in the Syracusan Landscape

The urban landscape of Syracuse provided several major focal points for civic identity. In particular, the city's unique island citadel, Ortygia, and its sacred spring, Arethusa, are frequently used as metonyms for the city itself, and were closely enough associated with the city that Hieron's association with them is worth studying. The island

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[21] Guildersleeve 1885, 131.

[22] Guildersleeve 1885, lxxvi-lxxxvi; Farnell 1932, xix-xx.

[23] Conceivably, Pindar could be referring not to his dialect in particular but to the more broadly Dorian mode of choral lyric in general: see Gerber 1982, 41.

Map 2: Syracuse. Adapted from Caven 1990.

of Ortygia was the original nucleus of Greek settlement at Syracuse, and, although a

second nucleus, known as Achradina, quickly emerged on the mainland immediately

opposite,[24] "the Island" remained the center of the city for centuries, both in terms of the

physical location of prominent monuments and in terms of mental associations. One of its

most famous features, the spring of Arethusa, is at least as closely associated with

Syracuse as the Island itself. According to a legend known as early as Ibycus,[25] this

spring represented the reappearance of the Peloponnesian river Alpheus, which travelled

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[24] *IACP*, 228-9.

[25] F286 Page; cf. Timaeus F41.

under the sea to Sicily; moreover, the spring's nymph, often assimilated to Artemis, had arrived there after being chased by the river-god Alpheus.[26] The fact that it quickly developed a mythology of its own indicates the prominence it enjoyed in civic identity.

This prominence is further indicated by the appearance on Syracusan coinage, from the first issues well before the arrival of Gelon, of a head of Arethusa. At first this was a small element among others (Fig. 8), but the Deinomenids made it the central element on the reverse (Fig. 9). Moreover, they surrounded the head with four dolphins, which have often been taken to represent the watery setting of Ortygia itself; the coin thereby "expresses in a flight of fancy the site of Syracuse."[27] By increasing the prominence of the city's key topographic features on its coinage, the tyrants showed their Syracusan subjects that they participated in important aspects of their civic identity.

Pindar closely associates Hieron with both Arethusa and Ortygia. Perhaps the most direct association appears in *Pythian* 2 (5-7):

> εὐάρματος Ἱέρων ἐν ᾇ κρατέων
> τηλαυγέσιν ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις,
> ποταμίας ἕδος Ἀρτέμιδος.

> Hieron, possessor of fine chariots, won the prize,
> and with far-shining wreaths crowned Ortygia,
> home of river-goddess Artemis.

The glory of Hieron's victory attaches to Syracuse.[28] The city has already been named in the poem's first line (Μεγαλοπόλιες ὦ Συράκοσαι), and Pindar now represents it through its outstanding physical features. Normally, we would expect the victor to crown

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[26] See, e.g., Timaeus F41; Paus. 5.7.1-5; Strabo 6.2.4, with Kirkwood 1982, 250; Eckerman 2007, 235-8.

[27] Kraay 1976, 210; cf. 218, 222-3; Head 1911, 172, 176-7; Boehringer 1929, 98-102.

[28] Cf. Carey 1981, 25-6.

his city: here, Hieron crowns Ortygia in particular because the island is such an integral

part of Syracusan civic identity that it stands for it by metonomy.[29] By suggesting that

Hieron has won even more glory for this oldest and most prestigious part of the city,

Pindar helps to incorporate him into Syracusan identity.

The river-goddess Artemis, meanwhile, refers to the myth of Arethusa and the

cult of Artemis on Ortygia. The myth is given slightly fuller expression in the opening of

Nemean 1 (1-6):

> Ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφεοῦ,
> κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλος Ὀρτυγία,
> δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος,
> Δάλου κασιγνήτα, σέθεν ἀδυεπής
> ὕμνος ὁρμᾶται θέμεν   5
> αἶνον ἀελλοπόδων μέγαν ἵππων, Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν.

> Ortygia, resting-place of Alpheus,
> offshoot of famous Syracuse,
> couch of Artemis the sister of Delos,
> from you a hymn of sweet words rises up to frame
> great praise for storm-footed horses in honor of Zeus of Aetna.   5

This passage is usually interpreted as indicating the place of the poem's original

performance,[30] but it also reflects the interplay of city and victor. In this ode for Hieron's

general Chromius, it is Ortygia and Arethusa – that is, the city of Syracuse – that praise

the victor.[31] Although the tyrant himself is not mentioned, his close association with his

courtiers (Chromius was Hieron's brother-in-law) allows their glory to rub off on him.

Thus, the association of Hieron and his court with Syracuse's topography is deepened:

not only does he bring glory, but he is himself glorified by the city.

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[29] Kirkwood 1982, 250.

[30] Morrison 2007, 24.

[31] Cf. Carey 1981, 104-5; Braswell 1992, 32-5

A passage of *Pythian* 3 (68-70) takes Hieron's association with Arethusa even a step further:

κaí κεν ἐν ναυσὶν μόλον Ἰονίαν τάμνων θάλασσαν
Ἀρέθοισαν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ' Αἰτναῖον ξένον,
ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς.   70

And I would have come by ship, slicing through the Ionian Sea,
to the spring of Arethusa to see my guest-friend of Aetna,
who governs the Syracusans as king.   70

Here the spring is given physical valence as the location where the poet would go to find Hieron. Even as Hieron is described as Aetnaean, not Syracusan, the tyrant is written into the physical landscape of Syracuse – a landscape whose significance for the city's identity is clear. Hieron is thus a central part of Syracusan identity.

Similarly, Hieron is brought into *Olympian* 6 (92-4), written for Hieron's close associate Hagesias:

εἶπον δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι Συρακοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας·
τὰν Ἱέρων καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων,
ἄρτια μηδόμενος.

Tell [the chorus] to remember Syracuse and Ortygia,
where Hieron rules with untainted scepter
and straight counsels.

Here Ortygia is recalled specifically as the seat of the ruler, and Hieron is again inscribed in the Syracusan landscape, inextricably linked with civic identity. Even in an ode for his courtier's victory, Hieron's central role in Syracusan identity is clear.

Hieron is thus portrayed in the odes of Pindar as a Dorian ruler firmly localized in the urban landscape of Syracuse. Both of these elements are key factors in Syracusan civic identity, and Pindar's victory odes crucially illustrate the ways in which Hieron

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legitimated his status in Syracuse. Though not born a Syracusan, he became one, and Syracusan civic identity was refashioned to center on the tyrant and his house. By associating himself closely with two key aspects of Syracusan identity, Hieron encouraged his fellow-citizens to look to him for their self-definition. In particular, Hieron wanted to avoid alienating the new citizens introduced primarily by Gelon (see below, pp. 130-143). He thereby sidestepped the question of descent: one does not have to have been born of Syracusan parents to be a true Syracusan. Rather, Syracuse's redefined identity focused on elements that are more broadly shared. Most of Gelon's new citizens were Dorians: by focusing on Syracuse's Dorian identity, Hieron includes those new citizens. Topography is even more general: it can be shared by all Syracusans alike. It was this manipulation of civic identity that allowed Hieron to secure his role as the non-Syracusan tyrant of Syracuse.

Population Mobility in Deinomenid Sicily

Deinomenid rule made early-fifth-century Sicily the greatest center of population mobility in the Classical Greek world. Nothing on this scale had been seen before,[32] as thousands of people were forcibly expelled from their homes and relocated to Syracuse, and thousands more came to Sicily voluntarily as mercenaries; both categories of new Syracusans received citizenship and full membership in the community. Thus, the issue of multiple changing identities took on an even greater prominence in Deinomenid Syracuse: individuals, such as Pindar's Hagesias (*Ol.* 6), who was both an Arcadian and a

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[32] Demand 1990, 46, who points out that the Near East had earlier seen comparable events. See also in general Lomas 2006.

Syracusan, often claimed to belong to multiple communities. Although the tyrants created and fostered this population mobility partly in order to strengthen their power in conventional ways, it also allowed them to create legitimacy for their political actions by breaking down pre-existing identities and creating new ones – including the first steps towards a Sicilian identity – that would center on the tyrants themselves. Above I discussed how the Deinomenids manipulated Syracusan identity to solidify their rule: here I will address their manipulation of non-Syracusan identities as they encouraged a wide variety of people to abandon their previous identities and take up new ones that centered on the tyrants.

Attacking Civic Identity

The Deinomenids' relations with cities other than Syracuse were famously destructive. Gelon, according to Herodotus (7.156.2), destroyed Camarina, Megara, and Euboea (a Greek town whose location in Sicily is only hypothesized), and brought portions of their populations, along with half the population of Gela, to Syracuse.[33] These campaigns represent a sharp break from the policy of previous tyrants, such as Hippocrates, who controlled multiple cities only by installing subsidiary tyrants.[34] Although Gelon did place his brother Hieron in power in Gela, in all other cases he extended his power by actually annexing new territories to Syracuse. According to Herodotus (7.156.1-2), Gelon's main purpose in this new policy was to strengthen his power base in Syracuse by increasing its population. Scholars have

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[33] See in general Dunbabin 1948, 416-18; Consolo Langher 1988-89, 244-7; 1997, 9-12; Demand 1990, 47-8; Luraghi 1994, 288-304; Vattuone 1994, 95-107; Mafodda 1990, 60-5; 1996, 71-80.

[34] Consolo Langher 1988-89, 236-40; 1997, 11; Mafodda 1996, 76; cf. Dunbabin 1948, 384.

advanced several theories to account for Gelon's actions, such as an attempt to increase the military capacity of Syracuse[35] or the amount of agricultural land available to it.[36] All of these may well be part of the answer, but equally important was an attempt to secure the loyalties of the citizen body by stacking the deck in his favor.[37] For instance, Gelon sold the lower-class populations of both Megara and Euboea into slavery (a frequent practice in Greek warfare), but to the wealthy (the παχεῖς), who expected to be killed because they had provoked the war, he instead gave Syracusan citizenship (7.156.2-3). Thus, the swift and positive reversal of fortune would have created intense loyalty towards Gelon among these segments of the population.[38]

However, the role of identity manipulation in this plan has been overlooked.[39] In order for Gelon to solidify his rule over a wide swath of eastern Sicily, the heterogeneous populations of this area – large numbers of people from separate cities, with separate civic identities – would need to be melded into a single community and reconciled to accepting him as their ruler. If this homogenization did not occur – if, for instance, he left the Camarinaeans in their city with a crony as tyrant – then they might continue to privilege their civic identity and see Gelon as an outsider who had defeated and subordinated them, and continue to resist him.[40] In fact, this is precisely what occurred at

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[35] This is Herodotus' explanation (7.156.1-2, though Luraghi 1994, 290-1, emphasizes the historian's total lack of understanding of Gelon's purposes); cf. Demand 1990, 46-50. Importantly, adding new wealthy individuals to the Syracusan citizen rolls would increase the size of the class that provides hoplites and, especially, cavalry: Consolo Langher 1997, 12.

[36] Dunbabin 1948, 417; Consolo Langher 1997, 11-12.

[37] Mafodda 1990, 60-2; 1996, 71-2.

[38] Luraghi 1994, 300; Mafodda 1996, 77.

[39] Cf. Mafodda 1990, 68.

[40] Luraghi 1994, 299.
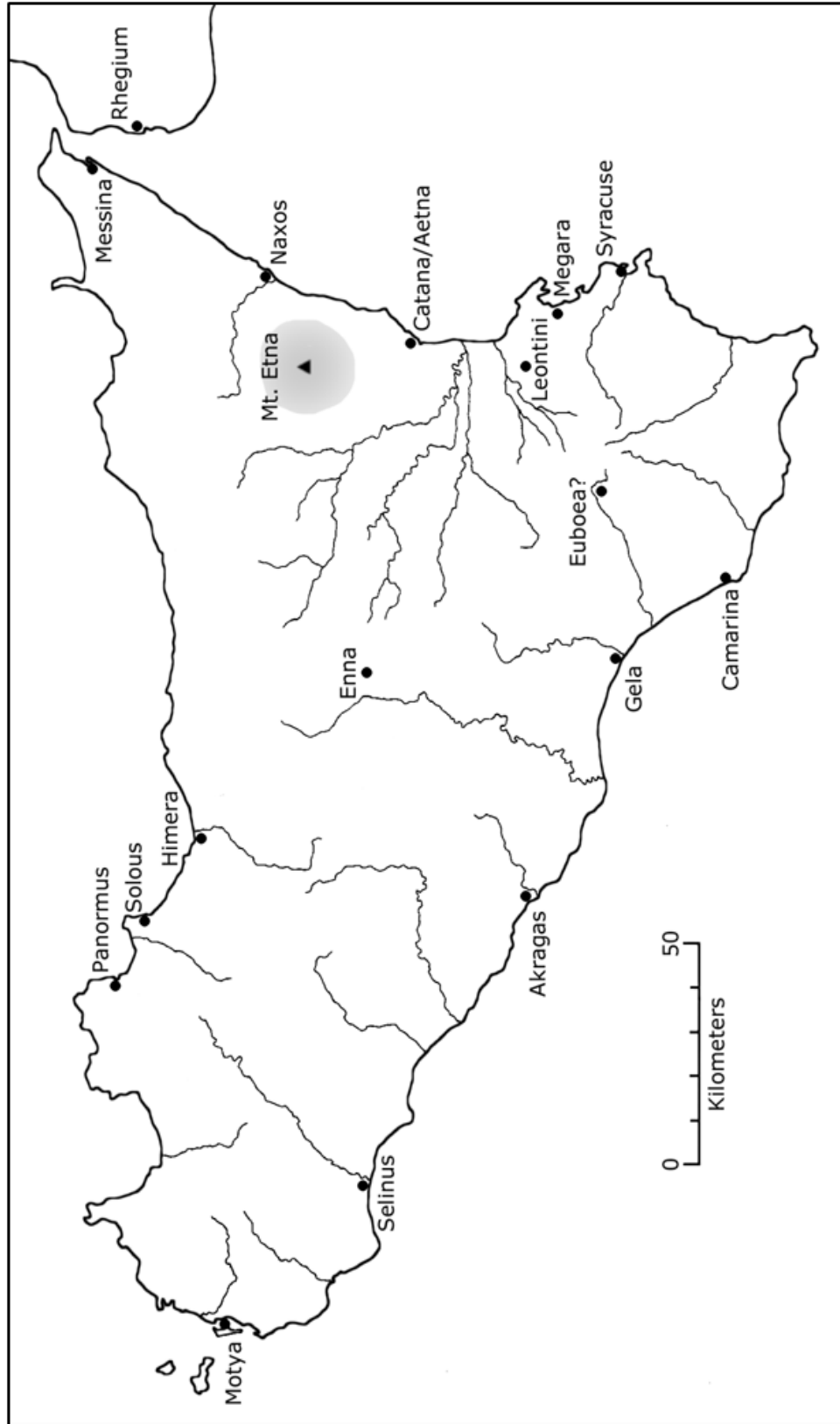
Map 3: Sicily under the Deinomenids. Adapted from Caven 1990.

Camarina before its destruction: Gelon installed Glaucus of Carystus as tyrant, but the citizens executed him rather than submit to Syracusan control.[41]

Gelon's task, therefore, was to convince the populations under his control to take up a different identity that would encourage loyalty to him. Thus, I argue, a further intended purpose of these population upheavals was to weaken substantially or eliminate existing civic identities throughout Sicily – identities that, if left untouched, could lead to resistance against Syracusan rule. Large populations were suddenly sent to Syracuse and given citizen status, for which they were entirely dependent on the tyrant. Wiping the slate clean of existing civic identities solidified Deinomenid rule by re-forming the new citizens' identity around the person and house of the tyrant.

We know varying amounts about the pre-existing civic identities of the four cities that contributed to the new Syracuse. In all likelihood, all four predicated their identities in part on key topographical features of their respective urban sites, though for Megara and Euboea this is sheer conjecture. Anthony Smith argues that one of six major defining features of an ethnic group is an attachment to specific territory or an ancestral homeland; I suggest that this criterion applies to other types of identity groups, such as *poleis*.[42] If this hypothesis is correct, then simply removing the population from its site was a key step in weakening their attachment to it, since their civic identity could no longer be reinforced by daily contact with its key elements.

At Gela, for instance, its eponymous river, after which it was named, according to Thucydides (6.4.3), appears on the city's coins (Fig. 11) in the form of a man-faced bull,

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[41] Schol. ad Aeschin. 3.189; Luraghi 1994, 150-1, 275-6. Independence from Syracuse was a key aspect of Camarina's civic identity: for full discussion, see Chapter Three.

[42] Smith 1986, 28-9; cf. Hall 1997, 25. See also the Introduction, pp. 6-7.

"the most characteristic of the coin-types of Gela."[43] This image represented the Geloans'

identity as attached to the physical site where they lived. Religious sites, too, could play a

role in identity. Gela's key civic shrine, located on its acropolis, was the temple of

Athena Lindia.[44] This cult was imported from Rhodes, one of Gela's mother-cities, and

represented the city's connection to its origins – origins notably not shared by Syracuse.

When distance permanently prevented the Geloans from worshipping at this sanctuary,

their civic identity would naturally become somewhat weakened.

For Camarina, the evidence for the importance to civic identity of the physical

features of the nearby landscape is even stronger. Pindar's *Olympian* 5 (11-13), written

for Psaumis, who participated in the refoundation of Camarina in 461, stresses these

elements, especially the rivers Hipparis and Oanis and a nearby lake.

> ἀείδει μὲν ἄλσος ἁγνόν
> τὸ τεὸν ποταμόν τε Ὤανον ἐγχωρίαν τε λίμναν
> καὶ σεμνοὺς ὀχετούς, Ἵππαρις οἷσιν ἄρδει στρατόν.
>
> He sings in praise of your sacred grove
> and Oanos your river and its neighboring lake,
> and the holy channels through which the Hipparis
> brings water to your people.[45]

Although this evidence is later – as is the coinage on which the river-god Hipparis and

the nymph of the lake riding a swan appear (Fig. 12)[46] – it seems likely that these

physical features also contributed to the Camarinaeans' sense of difference from other

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[43] Jenkins 1970, 165, and cf. 165-75; cf. Head 1911, 140-3; Kraay 1976, 219; Rutter 1997. 118.

[44] Fischer-Hansen 1995, 322-7; *IACP*, 194.

[45] The authenticity of *Ol.* 5 has been repeatedly suspected: see Bowra 1964, 414-20; *contra*, Farnell 1932, 35-7. But the alternative, that it was composed by a local Sicilian imitator in the 450s, does not detract from my argument that it reflects Camarinaean civic identity.

[46] Head 1911, 129; Westermark and Jenkins 1980, 58-69.

communities prior to Gelon's destruction of the city – much as similar features contributed to civic identity at Syracuse and elsewhere.[47] Archaeological evidence does indicate a gap in settlement (or at least a drastic decline in activity) at the site of Camarina in approximately the second quarter of the fifth century, so the physical removal of Camarinaean citizens does seem confirmed.[48] By bringing the Camarinaeans to Syracuse, Gelon eliminated their ability to maintain a separate identity based on the physical setting of their city.

The result of all of these forced migrations, I suggest, was that large numbers of new arrivals at Syracuse were left without their former civic identities. Much as they might wish to maintain these identities, they simply had little relevance in a city in which populations co-mingled freely and where former Megarians, Geloans and Camarinaeans now had the same citizen status as the original Syracusans. Instead, the only relevant factor was the tyrant: he was the one who had brought them to Syracuse and given them citizenship. Thus, one of Gelon's main goals in forcing populations to relocate to Syracuse was to take apart existing identities and put them back together in a new configuration with himself at the center, which was reinforced by Deinomenid attempts to expand Syracusan civic identity, discussed above. After the fall of the dynasty in 466 removed this new center, however, many (but not all) of the original cities were refounded by their original inhabitants, thus indicating that prior civic identities remained

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[47] Cf. Artemon of Pergamum (*FGrH* 569) F2, who claims that the "daughter of Ocean" in 5.2 actually refers to Arethusa, not the nymph of the lake in line 12, because "Camarina had been subject (ὑποτέτακται) to Syracuse." Jacoby ad loc. dates Artemon's work to the mid-second century BCE. If this statement does preserve a much earlier sentiment, then it reflects an attempt by Syracuse to co-opt a celebration of Camarina's civic identity and deny it to Camarina. In any case, it is remarkable that these aspects of identity are still a live issue long afterwards, after perhaps a century of Roman control.

[48] Giudice 1988, 56-7.

available, if latent.[49] Nonetheless, Gelon's strategy for securing his power worked well during his lifetime.

Mercenary Mobility

The role of the Deinomenid tyrants themselves in reconfiguring identities appears even more clearly in the careers of mercenaries and courtiers, many of whom not only physically left their home communities but also abandoned their prior civic identities in order to call themselves Syracusans.[50] Much like the former Megarians and Geloans, these new citizens had the tyrants to thank for their new status and for the high positions some of them acquired in the tyrants' court.[51] Their new identity was therefore centered around the Deinomenid house as well. While other individuals were not forced to make such an explicit choice, however, the result of personal mobility is the re-centering of identity around the person and court of the tyrant.

Astylus of Croton (also discussed in Chapter One, 107-108) was proclaimed a Crotoniate at his first Olympic victory in 488, but at the two subsequent Olympiads had himself proclaimed a Syracusan, "to please Hieron" (Paus. 6.13.1; cf. Diod. 11.1.2).[52] Since the attribution of this activity to Hieron is problematic on chronological grounds – he was only the subsidiary tyrant of Gela until 478 – Gelon is usually substituted.[53]

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[49] Lomas 2006, 108-10. Megara, in particular, was never refounded.

[50] On this phenomenon in general, see Harrell 1998, 177-96.

[51] Consolo Langher 1997, 12-13, suggests that the purpose of settling so many mercenaries in Syracuse was to create a loyal cadre of citizens; cf. Mafodda 1990, 65-8.

[52] On Astylus, see Luraghi 1994, 293-4; Harrell 1998, 177-9.

[53] Luraghi 1994, 293-4. It is usually thought that Astylus' change of identity was interpreted in antiquity as indicative of corruption and was therefore associated with Hieron, the "bad" tyrant, rather than the

Astylus is generally understood to be one of a number of mercenary captains who also functioned as Gelon's courtiers, and Pausanias' explanation for Astylus' behavior shows how the tyrant was at the center of the re-arrangement of identities. The extent to which Astylus' choice to follow Gelon entailed a break with his prior Crotoniate identity was shown by the response of his former fellow-citizens: according to Pausanias, they tore down his statue at the temple of Hera Lacinia and turned his house into a prison, a striking repudiation of their former Olympic victor. There was no going back: Astylus had made his move for the tyrants, and they were all he had left.

A fragmentary inscription from Olympia (*IvO* 266) gives us a different insight into this pattern of migration:

> Πραξιτέλε̄ς ἀνέθε̄κε Συρακόσιος τόδ' ἄγαλμα
> καὶ Καμαριναῖος· πρόσθα <δ>ὲ Μαντινέαι
> Κρίνιος *h*υιὸς ἔναιεν ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι πολυμέ̄λō<ι>

> Praxiteles, a Syracusan and Camarinaean, dedicated
> this statue; but the son of Krinis
> formerly dwelt at Mantinea in sheep-rich Arcadia.

Praxiteles is usually taken to be one of Gelon's new citizens, brought to Syracuse from Camarina.[54] In fact, his origin in Arcadia, the source of numerous mercenaries, suggests that he was once in the pay of a tyrant, quite possibly Hippocrates, who resettled Camarina in 492.[55] Praxiteles' career thus shows both the complexities of mobility in Sicily and the difficulties of Gelon's project to tear down existing identities. Although claiming to be Syracusan, he also retained his Camarinaean identity, despite presumably

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universally beloved Gelon (cf. Diod. 11.67); equally possible is that stories dealing with athletics tended to accrete around Hieron, the patron of Pindar.

[54] On Praxiteles, see Dunbabin 1948, 416; Luraghi 1994, 161-3; Harrell 1998, 183-7.

[55] Luraghi 1994, 161-2.

having lived there only a few years, and moreover, he still considered his Mantinean origin to be worth recording. In fact, the placement of Συρακόσιος first suggests that he now primarily identified himself as Syracusan, while the delayed placement and enjambment of Καμαριναῖος gives his second identity added emphasis: he is not just any Syracusan, but a Camarinaean Syracusan.[56] Praxiteles is precisely the sort of Sicilian that the Deinomenids needed to win over to solidify their rule, and his triple identity is thus suggestive of the extreme flexibility of civic identity in Deinomenid Sicily.

Another of Pausanias' Olympic dedicators similarly emphasizes his multiple concurrent identities (5.27.2):

> Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν
> Ἀρκὰς Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος.

> Phormis dedicated this,
> an Arcadian from Maenalos, but now a Syracusan.

Pausanias describes his career: he came to Sicily from Arcadia to Gelon specifically, and served both Gelon and Hieron gloriously in war. Luraghi suggests that the νῦν δὲ is emphatic and emphasizes the contrast between his former Arcadian identity and his new Syracusan status.[57] Nevertheless, Phormis still considers not only his Arcadian ethnicity but his *polis* of origin important enough to record on his dedication at a panhellenic sanctuary. Thus, a man whom Pausanias explicitly describes as a mercenary in service to the tyrants maintains his multiple identities.[58]

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[56] Cf. Luraghi 1994, 295, who suggests that the emphasis is on the contrast between the old and new identities.

[57] Luraghi 1994, 291; cf. in general Harrell 1998, 180-3.

[58] Pausanias adds an epilogue: three statues, representing Phormis himself in battle, were dedicated by his friend or relative Lycortas of Syracuse. Since Lycortas is a common Arcadian name (e.g., the father of Polybius), Luraghi 1994, 291, suggests that he, too, may be one of the new citizens; but this must remain speculative.

Finally, Hagesias of Stymphalis, an Arcadian mercenary who became a courtier of Hieron and the recipient of Pindar's *Olympian* 6,[59] shows in more detail the complex shifting of identity – suggested by the "recurrent duality" that has been observed in the poem[60] – that occurred at the court of the tyrants. Hagesias was proclaimed a Syracusan at the Olympic festival, and is explicitly described as Syracusan at line 18. He is even described in line 6 as a "co-founder of famous Syracuse" (συνοικιστήρ τε τᾶν κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν), a term of disputed meaning.[61] Moreover, he is linked into Syracusan civic identity by the mention of Ortygia – and the lengthy reference to Hieron – in a passage quoted above (lines 92-6).

But Hagesias is equally treated as an Arcadian. The central myth of the poem is a celebration of the origin of the Iamids, a Peloponnesian clan of seers, to which Hagesias presumably belonged. More importantly, Pindar strongly evokes Hagesias' ancestral roots in Arcadia (lines 77-81):

> εἰ δ' ἐτύμως ὑπὸ Κυλλά-
>   νας ὄροξ, Ἀγησία, μάτρωες ἄνδρες
> ναιετάοντες ἐδώρη-
>   σαν θεῶν κάρυκα λιταῖς θυσίαις
> πολλὰ δὴ πολλαῖσιν Ἑρμᾶν εὐσεβέως,
>   ὃς ἀγῶνας ἔχει μοῖράν τ' ἀέθλων,
> Ἀρκαδίαν τ' εὐάνορα τιμᾷ·
>   κεῖνος, ὦ παῖ Σωστράτου,   80
> σὺν βαρυγδούπῳ πατρὶ κραίνει σέθεν εὐτυχίαν.

> If, Hagesias, your maternal ancestors,
> living beneath the mountain of Cyllene,
> did in truth piously offer abundant prayers and sacrifices
> to Hermes, herald of the gods, whose charge it is

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[59] On Hagesias, see Luraghi 1994, 292-3; Harrell 1998, 187-212.

[60] Kirkwood 1982, 80; cf. Guildersleeve 1885, 171-2; Morrison 2007, 71.

[61] Guildersleeve 1885, 173; Farnell 1932, 41; Kirkwood 1982, 85; Harrell 1998, 188-91.

> to watch over the games and the contests' outcome,
> and who holds Arcadia in honor, land of brave men;
> then, son of Sostratus, it is he who with his deep-thundering father   80
> has brought about your good fortune.

This passage evokes not only Mt. Cyllene, a famous landmark that in literature often stands metonymically for Arcadia,[62] but most especially Hermes, a patron deity of the region and a key focal point for Arcadian identity. Thus, Hagesias retains his ancestral identity as well as acquiring a new one.

However, it is Hieron who binds Hagesias' two identities together. Pindar emphasizes the role of the tyrant in bringing Hagesias to Syracuse (98-100):

> σὺν δὲ φιλοφροσύναις εὐ-
>   ηράτοις Ἁγησία δέξαιτο κῶμον
> οἴκοθεν οἴκαδ' ἀπὸ Στυμ-
>   φαλίων τειχ<έω>ν ποτινισόμενον,
> ματέρ' εὐμήλοιο λείποντ' Ἀρκαδίας.   100

> May he [Hieron] with gracious affection welcome Hagesias' revel
> as it returns, home from home, leaving Stymphalus' walls,
> mother-city of Arcadia rich in flocks.   100

The *kōmos* that Hieron is to welcome is clearly that of the returning Olympic victor. But it also evokes a previous welcome that Hieron presumably gave to his courtier when he originally arrived in Sicily from Arcadia. Thus, it is Hieron who is in control of Hagesias' shifting identities. The structure of the passage imitates Hieron's position: Pindar begins by linking Hagesias with "Syracuse and Ortygia" (92), and then moves on to praise of Hieron himself (93-7) before returning to Hagesias in Arcadia (98-100). The movement from Syracuse to Arcadia is the reverse of movements that took place both in the past, when Hagesias originally arrived, and in the poem's future, when the victor will return to

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[62] Harrell 1998, 199-200.

Sicily. This reversal is evocative of the back-and-forth mobility of some individuals and of the flexibility of identity in the age of tyrants.

These mercenaries who moved to Syracuse and adopted Syracusan civic identity provide an excellent backdrop for understanding two monuments dedicated by Gelon himself. After winning the Olympic chariot race as tyrant of Gela in 488, he dedicated a bronze chariot statue with the inscription: Γέλων Δεινομένεος Γελῷ]ος ⫶ ἀνέθēκε.[63] Naturally, in 488 Gelon had himself proclaimed as a Geloan. But about a decade later, the preserved inscription on Gelon's victory monument for Himera at Delphi reads quite differently:[64]

> Γέλον ὁ Δεινομέν[εος]
> ἀνέθεκε τὸπόλλονι
> Συραϙόσιος.
>
> Gelon, son of Deinomenes,
> a Syracusan
> dedicated [this] to Apollo.

Gelon, like his mercenaries, has changed his city and his civic identity. By proclaiming himself a Syracusan on this monument, he merges himself with his new city and his new citizens, who have also experienced similar changes of identity.

The remarkable phrase οἴκοθεν οἴκαδ' at *Olympian* 6.99 well illustrates the flexibility of identity. In Sicily under the Deinomenid tyrants, the mobility of populations – whether forced or voluntary, but always at the instigation of a tyrant – led to a constant molding and reshaping of identities in order to place the tyrant at their center, since he presented himself as someone with a similar history of changing identities. The influx of

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[63] *Syll*. 33; the supplement comes from Pausanias 6.9.4-5. See Harrell 1998, 168-9; 2002, 451.

[64] *Syll*. 34 = ML 28; Harrell 2002, 453-4. See below (pp. 152-4) for the monument.

mercenaries as new citizens of Deinomenid Syracuse contributed to the redefinition of Syracusan identity and helped solidify the dynasty's power.

Sicilian Identity

The Deinomenids' attempts to tear down existing identities by fostering (or forcing) population mobility were designed to wipe the slate clean and promote a different identity centered around the tyrant. But what sort of identity was this? Most – though not all – of the Deinomenids' subjects were now Syracusan, and I suggested above (p. 130) that their emphasis on certain aspects of Syracusan identity might have encouraged the inclusion of new citizens. Still, it may have been too much to expect for all Camarinaeans suddenly to believe that they were actually Syracusans. Indeed, this was certainly not the only identity the tyrants had in mind as they began to prepare the ground for a new type of community that could include all the Greeks of the Deinomenid domains. High levels of population mobility had weakened people's connections to many features of their previous identities, but they still had one thing in common: they all lived in Sicily.

The Deinomenids sometimes presented themselves as the leaders not just of Syracuse but of all Sicily. This is clear, for example, from a passage in Pindar's *Olympian* 1, in which Hieron's power in Syracuse is matched by his power over all Sicily: "Hieron holds the scepter of justice in sheep-rich Sicily, where he chooses for himself the finest fruits of every kind of excellence."[65] Pindar here broadens the scope of

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[65] 1.12-13: θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμήλῳ / Σικελίᾳ δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἄπο πασᾶν.

Hieron's rule to all of Sicily,[66] a major exaggeration.[67] Syracuse is not mentioned.

Moreover, Herodotus' report of the embassy sent by the Hellenic League in 481 to ask

for Gelon's aid against Xerxes twice describes the tyrant as ruler of Sicily.[68] Although

this report is clearly tendentious and the speech a free rendering by the historian, it does

seem to depend on pro-Deinomenid Sicilian sources.[69] Thus, the labels applied to Gelon

may reflect, if not actual formal titulature, then at least informal ways of referring to the

scope of his rule at the time, and possibly ideas they promoted.[70] In any case, these

limited pieces of evidence do suggest that the Deinomenids sometimes presented

themselves as rulers of Sicily, rather than of Syracuse, and thus encouraged their subjects

to think of themselves as Sicilians, rather than Syracusans.

    The Deinomenids promoted this new tier of Sicilian identity in part by

emphasizing the already widespread cult of Demeter and Kore, since an ideal method of

binding this heterogeneous group of people together was to remind them of religious

practices they already shared.[71] This is a practice reminiscent of Pisistratus' attempts to

unify Attica by emphasizing the cult of Athena.[72] As in Pisistratean Athens, this new

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[66] Although the phrase "in Sicily" (rather than "of Sicily") does leave room for Pindar to be technically correct, it nevertheless leaves an exaggerated impression: Morrison 2007, 59; *contra*, Gerber 1982, 34.

[67] Even at its height, the Deinomenid domains left Akragas and Himera under the control of the Emmenid dynasty, Messina under that of Anaxilas of Rhegium, and western Sicily under Carthaginian control. Selinus may have been independent.

[68] 7.157.2: ἄρχοντί...Σικελίης; 7.163.1: Σικελίης τύραννος. Gelon is also addressed by the Greek ambassadors as βασιλεῦ Συρηκοσίων: 7.161.1.

[69] Mafodda 1992, 260, and cf. 247-8 for a literature review on the question of Herodotus' sources.

[70] Luraghi 1994, 365-6.

[71] White 1964, 264-5; Privitera 1980, 399-400.

[72] Privitera 1980.

Sicilian identity was centered on the tyrants, and to this end, Gelon and Hieron began to associate themselves with what was newly presented as a pan-Sicilian cult, that of Demeter and Kore.[73] The tyrants emphasized their special connection to these existing cults, which thus served to legitimate Deinomenid rule.[74] By presenting themselves as rulers of all Sicily and by focusing on their patronage of cults of Demeter and Kore, the Deinomenids attempted to create an identity group that would focus the loyalty of their subjects on themselves. Eventually, these first attempts would result in a new, geographically-based Sicilian identity.

Numerous sources report that the entire island of Sicily was sacred to Demeter and Kore,[75] and the rape of Persephone was localized at Enna, a non-Greek town in east-central Sicily that came to be referred to as the *omphalos* of the island (Diod. 5.3-5).[76] Cults of Demeter and Kore were located across the island, in virtually every city, and this pair of deities was often a central part of civic cult.[77] The Deinomenid family held an ancient and hereditary priesthood of Demeter and Kore at Gela, first acquired by their ancestor Telines (Hdt. 7.153). When they became tyrants, both Gelon and Hieron used

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[73] Cf. White 1964, 266.

[74] Privitera 1980, 399-411; Mafodda 1996, 90-4. On the use of religion by tyrants, cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1314b38-1315a2).

[75] E.g., Pind. *Nem*. 1.13-18; Bacchyl. 3.1-2; Carcinus TrGF 70 F5; Diod. 5.2-5 (=Timaeus F164), esp. 5.2.3; Cic. *Verr*. 2.4.106-8; cf. Griffith 1989, 171-3; Braswell 1992, 41-2.

[76] Omphalos: Diod. 5.3.2. Rape at Enna: Diod. 5.3. It was also localized at Syracuse and elsewhere: Diod. 5.3-5.

[77] Cults are known at Akragas (Pindar *Pyth*. 12.1-2; *IACP*, 188-9), Camarina (*IACP*, 204), Catana (*IACP*, 207), Gela (Hdt. 7.153.2-3; *IACP*, 194), Himera (*IACP*, 200), and Selinus (*IACP*, 223-4). At Megara Hyblaea, a Demeter cult is strongly suggested on the basis of cults at its mother- and daughter-cities, mainland Megara and Selinus: White 1964, 261. The Deinomenids were once thought to have introduced this cult to Syracuse *ab novo* (e.g., Dunbabin 1948, 180), but new archaeological evidence shows that its presence pre-dates the dynasty: Privitera 1980, 400-5, with a literature review up to that date; Mafodda 1996, 90-1; *IACP*, 229.

this association to endear themselves to all Sicilians. For example, Gelon dedicated a temple of Demeter and Kore at an unknown location (perhaps at Syracuse) out of the spoils of Himera.[78] A temple to these deities, built from Carthaginian spoils, would emphasize Himera as a pan-Sicilian, rather than panhellenic victory, and would extend Gelon's religious authority, derived in part from his priesthood, throughout the island.[79] By emphasizing a cult that was shared by all Sicilian Greeks, the tyrants attempted to create a new, pan-Sicilian identity with themselves at its heart.

Hieron's commissions from Pindar also report his devotion to Demeter and Kore. In particular, when Hieron is introduced into *Olympian* 6 (93-6), an ode for his associate Hagesias, the tyrant's devotion to Demeter is his primary characteristic, emphasized grammatically as the main verb of the sentence:

> τὰν Ἱέρων καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων,
> ἄρτια μηδόμενος, φοινικόπεζαν
> ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν   95
> καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος.

> Hieron, ruling [Syracuse] with a pure scepter,
> counseling straight things, honors crimson-footed
> Demeter and the festival of her daughter of the white horses,   95
> and the power of Aetnaean Zeus.

Hieron is thereby associated with the same worship of Demeter and Kore that other Sicilian Greeks considered part of their Sicilian identity.[80]

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[78] Diod. 11.26.7, a passage in which Gelon is also said to have planned a temple to Demeter at Aetna, but was prevented by death from completing it; this appears anachronistic (since Aetna was the project of Hieron) and may not be accurate. See Gras 1990; Luraghi 1994, 318-20.

[79] White 1964, 264-5; Mafodda 1996, 92.

[80] Cf. Farnell 1932, 49.

The relevance of Persephone to the entire island is suggested by Pindar's ode for Hieron's general Chromius (*Nem.* 1.13-15), in which the myth of Zeus granting Sicily to Persephone is briefly told:

σπεῖρέ νυν ἀγλαΐαν
    τινὰ νάσῳ, τὰν Ὀλύμπου δεσπότας
Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν Φερσεφόνᾳ, κατένευ-
    σέν τέ οἱ χαίταις, ἀριστεύοισαν εὐκάρπου χθονός
Σικελίαν πίειραν ὀρθώ-
σειν κορυφαῖς πολίων ἀφνεαῖς.   15

So scatter brilliance over the island
which Zeus lord of Olympus gave to Persephone,
and, his hair falling forward with his nod,
promised that he would raise up fertile Sicily
with its high and prosperous cities
to be pre-eminent on the plentiful earth.   15

This myth attributes to Persephone all the prosperity of Sicily, a feature that plays well into the Deinomenids' emphasis on wealth and prosperity as a hallmark of their rule.[81]

The triangular relationship between the Deinomenid family, the cult of Demeter and Kore, and the island of Sicily provided the tyrants with a religious underpinning for the legitimation of their rule. It is Bacchylides who provides the clearest picture of these interconnections (3.1-4):

Ἀριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας κρέουσαν
Δ[ά]ματρα ἰοστέφανόν τε Κούραν
ὕμνει, γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, θοάς τ' Ὀ-
[λυμ]πιοδρόμους Ἱέρωνος ἵππ[ο]υς.

Of Demeter, ruler of corn-rich Sicily,
and of the violet-garlanded Maid
sing, Clio, giver of sweetness, and of
Hieron's swift horses, Olympic runners.

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[81] Magrath 1974, 51; Braswell 1992, 42.

The poet goes on to praise Hieron at length for his piety towards other gods (lines 5-22). Hieron is linked with his patron goddesses as the objects of song. But Demeter is expressly described as the ruler of Sicily, and Bacchylides thereby alludes to the same exaggeration of the extent of Hieron's power as Pindar did in *Olympian* 1. By emphasizing the pan-Sicilian nature of this cult – and exaggerating the pan-Sicilian extent of Deinomenid power – these two poets helped create the basis for a new type of identity, one that would encompass the entire island.

Like many monarchical rulers before and since, the Deinomenid tyrants were primarily concerned with protecting, solidifying, and legitimating their power, and their manipulation of their subjects' identities was a crucial tool in achieving this end. By destroying several other cities, they weakened the very civic identities that might lead their new subjects to resist tyrannical rule. The influx of mercenaries, meanwhile, shows the great flexibility of identity that the tyrants offered. These factors combined to create a new form of identity centered around the tyrant, one in which anyone could participate. This new Sicilian identity, like some – but not all – other aspects of Deinomenid identity politics, had a long-lasting impact and constituted one of the dynasty's major contributions to the development of identity in Sicily.

Greeks, Barbarians and the Memory of Himera

Gelon was remembered for generations after his death as a great and just ruler, and one of the most important contributing factors to this positive memory was his

victory over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480,[82] a battle that was quickly compared

with the Persian Wars in Aegean Greece as a struggle for Greek freedom against

barbarian aggression. As is now well understood, the Persian Wars in the East had the

effect of reinventing Greek identity, which came to be predicated on a sharp dichotomy

between Greeks and barbarians.[83] In the West, a similar phenomenon occurred, with the

Carthaginians taking the starring role.[84] Gelon used this conception of Greek identity to

unite his people behind him: part of the legitimacy of his rule came from his success

against the barbarians.[85] Although this focus on Greek identity was not always salient, it

did form one of the major ways in which the Deinomenids manipulated identity to

strengthen their power.

The Carthaginian invasion of Sicily in 480 resulted from a series of calls for help

between various tyrants who had ties of *xenia* with each other and with Hamilcar, a

prominent Carthaginian leader.[86] According to Herodotus (7.166), Terillus, the tyrant of

Himera, had been expelled by Theron of Akragas, and appealed to his son-in-law,

Anaxilas of Rhegium. Both men then used their influence with Hamilcar to induce him to

send a large force to Sicily. Theron, who now controlled Akragas, appealed for help to

Gelon, who quickly arrived at the city of Himera with his army. After some skirmishing,

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[82] Cf. Dunbabin 1948, 428-9.

[83] Hall 1989; Hall 2002a, 172-89; Smith 2003, 29-74

[84] Smith 2003, 29-74.

[85] Cf. Luraghi 1994, 361-6; Consolo Langher 1997, 24.

[86] For modern treatments of Carthaginian motivations, see Luraghi 1994, 308-9; Consolo Langher 1997, 16-17; Krings 1998, 308-14; Smith 2003, 21, 26, with references there. The ancient theory (Ephorus F186; Diod. 11.1.4) that the Carthaginians and the Persians colluded to invade Greece from opposite sides at the same time, while not completely impossible, seems highly improbable, as it does not square with the lack of serious inter-ethnic conflict in archaic and fifth-century Sicily (see next paragraph): Smith 2003, 70-3; cf. Mafodda 1996, 132-4; *contra*, Consolo Langher 1997, 25-6, with references there.

the two armies fought a battle – narrated by Diodorus (11.20-6) – in which many

Carthaginian ships were burned, Hamilcar was slain, and the Greeks were victorious. The

Carthaginians sent envoys to ask for a peace treaty, which was granted on favorable

terms; the Greeks undertook no reprisals or further military action.[87]

In its short duration, small scale, and lack of serious military or political

consequences, the Himera campaign offered little that was different from previous

conflicts between Greeks and non-Greeks in Sicily, which had been minimal.[88] Although

Sicilian Greeks of Archaic times were surely aware that they were Greeks who belonged

to a different cultural and ethnic sphere than the Carthaginians, a true dichotomy between

Greeks and barbarians had never been especially salient in Sicily. Scholars still debate the

nature of the interactions between early Greek settlers and the native populations:

although at some places (such as Syracuse), natives seem to have been expelled or even

enslaved, elsewhere relations appear peaceful.[89] In any case, there was little or no long-

term confrontation that would lead to a heavy focus on Greek identity in opposition to

barbarians. Phoenician settlement, too, was confined to the three cities of Motya,

Panormus, and Solous in far western Sicily, and led to no sustained conflict. The attempts

by Pentathlos in the 580s and Dorieus around 510, for example, to establish a Greek

presence in western Sicily were small in scale and short in duration.[90] Moreover, there is

some evidence for genuinely positive contacts between Greeks and Carthaginians:

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[87] For modern accounts of the battle in its context, see Luraghi 1994, 304-10; Mafodda 1996, 124-7; Krings 1998, 314-26.

[88] Smith 2003, 25-7.

[89] *IACP*, 227-8; cf. Chapter One, p. 113.

[90] Pentathlos: Paus. 10.11.3 (=Antiochus F1); Diod. 5.9; Merante 1967. Dorieus: Hdt 5.42-8; Diod. 4.23; Malkin 1994, 203-18. Cf. also Dunbabin 1948, 326-54; Krings 1998, 20-32, 188-15.

Hamilcar, the general at Himera, had *xenia* ties with Terillus of Himera and Anaxilas of Rhegium, and apparently was himself the offspring of a mixed marriage between a Carthaginian father and Syracusan mother (Hdt. 7.165-6). Throughout the fifth century, in fact, there was little actual conflict between Greeks and non-Greeks in Sicily: the year 409, when a Carthaginian army destroyed the cities of Selinus and Himera, represents a much more important breaking point than 480 (see below, pp. 161-163).

Nevertheless, discourse frequently differs from history, and the memory of the Battle of Himera quickly came to be dominated by the perception that it had been fought as a panhellenic war against a barbarian enemy – a perception that was fostered, if not outright created, by the Deinomenids themselves.[91] Unlike Dionysius (and others after him), Gelon did not pursue further wars with Carthage. In fact, at no point did the Deinomenids contemplate counterattacks against Carthaginian possessions, and Sicily returned to its essentially stable status quo for some three-quarters of a century. Instead, Gelon and Hieron both used the memory of their past victory to remind their subjects of their past great deeds on their behalf. This new and unprecedented discourse of Greekness led to the development of a new sense of Greek identity in Sicily, which was fostered by the Deinomenids as a means of securing their power. In commemorations of Himera, both in the form of dedications at panhellenic sanctuaries and in the poetry of Pindar, the Deinomenids often emphasized their personal role in safeguarding the Greeks of Sicily.[92] Moreover, the Deinomenids' attempts to merge themselves with the Syracusan state continued as they associated the Syracusan people with the victory. By

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[91] Cf. Finley 1979, 54; Mafodda 1996, 132-5.

[92] Cf. Mafodda 1996, 134-5, 140-1.

convincing their subjects that they should think of themselves primarily as Greeks and by

reminding them that they had achieved a great victory for them as Greeks, the tyrants

presented themselves as the legitimate rulers of Sicily.

Public Dedications and Greek Identity

The major panhellenic sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia, beyond serving as

meeting places for large and diverse groups of Greeks at their quadrennial festivals, also

offered prime locations for dedications that would serve as permanent *loci* for the

presentation of political ideology to a diverse audience.[93] Despite being located in

mainland Greece, across the Ionian Sea from Sicily, the two sanctuaries were frequented

by many Sicilian Greeks. Olympia, in particular, served as a pan-Sicilian meeting place, a

common ground that belonged to no individual city – something that did not exist in

Sicily.[94] Dedications by the Deinomenids at Olympia and Delphi would therefore be seen

by many of their subjects who travelled there; moreover, news of these dedications –

some of which were presented as jointly dedicated by the tyrant and the city – would

quickly make its way back home. Public dedications played a major role as part of a

larger Deinomenid strategy to commemorate the Battle of Himera as a victory of Greeks

over barbarians.

The Deinomenid monument for Himera at Delphi, mentioned by Diodorus

(11.26.7) and today partially preserved, forms a nearly contemporary piece of evidence,

but one whose value is hotly contested. The monument, located on the East Terrace of the

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[93] *Contra* Harrell 2002, who sees a difference in Deinomenid self-presentation at panhellenic sanctuaries as compared to that in Sicily.

[94] Philipp 1994; Harrell 1998, 162-5; Antonaccio 2007.

Temple of Apollo, near the famous Serpent Column that commemorated the Battle of Plataea, consisted of two tripods on a single rectangular base, and behind these two more tripods on separate bases.[95] Inscriptions on the plinths of the front two tripods (*Syll*. 34, 35) indicate that one was dedicated by Gelon and also carried a Nike statue, while the other (in a mutilated inscription) was dedicated by a son of Deinomenes, probably Hieron. This much is clear. However, the authenticity of the epigram attributed to Simonides (XXXIV Page) that was supposedly inscribed on the Deinomenid monument but is now preserved in the scholia to Pindar (*Pyth*. 1.152) has been strongly questioned,[96] but on slender grounds, mainly because the exact placement of the inscribed epigram within the monument is unclear. Nonetheless, the ruined state of the Deinomenid monument today and the possibility of several phases of construction, with attendant changes to the inscriptions, do allow for the possibility that the inscription could be genuine.[97] Whether the lines were in fact written by Simonides or for Gelon (rather than Hieron, after Gelon's death) is immaterial for my purposes, as long as they date to the 470s (rather than the Hellenistic period, as has been suggested) and can reflect their ideology.

The epigram makes explicit the Greek/barbarian contrast, but also offers the view that the victory was won by the Deinomenid house alone, rather than the Syracusan people:

> Φημὶ Γέλων', Ἱέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,
> παῖδας Δεινομένευς τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι,

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[95] On the monument in general, see Molyneux 1992, 221-3; Luraghi 1994, 314-17; Harrell 1998, 237-58.

[96] Page 1981, 247-50; Luraghi 1994, 314-15; cf. Raaflaub 2004, 301 n. 27.

[97] See the further arguments of Molyneux 1992, 220-4; Harrell 1998, 248-51; Smith 2003, 32-3.

βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν
    σύμμαχον Ἕλλησιν χεῖρ᾽ ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

I say that Gelon, Hieron, Polyzelus and Thrasybulus,
the sons of Deinomenes, set up these tripods,
having defeated barbarian peoples, and that they provided great
assistance as an ally to the Greeks for freedom.

The battle of Himera is here described as a Greek struggle for freedom against

barbarians. Since this was one of the official commemorations of the victory set up by

Gelon himself (or perhaps slightly later by Hieron), it follows that it was how he intended

to present his actions to the outside world, including any of his own subjects who visited

Delphi or heard about it. The tyrant thus presented not only himself but his entire family

as a bulwark against barbarian oppression. All four brothers are named – but notably, the

Syracusans are not; the city's contribution is ignored. The inscription can thus be taken as

an attempt to create legitimacy for the Deinomenid family by encouraging Sicilians to

focus on their Greek identity in remembering Himera – and to recall the leading role in

the battle played by the tyrants. The tripod dedication itself, meanwhile, both in its form

and in its location within the sanctuary was meant to rival the Serpent Column and to

claim a similarly panhellenic significance for Himera.[98] Thus, even if the epigram is a

late literary exercise, the monument as a whole still presents a commemoration of the

battle as a victory over barbarians won by the Deinomenids alone.[99]

Gelon also commemorated the Battle of Himera at the other major panhellenic

sanctuary with heavy Western involvement, Olympia, by building the so-called Treasury

of the Carthaginians, in which were dedicated a massive statue of Zeus and three linen

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[98] This has been widely argued: see, e.g., Harrell 2002, 454; Scott 2010, 88-91.

[99] Cf. Luraghi 1994, 320-1.

breastplates.[100] We know little about this building: nothing but a few foundation blocks

remain today, so its sculptural program (if any) is entirely obscure, and even its

dedicatory inscription is mostly unknown. But the term "Treasury of the Carthaginians"

is suggestive: all other treasuries at Olympia (as well as at Delphi) were built by

individual cities to celebrate themselves, and were named after the cities themselves.[101]

For instance, the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, which was built in the early fifth

century, features a sculptural program centered on Theseus, a key figure in Athenian

civic ideology.[102] The Treasury of the Carthaginians, on the other hand, was not built by

Carthage and does not celebrate Carthaginian civic ideology. Rather, it remained entirely

unique among these treasuries in commemorating a victory *over* a defeated enemy. This

suggests that a strong emphasis was placed on the identity of the defeated, a city that

everyone knew was not Greek.[103]

Moreover, a number of other western Greek cities had separate treasuries nearby

at Olympia,[104] and Gelon explicitly chose not to place his dedications in any of those.

Himera was a victory shared by all Sicilians, or even all Greeks, alike, and did not belong

to any individual city. Although it is unclear whether Gelon's monument at Olympia, like

the one at Delphi, referred specifically to the Carthaginians as barbarians, the fact that

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[100] Paus. 6.19.7. On this building, see Luraghi 1994, 317-18; Harrell 1998, 171-3

[101] These names are taken primarily from Pausanias and should not necessarily be taken with the same intent as English capitalization suggests. While the Greek phrase ὁ Ἀθηναίων θησαυρός signifies "the treasury built by the Athenians," the genitive in ὁ Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός instead suggests "the treasury relating to the Carthaginians." On the name, see Luraghi 1994, 318.

[102] Scott 2010, 77-81, and references there.

[103] Harrell 1998, 172-3.

[104] In Sicily, Selinus (Paus. 6.19.10) and Gela (Paus. 6.19.15); in Italy, Sybaris (Paus. 6.19.9) and Metapontion (Paus. 6.19.11). See Scott 2010, 163-9.

both panhellenic sanctuaries were centers of Greek identity and common *loci* of

panhellenic celebrations, including those for the Persian Wars, strongly suggests that

Gelon's new treasury was part of a carefully orchestrated attempt to focus attention on

Greek identity by representing Himera as a victory over barbarians.[105]

The Treasury does, however, show one striking – if partly speculative – difference

from the tripod dedication at Delphi. Pausanias (6.19.7) describes it as having been

dedicated "by Gelon and the Syracusans," which, if Pausanias is following his usual

practice, probably reflects the language of the dedicatory inscription.[106] Gelon was thus

associating the Syracusan people with his own victory and his own leadership. This

assumption is strengthened by the close parallel with the three helmets dedicated by

Hieron at Olympia after his victory over the Etruscans at Cumae in 474, with very similar

inscriptions:

> *h*ιάρον ὁ Δεινομένεος
> καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσοι
> τῶι Δὶ Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας.
>
> Hieron, son of Deinomenes
> and the Syracusans [dedicate this]
> to Zeus, from the Etruscans at Cumae.[107]

The Syracusans are mentioned by name alongside Hieron, and they are given equal status

as dedicators. These inscriptions indicate an attempt to reinterpret military victories as

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[105] Cf. Pettinato 2000, 128-31.

[106] Cf. Luraghi 1994, 317 n. 187, 355; Pettinato 2000, 127.

[107] ML 29; SEG 33.328. On the second and third helmets, the last line reads Τυρρανῶν for Τυράν'.

belonging to the city of Syracuse, as well as to the tyrants,[108] and suggest that Syracuse, too, is a defender of the Sicilian Greeks against barbarian domination.

Himera and the Persian Wars

Following the defeat of two major invading foreign armies by two separate groups of Greeks in the same year, 480 BCE, popular opinion tended to strongly associate the two campaigns. The date of the development of a popular but unlikely notion that the Carthaginians and Persians colluded to attack Greece from opposite sides at the same time is unclear, but the fact that it developed at all is indicative of the close connection felt between the two wars. If the two barbarian enemies were working together, then they essentially constituted two branches of the same enemy, and the struggle against each of them was the same struggle for Greek liberty. The various traditions claiming that the Battle of Himera occurred on the same date as Salamis (Hdt. 7.166) or Thermopylae (Diod. 11.24.1) similarly indicate the close connection felt between these key battles.[109]

The Deinomenids, too, fostered this connection between the Persian Wars and their own barbarian victory in order to emphasize precisely this aspect of it. Pindar's *Pythian* 1, in a famous passage (71-80), draws an extensive parallel between these battles:

> λίσσομαι νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἥμερον
> ὄφρα κατ᾽ οἶκον ὁ Φοίνιξ ὁ Τυρσα-
>   νῶν τ᾽ ἀλαλατὸς ἔχῃ, ναυ-
>   σίστονον ὕβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμας,
> οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ δαμασθέντες πάθον,
> ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν ὅ σφιν ἐν πόν-

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[108] Harrell 1998, 173-4; 2002, 352-3.

[109] Asheri 1991-1992; Harrell 1998, 130-7.

τῳ βάλεθ' ἁλικίαν,
Ἑλλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας. ἀρέομαι   75
πὰρ μὲν Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθαναίων χάριν
μισθόν, ἐν Σπάρτᾳ δ' <ἀπὸ> τᾶν πρὸ Κιθαιρῶ-
    νος μαχᾶν,
ταῖσι Μήδειοι κάμον ἀγκυλότοξοι,
παρ<ὰ> δὲ τὰν εὔυδρον ἀκτὰν
    Ἱμέρα παίδεσσιν ὕμνον Δεινομέν<εο>ς τελέσαις,
τὸν ἐδέξαντ' ἀμφ' ἀρετᾷ, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καμόντων.   80

I pray you, son of Cronus, grant that the war-cry of Phoenicians and Etruscans
may stay at home, now that they have seen their insolent violence
bring lamentation on their fleet for what it endured at Cumae,
crushed by the commander of the Syracusans, who hurled their finest men
from their swift ships into the sea, and rescued Greece from harsh slavery. 75
From Salamis I shall earn the Athenians' thanks as payment
and in Sparta for my tale of the battles before Cithaeron,
where the Medes who shoot with curved bows were overcome.
But by the well-watered bank of Himera
my reward shall be for the song I have made for Deinomenes' sons,
which they earned by their courage when their enemies were overthrown. 80

Hieron's and Gelon's battles against barbarian enemies frame the two decisive battles of
the Persian Wars, Salamis and Plataea, and the four are explicitly compared. As such, we
may well apply Pindar's words describing Cumae, the major accomplishment of the
poem's dedicatee, to Himera: victory "rescued Greece from harsh slavery." These words
echo those of the epigram inscribed at Delphi (quoted above), which refers to "barbarian
tribes" (βάρβαρα...ἔθνη) in line 3, and indeed other epigrams commemorating the
Persian Wars.[110] By focusing attention on the aspects of the fight against the barbarians
and Greek freedom from slavery, the Deinomenids were attempting to promote a view of
the battle and their own role in it that emphasized their subjects' Greek identity.

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[110] E.g., VIII, X-XII, XIV-XV, XXIII-XXIV, LIII Page. To be sure, the authenticity and date of most of
these epigrams have been questioned: see discussion in Molyneux 1992, 147-211; Raaflaub 2004, 62-4.
Few are likely to be authentically by Simonides (but this makes no difference to my argument) and some
are even of quite late date, but others are nearly contemporary.

Pindar offers a somewhat ambiguous perspective on the issue of who is responsible for these victories, a perspective that provides a key insight into the merger of tyrant and city. The focus in this passage is on the personal heroics of Hieron himself.[111] Although not mentioned by name, he is the only individual singled out for praise and the only active agent in the battle: the Phoenician and Etruscan sailors do not act but are passively hurled from their ships. As is natural in an epinician ode, the focus is on Hieron's leadership in the battle. In fact, in a passage in which Cumae and Himera frame Salamis and Plataea, the sons of Deinomenes – both Gelon and Hieron – are placed at the center of their victories, in lines 73 and 79. Moreover, in the last two lines of the passage, responsibility for the victory is given not to the Syracusans but to "the sons of Deinomenes," that is, to the same four brothers mentioned in the inscription on Gelon's tripod. Thus, Hieron and his family are portrayed as great defenders against barbarians: they are at the center of Greek identity in Sicily, and this constitutes one of their greatest claims to legitimate rule.

On the other hand, however, Hieron is named in line 73 only by a very significant periphrasis: he is the commander of the Syracusans. This is his role in the battle, so the Syracusans share in Hieron's glory and in his leadership. We are told of the Syracusan troops, alone of all the allies that were actually present at Cumae. Thus, Syracuse is seen to take the lead in protecting the Greeks, especially the Greeks of Sicily, from the two barbarian threats, the Etruscans and the Carthaginians. Pindar's descriptions here demonstrate clearly the merging of the tyrant into Syracusan identity.

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[111] Harrell 2002, 453.

I have argued previously that attempts by the Deinomenids to manipulate identity normally concentrated on placing themselves at the focal point of the identity group in question, and Greek identity is no exception. The emphasis newly placed on Greek identity in opposition to a barbarian enemy succeeded in uniting the Greeks of Sicily, but only Gelon's success at positioning himself as the victorious general who had led the Greeks to victory made his appeal for legitimacy through manipulation of identity successful. The new salience of Greek identity was yet another way in which Deinomenid identity politics had effects on identity in Sicily that long outlasted their reigns. Moreover, the various ways in which Himera was commemorated – with a focus either on the tyrants themselves or on their city – suggest the intermingling of various tiers of identity. As Scott points out, Gelon's tripod dedication at Delphi falls chronologically at a boundary between two distinct modes of dedication: prior to the early fifth century, tripods were mostly dedicated by individuals, but after about 480, *poleis* were more commonly the dedicators.[112] Gelon's tripod thus places the tyrant at the intersection of individual glory and *polis* ideology. Similarly, by dedicating a treasury at Olympia – an activity normally undertaken by *poleis* – the Deinomenids inserted themselves into a *polis* context. Thus, placing an emphasis on Greek identity not only helped legitimate Deinomenid rule across Sicily but also affected Syracusan civic identity as it came to center around the tyrants and their dynasty.

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[112] Scott 2010, 77.

Dionysius and Identity in Fourth-Century Sicily

At the end of the fourth century, some sixty years after the end of the Deinomenid tyranny in 466, a new tyrant emerged in Syracuse: Dionysius I, who, together with his son, Dionysius II, would rule Syracuse for another six decades. Like Gelon and Hieron before him, Dionysius I secured and legitimated his power by manipulating the identities of his subjects, and he did so in similar ways. But fourth-century Sicily was a very different place than it had been in the early fifth century. The fall of the Deinomenids led to important changes in Syracusan civic identity (see below, pp. 178-189) Massive sociopolitical changes, some ongoing since the fall of the Deinomenids and some more recent, meant that Dionysius' identity politics also differed drastically from his predecessors', to fit changing circumstances.

The watershed moment in these sociopolitical changes was the so-called First Carthaginian War of 409-405.[113] An ongoing border dispute between Segesta and Selinus (which had earlier sparked Athenian intervention) led to a major Carthaginian invasion, at the request of Segesta, in 409 (Diod. 13.43-4). The Carthaginian army besieged and sacked Selinus, and did the same to Himera for good measure (Diod. 13.54-62), thus avenging their defeat in 480. Three years later, Carthage sent another force to Sicily, which sacked Akragas (Diod. 13.80-91). As a result of this disaster, Dionysius was able to get himself elected general (Diod. 13.91-2); the following year, he led the unsuccessful defense of Gela against the Carthaginians (Diod. 13.108-10. This city, too, was sacked,

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[113] In general, see Stroheker 1958, 35-47; Caven 1990, 27-79. On this period as a watershed moment in Sicilian history, see, e.g., Consolo Langher 1997, 115.

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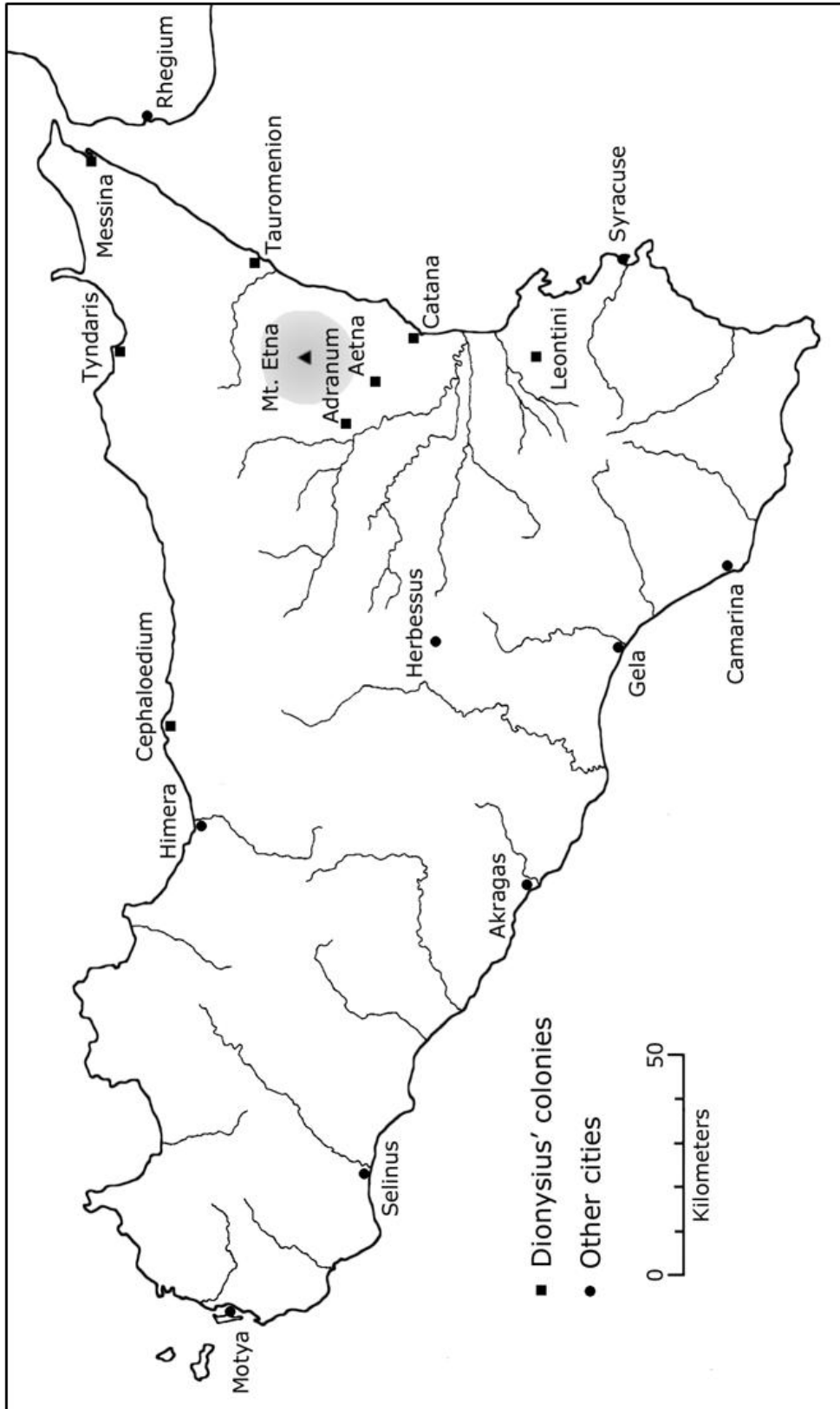
Map 4: Sicily in the age of Dionysius. Adapted from Caven 1990.

and Dionysius himself forced the evacuation of Camarina, which he could not defend (Diod. 13.111). Carthage now controlled the majority of Sicily; only the east coast remained under Greek control. Dionysius was thereby forced to sign a treaty which made the five cities mentioned above subject to Carthage – and also recognized Dionysius as ruler of Syracuse (Diod. 13.114).[114] In only five years, Syracuse had gone from a position of great power, flush with the defeat of Athens and able to send a naval squadron to pursue that war in the Aegean, to having little power and barely clinging to independence. The rest of Greek Sicily was lost.

In the middle of this war of survival, Dionysius appeared on the Syracusan political scene.[115] In early 405, in an atmosphere of recriminations following the failure to relieve Akragas, Dionysius in the assembly accused the city's generals of colluding with the enemy (13.91.3-92.1).[116] This accusation was all the easier to believe because of the initial allied successes in the campaign: they had defeated the Carthaginians on the march, but had failed to follow through on this victory, which led the army to harshly criticize the generals (13.87). Moreover, the serious psychological blow of yet another sacked city had the Syracusans grasping at straws. As a result of Dionysius' successful accusation, the generals were deposed and Dionysius chosen in their place (Diod. 13.91.2-92.1); he proceeded to use this office – and the excuse of the continuing military

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[114] On the Peace of Himilco, see Stroheker 1958, 49-52; Caven 1990, 75-9; Anello 2002b, 352-5.

[115] On Dionysius' rise to power, see Stroheker 1958, 37-49; Berve 1967, 222-7; Caven 1990, 50-8. That the gravity of the Carthaginian situation was central to it is universally recognized: see, e.g., Consolo Langher 1997, 112-14; Anello 2002b, 355-6; Mafodda 2002, 444-8.

[116] Diodorus adds a number of other rhetorical *topoi* appropriate to demagogues, which may or may not be authentic, but this charge seems likely to reflect the actual claims at the time; cf. Caven 1990, 53-4.

emergency, especially after his failure to defend Gela and Camarina – to gradually extend his power into a tyranny (Diod. 13.92-6).

In 397, Dionysius instigated another war with Carthage.[117] After initial Greek victories, especially the successful siege of Motya (Diod. 14.47-53), the Carthaginians responded forcefully by invading eastern Sicily, and several years of back-and-forth actions followed; a treaty was signed in 392 that was anything but conclusive (Diod. 14.96), and sporadic hostilities, including some major wars, continued for a century and a half. Although Dionysius had failed to eject Carthage from Sicily altogether, he had succeeded in avenging his prior defeats, proved he could defend Syracuse from the barbarian invaders, and secured his tyranny for decades to come.[118]

The events that brought Dionysius to power made fourth-century Sicily a very different place than the fifth-century island, suited to different kinds of identity politics. Nonetheless, parallels can be discerned. As under the Deinomenids, Greek identity became an important means of legitimating power, but the differences between the Carthaginian wars of 480 and 410-405 meant that the two sets of tyrants manipulated Greek identity in quite different ways. Similarly, Gelon, Hieron and Dionysius all found manipulation of civic identity a suitable means of creating legitimacy both at Syracuse and elsewhere in Sicily, but the radically changed sociopolitical landscape of the fourth century meant that Dionysius had a very different – and longer-lasting – impact on this tier of identity. A close comparison between these two tyrannies thus offers insights into

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[117] On the Second Carthaginian war, see Stroheker 1958, 64-85; Caven 1990, 98-131.

[118] Caven 1990, 130-1.

how the functioning of identity both maintains itself and changes over long periods of time.

Carthaginian Wars and Greek Identity

Dionysius' manipulation of Greek identity in his wars with Carthage constitutes the most striking parallel with that of the Deinomenids, but also shows clear differences, due to the very different political situation at the end of the fifth century. Gelon and Hieron repeatedly called on the memory of Himera and their own role in that victory to legitimate their rule, but this did not lead to the creation of a mentality of permanent conflict and undying enmity towards Carthage. Three-quarters of a century later, the situation was completely different. There was no doubt that the war with Carthage was a war of survival, and that the Greeks of Sicily needed to unite just to survive:[119] in fact, they had already begun this process before Dionysius seized power. It was into this context that Dionysius inserted himself as the leader who could successfully defend his subjects' Greek identity – not in the past, but in the present and future. This strategy, however, contained a crucial weakness: unlike the Deinomenids, who made use of their past successes, Dionysius opened himself up to the possibility of failure.

The Re-emergence of Greek Identity

In the first few years of the war, the Greeks of Sicily had already begun to think of themselves as a single community bound together by opposition to Carthage. Although the fighting occurred at first on a rather small scale – the Carthaginian general, Hannibal,

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[119] Cf. Caven 1990, 36-8.

seems to have envisioned a limited war to aid Segesta in 409[120] – the stakes suddenly

became much higher with the destruction of Selinus. Beginning with the siege of Himera

later that same year (Diod. 13.59-61), allied troops from Syracuse and other cities that

were still standing all supported each other, terrified that yet another Greek city would be

destroyed. For example, according to Diodorus, the Syracusans in 406 "seeing that

Akragas was under siege and fearing lest the besieged might suffer the same fate as befell

the Selinuntines and Himeraeans, had long been eager to send them aid;"[121] they

therefore collected allied troops from Italy, Messina, Camarina and Gela and marched off

to relieve the siege of Akragas. Although Diodorus has clearly exaggerated the horrors of

the respective sacks in his set-piece descriptions, and although his frequent description of

the Carthaginians as barbarians may reflect the language of his fourth- or third-century

source (Ephorus or Timaeus) rather than the discourse at the time, it is clear that the

Sicilian Greeks at the end of the fifth century were uniting around a common identity. I

have suggested elsewhere that it is in reactions to political events that we can observe

shifts in identity, and here the fact that numerous *poleis* sent troops suggests that they all

quickly realized that what they perceived as a relentless wave of Carthaginian destruction

sweeping eastward across the island in campaign after campaign affected all of them.[122]

They were all in it together as a single community: they were all Greeks.

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[120] Caven 1990, 27-30, 36-8; Anello 2002b, 346-8; Consolo Langher 1997, 112.

[121] 13.86.4: Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι θεωροῦντες τὴν Ἀκράγαντος πολιορκίαν, καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς Σελινουντίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἱμεραίοις τύχωσιν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι τύχης, πάλαι μὲν ἔσπευδον ἐκπέμψαι τὴν βοήθειαν.

[122] Cf. Caven 1990, 46-7. Anello 2002b, 347-9, sees hesitation in sending military assistance in 409, but this is early in the war; by its later stages, there was no hesitation.

The plight of refugees from each of the five destroyed cities offers a similar view into the newly formed community. Some 2,600 Selinuntines were received at Akragas and given food and housing not only by the government but by individual citizens – the latter fact suggesting that the preference for Greek identity in this context was widespread (13.48.3). A Syracusan naval squadron helped half the population of Himera escape to Messina (13.61.4-5). A "great crowd" of refugees from Akragas fled under armed escort to Gela and were later given new homes at Leontini (13.89.3-4). The following winter, civilians from several other cities fled to Syracuse and to Italy to escape the panic (13.91.1). Gela, too, was evacuated after Dionysius' defeat outside its walls, and the population of Camarina was also sent to Syracuse (13.111). Although Diodorus turned the plight of these refugees into several set-piece scenes on the horrors of war, nonetheless the facts must be more or less correct: as the war proceeded, the remaining Greeks welcomed the refugees with open arms and treated them as members of a single community. A good parallel for this is the reception by Troezen of thousands of Athenian refugees during the evacuation of Attica in 480 (Hdt. 8.41), when panhellenic sentiment was high, although Herodotus does not mention it in connection with this episode. Thus, by the time Dionysius arrived on the scene, the shared experience of war had the Sicilians well on their way to thinking of themselves as a single community of Greeks, united by their opposition to Carthage.

Dionysius thus did not need to encourage the Syracusans to consider their Greek identity salient, because they already did. Dionysius' arguments as represented in Diodorus do not include any rhetoric about barbarians. Everyone knew they needed to fight the Carthaginians: the relevant question instead was how to wage the war, and

especially who could properly lead them? By attacking the generals specifically for colluding with the enemy and thereby presenting them as unsuitable leaders of a Greek city, Dionysius showed them the best way to act on their Greek identity: by uniting around him as their leader against the barbarians.[123] Dionysius thus put himself in the center of a pre-existing identity, based on the claim that he alone could properly prosecute the war against Carthage. The Syracusans enthusiastically gave him a chance to prove this, in part because of "the outstanding bravery he was reputed to have shown in the battles against the Carthaginians."[124] Thus, Dionysius took advantage of the Syracusans' Greek identity by linking himself to it: their support for him was tied to his expected ability to protect them as Greeks. As we shall see below, this strategy only worked temporarily.

Although military exigencies forced Dionysius to sign an unfavorable peace treaty in 405 and he spent the next several years putting down a revolt against him and securing his corner of eastern Sicily, what he really needed to solidify his power was another war with Carthage, which would allow him to reclaim his position as protector of the Greeks. Having learned his lesson regarding the possibility of failure, the tyrant spent the intervening years making great preparations, so that he would be able to fight on his own terms, not those of the enemy as in 405. When he finally embarked on the Second Carthaginian War in 397, Dionysius used the rhetoric of barbarians and of Greek identity to encourage the Syracusans to support him.

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[123] Cf. Finley 1979, 76.

[124] 13.92.1: ὃς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Καρχηδονίους μάχαις ἀνδρείᾳ δόξας διενηνοχέναι περίβλεπτος ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις.

Dionysius' ultimatum to Carthage announced that "the Syracusans declare war upon the Carthaginians unless they restore freedom to the Greek cities that they have enslaved."[125] This clearly represents the official government position on the purpose of the war, and would surely have been proclaimed loudly at home as well. It draws heavily on the language of Greek freedom in opposition to barbarian enslavement,[126] and by presenting his war in this way, Dionysius was encouraging all his subjects and allies to unite behind him. This rhetoric of Greek identity and liberation from barbarians resonates strongly with Agesilaus' campaigns to free the Greeks of Asia from the Persians, which were going on at precisely this time,[127] and with Isocrates' rhetoric of panhellenism slightly later: this view of Greek identity was widespread at the time, and Dionysius only needed to encourage it.

This he did in his speech to the Syracusan assembly (Diod. 14.45.2-4), another key text for the tyrant's attempts to link war against Carthage with Greek identity. Although it is undeniably a speech – and hence falls into a less trustworthy category of Diodoran texts (see Introduction, pp. 36-38) – it is nonetheless reported in indirect discourse and thus is less obviously and flamboyantly a rhetorical construct. Moreover, since it is usually considered to be derived ultimately from Philistus, Dionysius' close

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[125] 14.46.5: Συρακόσιοι καταγγέλλουσι πόλεμον Καρχηδονίοις, ἐὰν μὴ τὰς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν καταδεδουλωμένας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἐλευθερώσωσιν.

[126] Cf. Stroheker 1958, 69-70; Caven 1990, 99.

[127] Caven 1990, 99.

adviser and court historian,[128] some of the sentiments may cautiously, and in conjunction

with the other evidence discussed here, be attributed to contemporary rhetoric.

> ἀποφαίνων αὐτοὺς καθόλου μὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐχθροτάτους ὄντας, μάλιστα
> δὲ τοῖς Σικελιώταις διὰ παντὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἡσυχίας
> αὐτοὺς μένειν ἀπεδείκνυε διὰ τὸν ἐμπεσόντα λοιμόν, ὃν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν
> κατὰ Λιβύην διεφθαρκέναι ἰσχύσαντας δ᾽ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν
> Σικελιωτῶν, οἷς ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἐπιβουλεύουσιν. διὸ αἱρετώτερον νῦν εἶναι πρὸς
> ἀσθενεῖς αὐτοὺς ὄντας διαπολεμεῖν ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἰσχυροὺς
> διαγωνίζεσθαι. ἅμα δὲ συνίστα δεινὸν εἶναι περιορᾶν τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις
> ὑπὸ βαρβάρων καταδεδουλωμένας, ἃς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον συνεπιλήψεσθαι τῶν
> κινδύνων, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον τῆς ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν.

> [Dionysius] declar[ed] that [the Carthaginians] were most hostile to all Greeks
> generally and that they had designs at every opportunity on the Greeks of Sicily in
> particular. For the present, he pointed out, the Carthaginians were inactive
> because of the plague which had broken out among them and had destroyed the
> larger part of the inhabitants of Libya, but when they had recovered their strength,
> they would not refrain from attacking the Sicilian Greeks, against whom they had
> been plotting from the earliest time. It was therefore preferable, he continued, to
> wage a decisive war upon them while they were still weak than to wait and
> compete when they were strong. At the same time he pointed out how terrible a
> thing it was to allow the Greek cities to be enslaved by barbarians, and that these
> cities would the more zealously join in the war, the more eagerly they desired to
> obtain their freedom.

This speech is full of invective against Carthage as a barbarian power, picturing the

enemy as permanently hostile to Greeks, especially the Sikeliotai – the Sicilian Greeks –

and advocating a crusade to free those Greeks who were enslaved by the barbarians.[129]

This highly inflammatory speech was evidently quite effective, since the assembly

approved the war (14.45.5), and in fact, Diodorus claims that they wanted the war even

more than the tyrant did.

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[128] Sanders 1987, 141-9; *contra*, Pearson, 174-5, who attributes it to Timaeus on the unlikely grounds that
this anti-Dionysian writer must be responsible for Diodorus' comment, immediately following the speech,
that the citizens hoped to use the opportunity of the war to revolt from the tyrant.

[129] Stroheker 1958, 69.

Dionysius' attempts to manipulate his subjects' identity were successful. At the outset, the war was immensely popular among the population at large.[130] Diodorus gives us a large set-piece description, no doubt exaggerated, of the preparations for war (14.41.2-43.4). If he is even partially accurate, large portions of the population were put to work building weapons, and they set to it enthusiastically. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that they fully supported Dionysius' attempt to legitimate the war as one of Greeks against barbarians. The same is true of Dionysius' fortification between 401 and 398 of the Epipolae plateau, just outside the city, which possibly was justified at the time as protection specifically against a possible Carthaginian attack (14.18.1).[131] As shown by their fervent response to military preparations against Carthage, the Syracusans were receptive to Dionysius' suggestion that they bring their Greek identity to the forefront, and they fully adopted it. The tyrant may have begun by manipulating their identity, but now little manipulation was necessary: their identity had shifted. When the war finally began, it was seen as a war of liberation,[132] and Dionysius' successes were sufficient to ensure his position as the legitimate defender of the Greeks for the rest of his reign.

The Limits of Identity Politics

Dionysius' strategy of legitimating his seizure of power by appealing to the Syracusans' Greek identity, however, contained a crucial weakness: unlike the Deinomenids, who made use of their past successes, this new tyrant opened himself up to

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[130] Cf. Finley 1979, 81; Stroheker 1958, 69; Caven 1990, 99.

[131] Cf. Stroheker 1958, 62-5; Caven 1990, 88-91.

[132] Caven 1990, 248-9.

the possibility of failure. In his very first campaign, Dionysius was not as good a general as he thought: he lost a battle to defend Gela and had to withdraw to Syracuse, evacuating the populations of Gela and Camarina as he went. According to Diodorus, the refugee situation that ensued caused the troops to begin to hate the tyrant (13.111.5-6); certainly his failure to defend these cities was a major factor in his loss of popular support.[133] The cavalry class at once revolted, pillaging his house at Syracuse and eventually going into exile at Aetna (a different site than the one Hieron had founded). Although Dionysius quickly regained control at Syracuse, the seeds of the Great Revolt (on which see below, pp. 182-183, 187-189) were sown when the tyrant no longer seemed capable of defending the Greeks of Sicily against the barbarians. In fact, Diodorus states quite clearly that it was the end of the Carthaginian war that led to this revolt: Dionysius "thought that the Syracusans, now that they were finished with the war, would have the leisure to pursue the recovery of their freedom."[134] Thus, Dionysius' attempt to secure his power by inserting himself into the Syracusans' Greek identity, though successful initially, lasted only as long as his success in war with Carthage.

When the war with Carthage was over, Dionysius attempted to find a new enemy against whom to rally his subjects. This was the Sikels, whom he attacked under the pretext of their former alliance with Carthage (Diod. 14.7.5).[135] If this statement of Diodorus accurately reflects the rhetoric at the time, then Dionysius probably hoped his subjects would retain their identity as Greeks against barbarians with a simple

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[133] Stroheker 1958, 47-9; Caven 1990, 73-4; Anello 2002b, 355.

[134] 14.7.1: ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, περὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς τυραννίδος διενοεῖτο μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι.

[135] Stroheker 1958, 54; Caven 1990, 80.

substitution of enemies. In this his policy was an abject failure: no sooner had Dionysius'

Syracusan troops arrived to besiege the Sikel town of Herbessus than the revolt of the

citizen troops began in earnest (Diod. 14.7.6-7). In all likelihood, this failure of identity

manipulation failed because it was simply a step too far. The Sikels were not the

Carthaginians. Relations between the Greeks and the Sikels had been tense and even

hostile on occasion over the past half-century, especially during the war with Ducetius

(461-51, with a resurgence in 440). But numerous Sikel towns had been allied with each

side during both Athenian invasions, and had even supported the Syracusans during their

overthrow of the Deinomenids.[136] The Sikels had not, as the Carthaginians had done over

the previous six years, launched a war of conquest ranging across the entire length of

Sicily, resulting in the total destruction of five major Greek cities, and threatening the city

of Syracuse itself. The Sikels were simply not enough of a threat to cause the Syracusans

to subordinate their desire for liberty to the need for resistance. Dionysius' swift pivot

from one enemy to another while continuing to promote a Greek identity in opposition to

barbarians was unsuccessful.[137]

        The career of Dionysius thus shows both the possibilities and the limitations of

the exploitation of Greek identity in politics. Historical events (namely, the war with

Carthage) affected which tier of identity the Greeks of Sicily chose to espouse, and

Dionysius was able to exploit this, albeit temporarily, by convincing them that he could

play the central role in defending them, and he later encouraged his subjects to return to

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[136] Thuc. 3.103.1, 115.1; 6.65.2, 88.3-4, 98.1, 103.2; 7.1.4-5, 32.1-2, 57.11, 58.3; Diod. 11.68.1-2.

[137] For a similar (and more successful) tactic by Hieron II, see Chapter Four, pp. 285-7.

that identity when it suited him. Like the Deinomenids, he not only focused on Greek identity but tried to insert himself into it so that his subjects would rally around him. But unlike his predecessors, Dionysius had no memories of past victories to promote: he had to place his hopes on future victories. This meant that the tyrant did not have completely free rein: after his military failure at Gela, the difference between rhetoric and reality became too great for the Syracusans to ignore, and they rejected his position at the center of their identity. Only later, when he finally had victories to proclaim, did Dionysius' manipulation of Greek identity prove successful.

Dionysius and Civic Identity

Dionysius, like the Deinomenids, attempted to manipulate the civic identities of his subjects, as well. But the war with Carthage during which he seized power led to a complete redrawing of the map of Sicily, and in this new geopolitical situation, Dionysius' manipulation of civic identities took on a somewhat different form. Like the Deinomenids, Dionysius attempted to place himself at the center of Syracusan civic identity – but what that identity meant had changed somewhat in the intervening years. On the other hand, the disruption of the Carthaginian war allowed him to go much farther in eliminating competing civic identities than the Deinomenids did. Thus, Dionysius' manipulations of both Syracusan and non-Syracusan identity show both how the functioning of identity across nearly a century remains similar even as many details shift.

Fourth-century Sicily, as in the Deinomenid period, was a hotbed of population mobility, much of it stimulated by Dionysius' mercenary colonies.[138] Many old cities,

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[138] Stroheker 1958, 80-1; Demand 1990, 100-5; Caven 1990, 86-7, 125, 130-1; Giuliani 1994.

such as Naxos and Catana, had been either destroyed by Carthage or by Dionysius himself: these were replaced by new ones like Tauromenion, Tyndaris, and Adranum, in the greatest rewriting of the sociopolitical map in the history of ancient Sicily. Other cities, such as Messina, were refounded on the same sites and with the same names, but with largely new populations – in this case, drawn from Locri and Messenia.[139] Like the Deinomenids, Dionysius intended to secure his power base outside of Syracuse by ensuring the loyalty of these populations, since their identities would now focus on their benefactor, the tyrant himself. But unlike Gelon, whose rearrangement of civic identities was mostly reversed after the fall of the dynasty (Diod. 11.76), Dionysius' schemes had a substantial long-term impact on the urban fabric of Sicily: many of the new toponyms that appear in this period endured for centuries. Since these new settlements were composed exclusively of mercenaries – many of them Campanians[140] – loyal to Dionysius, prior civic identities had no meaning and offered no threat to the tyrant.

Like the Deinomenids, Dionysius attempted to secure his position and that of his dynasty by associating himself with pre-existing aspects of Syracusan civic identity, but the nature of this identity had changed somewhat in the intervening years. Liberty as part of civic identity – the notion that Syracuse was a free city that deserved to be free – was originally promoted by the Deinomenids and referred to freedom from barbarian domination in the aftermath of Himera. As I will argue below (pp. 179-182), with the fall of the Deinomenids the Syracusans redirected this concept against their former rulers. For Dionysius, this dangerous idea had to be defused, and he did so by resurrecting the earlier

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[139] Diod. 14.14-15 (Naxos, Catana, and Leontini), 14.37.5 (Adranum), 14.58.2 (Aetna), 14.78 (Messina and Tyndaris), 14.96.4 (Tauromenion) , 106.3 (Caulonia), 14.107.2 (Hipponium).

[140] See, e.g., Diod. 14.9.8-9, 15.3, 58.2, 61.4-6.

rhetoric of liberty: instead of freedom from tyranny, he hoped the Syracusans would instead get behind the idea of freedom from Carthage. In his speech to the assembly in favor of declaring war on Carthage in 397 (quoted above), he emphasizes the plight of the cities enslaved by Carthage and the benefits that would accrue to Syracuse from liberating them (14.45.4). As I suggested above, the Syracusans' enthusiastic support of the war indicates that his manipulation of their identities succeeded. Moreover, we see here a clear example of how a single rhetorical device can manipulate two sets of identities at once. Greek identity and civic identity are conflated, since both are focused on liberation from Carthage; this phenomenon will become even more important in the third century (see Chapter Four). By redirecting the Syracusans' identity that was centered on liberty away from himself and onto the foreign enemy, he succeeded in legitimating his own power.

Like Hieron, Dionysius did indelibly associate his tyranny with Syracusan topography, especially the island of Ortygia. The tyrant took over this old center of Syracuse for himself, walling it off from the rest of the city and building a smaller citadel within it (Diod. 14.7.3). This palace stood for some six decades as a symbol of the tyranny.[141] When Dion, a relative of Dionysius and student of Plato, overthrew Dionysius II in 357 but was suspected of aiming at tyranny himself, a critical argument used against him was that he did not tear down the tyrant's palace but instead moved into it himself (Plut. *Dion* 53.2). Timoleon, the next great liberator, did tear it down in 343, precisely as a symbol of tearing down the tyranny (Plut. *Timol*. 22.1-3; Diod. 16.70.4). Thus,

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[141] Stroheker 1958, 52-3; Caven 1990, 184-5.

Dionysius was able to associate himself with one of the same key topographical features as Hieron – and thereby with Syracusan civic identity – but in a radically different way.

The salience of ethnicity, on the other hand, had radically changed. Hieron had gone to great effort to represent himself as a Dorian, a form of identity that had played an important role in Sicilian politics as recently as the Athenian invasion of 415 (see Chapter Three). But Dionysius, though he was a native-born Syracusan and therefore a Dorian, made no discernable attempt to represent himself as such. Partly, perhaps, this is due to the very fact of his birth – if it was so widely known, he did not feel a need to emphasize it. But there is more. As discussed above, the explosive Carthaginian rampage eastward across Sicily caused all Sicilian Greeks, Dorian and Chalcidian alike, to unite against their common enemy. Intra-hellenic ethnicities were simply not important in this situation. Moreover, Dionysius' policies of population removal and mercenary settlement, combined with the disruption caused by successive wars with Carthage, reduced – if not completely eliminated – the salience of intra-Hellenic ethnic groups. The old ethnic groups based on notions of descent no longer meant anything: since the Chalcidians were no longer there for the Dorians to oppose themselves to,[142] the whole issue slipped away, and by the third century, the conflict between Dorians and Chalcidians was only a memory. Thus, the changed political situation at the end of the fifth century accounts for Dionysius' lack of concern for his Dorian ethnicity.

Dionysius' tactics of wholesale population removal and replacement, along with his manipulation of Syracusan civic identity, allowed him to create a secure power base

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[142] Cf. Giuffrida 2002, 417, 421-2.

across a large section of eastern Sicily that has been called a precursor of the Hellenistic monarchies.[143] Moreover, his strategy of appealing to Greek identity by fighting ongoing wars with Carthage – as opposed to Deinomenid appeals to the memory of past victories – was, though initially risky, ultimately so successful that it remained a major piece of the blueprint for a successful tyranny in Sicily for some two centuries to come. Although Greek identity based on hostility to Carthage was not always the most salient tier of identity, it frequently returned to the fore throughout the fourth century and even down to the reign of Hieron II (see Chapter Four).

Responses to Tyranny

The Deinomenid tyranny eventually fell in 466, when Thrasybulus, the third brother to take power, alienated the citizenry to such an extent that they overthrew him in a violent civil war. However, their effects on Syracusan identity – both the aspects of it that they created and new ones that were invented in reaction to them – endured in several substantial ways. First, the Syracusans added a new component to their civic identity – liberty – that, while sometimes ignored, would reappear again and again throughout the next two and a half centuries, with powerful impacts on historical events. Secondly, a new conflict emerged between the original Syracusan citizens and the new citizens brought in as mercenaries by the tyrants, in which conflicting claims and counterclaims to Syracusan identity sought to redefine who counted as a true Syracusan. Remarkably, some of these same themes would recur at the end of the fifth century,

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[143] Finley 1979, 78; Caven 1990, 249.

during the Great Revolt against Dionysius in 404.[144] Although the intervening time and changed situation led to some different developments, the self-definition of the Syracusan community and the place of the tyrant in it were still live issues that affected major political events some sixty years later.

The Rhetoric of Liberation

One feature of Greek identity promoted by the Deinomenids had been liberty from Carthage. The threat of Carthaginian invasion was represented as a form of slavery, and the tyrants were presented as the protectors of this freedom. Liberty was therefore under the control of the tyrants: the freedom in question was freedom from barbarian domination, not from the tyrants. After the fall of the tyranny, the Syracusans turned the tyrants' own weapon against them. By appropriating the manipulation of identity used by the tyrants, the Syracusans were able to unite themselves under an aspect of their identity that was not new, but merely redirected. During the Great Revolt against Dionysius in 404, as well, the Syracusans resurrected this sense of liberty as a part of their civic identity. In both periods, appeals to this aspect of identity were used for political purposes. The tyrants were thus not the only ones able to manipulate identity, and it is significant that the Syracusans did so by retaining and further manipulating, rather than rejecting, the identity created by the tyrants.

According to Diodorus, the key inspiration for the Syracusan revolt from the tyranny of Thrasybulus was the desire for liberty. The historian presents this movement as involving the participation of the entire citizenry: "Consequently the Syracusans,

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[144] On this episode, see Stroheker 1958, 54-7; Caven 1990, 80-3.

choosing men who would take the lead, set about as one man to destroy the tyranny, and once they had been organized by their leaders they clung stubbornly to their freedom."[145]

The Syracusans, not any portion of them, are the subject of the sentence, and the word πανδημεί indicates that this was not a revolt sparked by a few aristocratic politicians but a broad-based desire for liberty, and thus it provides evidence for the particular version of Syracusan identity that was most salient at the time. What is more, the incorporation of liberty into identity was not restricted to Syracuse: Deinomenid ideas about freedom from the barbarians had been common throughout Sicily, and the Syracusans were able to garner substantial support from four other cities (Akragas, Gela, Selinus, and Himera) by appealing to this newly altered notion of liberty.[146] Barrett has argued that the invocation of Zeus Eleutherios at the opening of Pindar *Ol.* 12, written for Ergoteles of Himera, refers in fact to the fall of the Deinomenids and not to the battle of Himera, as is usually supposed;[147] alternatively, it could refer to the expulsion of Akragantine rule in the person of the tyrant Thrasydaeus, son of Theron, in 472. In either case, then, the idea of freedom from tyranny can be applied across Sicily even more strongly.

That this rhetoric of liberation was strongly felt across the citizen body as a whole is shown by their commemoration of this event (Diod. 11.72.2):

> καταλύσαντες τὴν Θρασυβούλου τυραννίδα συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δημοκρατίας βουλευσάμενοι πάντες ὁμογνωμόνως ἐψηφίσαντο Διὸς μὲν ἐλευθερίου κολοττιαῖον ἀνδριάντα κατασκευάσαι, κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ θύειν ἐλευθέρια καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιφανεῖς ποιεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τὸν

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[145] Diod. 11.67.6: διόπερ οἱ Συρακόσιοι προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἡγησομένους ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος πανδημεί καὶ συνταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀντείχοντο τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

[146] See esp. Diod. 11.68.1-2: συνελευθερῶσαι.

[147] Barrett 1973, whose argument depends on re-dating the ode from 472 to 466; *contra*, Guildersleeve 1885, 224-5.

τύραννον καταλύσαντες ἠλευθέρωσαν τὴν πατρίδα· θύειν δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς θεοῖς ταύρους τετρακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ τούτους δαπανᾶν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν εὐωχίαν.

> After the Syracusans had overthrown the tyranny of Thrasybulus, they held a meeting of the Assembly, and after deliberating on forming a democracy of their own they all voted unanimously to make a colossal statue of Zeus the Liberator and each year to celebrate with sacrifices the Festival of Liberation and hold games of distinction on the day on which they had overthrown the tyrant and liberated their native city; and they also voted to sacrifice to the gods, in connection with the games, four hundred and fifty bulls and to use them for the citizens' feast.

The statue of Zeus Eleutherios recalls, for example, the altar of the same god set up on the battlefield of Plataea and the similar rhetoric that surrounded commemoration of the Battle of Himera (see above). In fact, Raaflaub argues that cults of Zeus Eleutherios across the Greek world originally focused on freedom from an external enemy – and that this cult in Syracuse was the first to re-orient the cult to commemorate the expulsion of the tyranny.[148] Moreover, the annual festival implies that this commemoration of liberation is to be ongoing and passed down to future generation: in other words, it is to become part of Syracusan identity, and as such, it was repeatedly celebrated on coins, especially in the fourth century.[149] The massive number of bulls to be sacrificed, along with Diodorus' notice that the meat was to feed the citizens (but not, apparently, anyone else who might attend) implies that this liberty was crucial to the civic identity of all the citizens – and that liberation was a particularly civic act.

It is, of course, crucial to ask whether the desire for liberty could truly become part of a community's civic identity. It is often assumed that freedom is valued for its own sake and that no further investigation is needed as to why a city like Syracyse would

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[148] Raaflaub 2004, 110, and cf. 100-2.

[149] Head 1911, 179-82; Kraay 1976, 232.

want freedom from a tyrant. Identity need not play a role in this issue at all. As Kurt

Raaflaub has pointed out regarding fifth-century Greece in the aftermath of the Persian

Wars, a concept of freedom is not something that appears automatically; rather, it

develops from a particular set of circumstances, in this case the misconduct of

Thrasybulus.[150] Further examples, especially that of Taras (see Chapter Four, pp. 290-

296), will show that these contingent events, which took place in the Annalistes' *histoire*

événementielle, often had long-lasting effects on the mentalities of identity.

In fact, some sixty years later, as Dionysius was seizing power, the Syracusans

responded by resurrecting this identity based on liberty. In 404, since freedom from

Carthage was no longer a pressing concern, they again redirected their identity towards

freedom at home. They believed that they, the Syracusans, as a great power, deserved to

be free of tyrants.

A few passages suggest that, despite some possible rhetorical exaggeration by

Diodorus, liberty was genuinely a part of the discourse at the time. The initial outbreak of

the revolt occurred in the camp of the citizen-army before Herbessus, when an officer

who tried to quell mutinous mutterings among the troops was murdered.[151] The

ringleaders then "loudly called on the citizens to rally for freedom."[152] This was the

battle-cry that they expected the citizens to respond to: in other words, a wide swath of

the Syracusan citizenry believed that freedom was worth fighting for. Moreover, when,

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[150] Raaflaub 2004.

[151] Cf. Stroheker 1958, 54-5; Caven 1990, 80-1.

[152] Diod. 14.7.6-7: τοὺς δὲ πολίτας βοῶντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

shortly afterwards, they sent for naval help to Messina and Rhegium, they "asked them to support their struggle for freedom."[153] This word, *eleutheria*, was evidently the officially-sanctioned goal of the revolt, and was designed to appeal to its intended audience, the populations of those two cities. It clearly worked: both cities sent their fleets, since "they were eager to send aid in the cause of freedom."[154] If this is not exaggerated, it suggests that liberty may have been incorporated into the identities of many Sicilians. Even after the suppression of the revolt, the Syracusans were still susceptible to agitation on the basis of freedom. A Spartan agent named Aristos or Aretas connived with Dionysius to infiltrate dissident circles and assassinate their leader, a Corinthian named Nicoteles: he won the rebels' trust by promising to restore their liberty.[155] This faction of Syracusans clearly believed that liberty was a crucial aspect of their identity as Syracusans, and they were willing to risk anything to secure it.

New Citizens and the Boundaries of the Community

Syracuse had the misfortune to have the highest frequency of *staseis* – episodes of civil strife, or even civil war – of any Sicilian community in antiquity, with some twenty-seven separate instances recorded over some five centuries as an independent *polis*.[156] One major example occurred shortly after the expulsion of Thrasybulus in 466, when the mercenaries who had been given citizenship by Gelon fought the original citizens of

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[153] Diod. 14.8.2: δεόμενοι κατὰ θάλατταν συναντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

[154] Diod. 14.8.2: σπεύδουσαι συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας. Cf. Caven 1990, 81-2.

[155] Diod. 14.10.3: τούς τε Συρακοσίους ἀνασείων καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκαταστήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος. He is called Aristos here and Aretas at Diod. 14.70.3; cf. Stroheker 1958, 55-6; Caven 1990, 81-2.

[156] Berger 1992, 34-53.

Syracuse over the rights of citizenship. This entire struggle was essentially over the boundaries of the community and who had the right to define them. Some sixty years later, the Great Revolt of the Syracusans from Dionysius in 404, although not directly fought over citizenship rights, did nonetheless feature both sides contesting the boundaries of the community. In both cases, the nature of Syracusan identity was at stake in the fight over the legacy of tyranny.

No sooner had democracy been established in post-Deinomenid Syracuse than civil strife arose between the original citizens and the mercenaries who had been given citizenship by Gelon.[157] Although a portion of these had departed at the fall of the tyranny (Diod. 11.68.5), there were still over 7,000 mercenaries included in the citizen body (Diod. 11.72.3). The new democracy refused to give these new citizens a share in the magistracies; the former mercenaries revolted at this insult, seized portions of the city (Ortygia and Achradina), and held out until, after some time, they were militarily defeated by (original) citizen forces (Diod. 11.72-3, 76). They were then allowed to leave and settled in Messenia (Diod. 11.76.5). Diodorus suggests that the citizens excluded the mercenaries from office "either because they judged them to be unworthy or because they were suspicious lest men who had been brought up in the way of tyranny and had served in war under a monarch might attempt a revolution."[158] Modern scholarship has produced other political explanations for this episode, usually involving resentment on the part of the original citizens against the newcomers due to the tyrants' expropriation of land or the

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[157] The exact chronology of the years 466-461 is uncertain: see Manganaro 1974-75, 9-16; Sinatra 1992, 353-6.

[158] Diod. 11.72.3: εἴτε οὐκ ἀξίους κρίναντες, εἴτε καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες μήποτε συντεθραμμένοι τυραννίδι καὶ μονάρχῳ συνεστρατευμένοι νεωτερίζειν ἐπιχειρήσωσιν.

simple desire to make a complete break with the past under the tyrants.[159] Although these accounts surely have some validity, I argue that closer analysis of this episode of civil strife reveals a struggle in the mid-460s over the nature of Syracusan identity.

According to Diodorus (11.72.3), the new Syracusan democracy established that only the "original citizens" (τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις) would be eligible for magistracies. This was not merely a political initiative. In Greek thought, membership in the community could be defined in various ways, not all of them dealing with juridical categories.[160] Citizenship – legal membership in a political community – was inherently an active, participatory status. Although citizenship conferred certain other rights, especially the right to vote in the assembly, the right to hold magistracies was one crucial defining factor in separating citizens from non-citizens. In fact, for Aristotle in Book 3 of the *Politics*, it is one of two fundamental activities that distinguish citizen from non-citizen.[161] For those who were citizens – as is well documented, in different ways, at Athens and Sparta – it was a key factor in their identity. By redefining who was eligible for magistracies, the Syracusans were redefining the boundaries of their community and therefore what constituted their civic identity. Under the new regime, the sole criterion for determining whether someone was sufficiently Syracusan to hold office was not a property requirement but rather whether one had ancestral heritage in the city.

However, this claim of ancestral heritage was perhaps somewhat flexible. In addition to the mercenaries, Gelon and Hieron had brought numerous Sicilian Greeks to

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[159] Rizzo 1970, 16-20; Sinatra 1992, esp. 354-6, 360-3; Consolo Langher 1997 , 44-5.

[160] Even Aristotle, in his discussion of citizenship (*Pol*. 3.1-2.1274b-1276a), admits that no-one can agree on a definition of citizenship. See Chapter One, pp. 104-106, 109-110 for two examples of membership in a community defined in a way other than by legal citizenship.

[161] 1275a23: the citizen is one who μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς.

Syracuse (see above, pp. 130-136), and these were still there as well. It is unclear to what extent they were included among the "original citizens" who fought the tyrants. What is clear is that sometime in this period (the exact chronology is murky) many of them returned home to refound or liberate their original communities.[162] This suggests that they were not fully integrated into the original citizen body and may not have fully supported the Syracusans in the mercenary conflict. In fact, the redefinition of Syracusan identity to exclude some citizens (i.e., the mercenaries) may have encouraged other citizens to leave as well. On the other hand, Syracuse's enormous population only arose as a result of the population movements which were now reversed. Yet Syracuse remained a large and powerful city. It seems clear that not all the new citizens left: some remained at Syracuse and were presumably still considered citizens. Thus, the redefinition of Syracusan identity remained flexible enough to include one group of citizens – who had been there less than twenty years – under the rubric of "original citizens" while excluding another, similar group.

The mercenaries immediately disputed this redefinition of citizenship. By the time of these events (c. 465), they had been living in Syracuse as citizens for perhaps as many as twenty years. They believed that they now had a shared history with the other Syracusans that entitled them to belong to the community. Gelon and Hieron had relied on their large mercenary armies to establish and maintain their power, and the Syracusans had benefited. The mercenaries had thus played a critical role in establishing Syracuse as the leader of Sicily, and they believed that this entitled them to continue to participate in Syracusan citizenship. This shared history became their criterion for Syracusan identity:

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[162] Diod. 11.76.4-5; cf. Asheri 1980; Consolo Langher 1988-89, 253-8; Lomas 2006, 108-10.

they insisted they fulfilled this criterion, and were willing to fight for it. This dispute over the nature of Syracusan identity – whether it would be based on ancestry or on recent shared history – led to a civil war fought in the streets of Syracuse, and shows how strongly the manipulation of populations by the Deinomenids continued to affect the interplay of various conceptions of identity even after the fall of the dynasty.

Diodorus offers rather less information about the citizenship measures employed by Dionysius and his opponents during the Great Revolt, largely because it was less central to the struggle in this case than in the earlier one. Nonetheless, it is possible to discern two competing views of what sort of person could legitimately join the Syracusan community.

Diodorus lists a number of actions Dionysius took to safeguard his tyranny from possible revolt. Along with fortifying both the island of Ortygia as a whole and a smaller citadel within it (14.7.2-3), the tyrant distributed land to his supporters in several categories, including his commanders, his mercenaries, and members of the general population. The purpose of this distribution of land was clearly to enrich those who supported him and strengthen their ability to do so, as well as to encourage and solidify their devotion to the tyranny.[163] Among the groups who received land were freed slaves newly enrolled as citizens – a group referred to as νεοπολίται, in a phrase explicitly attributed to Dionysius (Diod. 14.7.4). This is the only reference to these new citizens, and it might be considered untrustworthy, a mere *topos* of demagogic politics, except that Diodorus had preserved this detail of the name. It is thus reasonable to assume that

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[163] Cf. Stroheker 1958, 53; Caven 1990, 78-9.

Dionysius did indeed free slaves and enroll them as citizens, and in the context of other actions taken to strengthen his position, this action was clearly also intended to stack the citizen body in his favor. Dionysius' view of the criteria for Syracusan citizenship was therefore much like Gelon's: the tyrant and the state were the same, so anyone who supported the tyrant was a supporter of the state and therefore deserved to be a citizen and a full member of the community.

The Syracusans, on the other hand, "promised citizenship to any mercenaries who would come over to them."[164] They, too, were redefining the boundaries of their community. By offering citizenship to the mercenaries, they were proclaiming a conception of Syracusan identity that was precisely opposed to that of Dionysius but also closely related to it. Since they were reviving the incorporation of liberty into their identity, it follows naturally that anyone who fought alongside the Syracusans against the tyranny was legitimately a member of the community. Unlike in Athens, where at almost precisely the same time, fighting against the Thirty Tyrants was not considered enough for enfranchisement by the democracy, the enormous population mobility fostered by the Sicilian tyrants seems to have made the boundaries of the community more flexible. On one level, both Dionysius and the Syracusans understood the shared experience of fighting as the basis for the community, but their underlying conceptions of Syracusan identity – centered around either liberty or the tyrant – shaped how they interpreted that shared experience.

Moreover, while both sides' manipulations of the citizen body can be partially attributed to military expediency, the legitimacy of their respective enrollments of

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[164] Diod. 14.8.3: τοῖς μεταβαλομένοις τῶν ξένων ἐπηγγείλαντο μεταδώσειν τῆς πολιτείας.

citizens was – given the changing and contested definitions of citizenship and identity discussed above – seriously in question. By understanding the issue as one of identity, we can see how each side legitimated its actions to itself – though clearly not to the other side.

Although shifts in identities that occurred after the fall of the Deinomenids or during an active revolt against Dionysius cannot be described as manipulations of identity by tyrants, nonetheless the mentalities of the Syracusans analyzed above were conditioned by the legacy of decades of tyranny. Gelon and Hieron had wrought vast changes to the urban fabric and civic community of Syracuse over nearly thirty years, while Dionysius had only just seized power when the Great Revolt occurred. Remarkably, despite these two quite different situations, many of the same issues arose in the context of reaction or resistance to tyranny. Liberty, far from being a condition naturally desired by anyone, became part of Syracusan civic identity and remained so, but the answer to the question of "freedom from whom?" swung back and forth between Carthage and tyranny according to the ebb and flow of politics. Tyranny in Sicily was strongly associated with manipulation of the citizen body, as the tyrant attempted to stack the deck in his favor by making his supporters citizens. The changes made by the Deinomenids to the citizen body of Syracuse initially remained in place when the last tyrant was expelled, and this constituted only one of the most salient of their legacies with which the Syracusan democracy had to come to terms.

Conclusion

The manipulation of identity by powerful politicians, especially tyrants, constitutes a major feature of how identity functioned in Greek Sicily. What the examination of a number of examples here has shown is that if a tyrant can convince his subjects that their identity is what he says it is, then it is in fact their identity, at least until conditions change. The fact that an outside agent has manipulated the identity of a population does not diminish the fact that their identity has shifted.

What the tyrants sought was legitimation, for if the people felt the tyranny was a legitimate government, they would not revolt.[165] They thereby sought to manipulate the identities of their subjects in ways that would legitimate their rule. Dionysius, for example, encouraged the Syracusans to think of themselves as Greeks who were by nature hostile to Carthage – rather than as Syracusans or as Dorians – because he expected that they would then support him as the tyrant who could lead them to victory. The very success of this enterprise implies that a (temporary) shift from one tier of identity to another occurred. The tyrants also sought to adjust how a group viewed its identity and what specific aspects it considered salient. Hieron, for example, emphasized his Dorian identity and his links to the topography of Syracuse in order to encourage the Syracusans to accept him as one of them, while Dionysius tried to shift one major component of Syracusan identity, namely liberty, from a focus on himself to a war with Carthage. All of these, to the extent that they were successful, represent actual changes in

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[165] Cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1313a.

people's identities, a fact not lessened but rather explained by their origin in tyrannical manipulation.

Of course, there was a limit. Identity in Greek Sicily was not infinitely malleable, and not all attempts to manipulate it succeeded. I have suggested that the Great Revolt against Dionysius resulted from a collapse in the tyrant's attempt to insert himself into the population's Greek identity as their leader in resistance to Carthage. The Syracusans accepted this at first, but with military failure at Gela in 405, they refused to recognize his manipulations any further. Similarly, the Deinomenid efforts to wipe out civic identities across Sicily completely unraveled after the fall of the dynasty, as their population upheavals were reversed and the original civic identities reconstituted themselves at Camarina, Gela, and numerous other places, leaving the civic landscape of Sicily looking much as it did before the tyrants arrived. The tyrants generally dealt with this problem by maintaining several parallel efforts at once: thus, if some individuals or groups refused to acknowledge a tyrant's attempts to manipulate their civic identity, perhaps they would find his version of Greek identity acceptable. By manipulating several tiers of identity at the same time, they reduced their risk of total failure.

Despite some failures, numerous elements of tyrannical identity manipulation, especially several new aspects of Syracusan civic identity, remained permanent fixtures of the landscape, while others, especially Sicilian identity and the Greek opposition to Carthage, subsided only to become salient again later in other situations. The effects of tyranny on identity in Sicily, therefore, were complex and shifting, but in every case they lasted long after the fall of the tyrants.

CHAPTER THREE

The Peloponnesian War in Sicily

As a contemporary source with a particular interest in Sicily, Thucydides' history constitutes crucial testimony for understanding the interaction between various tiers of identity – and the role of identity in general – in late-fifth-century Sicilian politics.[1] Although an Athenian, he was a perceptive observer of Sicily and Sicilians, and his detailed narrative sheds substantial light on the functioning of identity there. In this chapter, I will examine several case studies, arising both from Thucydides' own historical thought and from the events he describes, through which we can analyze the interactions between three tiers of identity (civic, ethnic, and geographic) that were constantly shifting and rarely agreed upon by all Sicilians.

First, in the text often referred to as the "Catalogue" of forces before the final battle in the Great Harbor of Syracuse (7.57-58), Thucydides lists each allied city together with its ethnic affiliation and other relevant information and harshly criticizes those cities that fought against members of their own ethnic group. I argue that Thucydides considered it normal for states to ally with their ethnic brethren and that his purpose in this passage is to show how the Peloponnesian War disrupted the normal

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[1] For a defense of my approach to Thucydides, see the Introduction, pp. 34-5.

workings of these ethnic relationships. Thucydides' interest in ethnicity and ethnic

diplomacy also appears in other parts of the work: at 3.86, Thucydides describes the

Sicilian alliances in 427, on the eve of Athenian intervention, as falling along ethnic

lines, with the sole exception of Camarina, a Dorian city that fought against Syracuse and

the other Dorians. We can understand Camarina's choice of allies by looking at the

motivations behind political decisions: I argue in this second case study that while most

Sicilian cities in this period focused on ethnic identity as their prime consideration in

forming alliances, Camarina emphasized its civic identity, which was predicated on

antagonism toward Syracuse. Thirdly, I will consider two speeches of Hermocrates, the

Syracusan general and politician, which, though they were composed by Thucydides, I

take to contain genuine and pertinent information (see below, pp. 231-235). The first, at a

peace conference in 424, convinces all Sicilians to unite against Athens on the grounds

that they all inhabit the same island; I suggest that this is an example of geographic

identity. However, in 414, during the second Athenian invasion, Hermocrates (ultimately

successfully) urges Camarina to ally with Syracuse as fellow Dorians. Not only does he

reject the geographic arguments he himself had put forth a decade earlier, he convinces

the Camarinaeans to set aside their civic identity as well.

In exploring these examples, the varying political uses of identity between

different communities and across time will be of particular concern, as well as the precise

relationship of different tiers of identity, since they do not necessarily remain rigidly

separated. Equally important will be to clarify the role of manipulation of identity by

politicians and its use as a tool of legitimation – and the limits of these possibilities.

Furthermore, the historiographical question of Thucydides' view of identity will form a

crucial backdrop to this investigation. In all cases, the tapestry of identity in Sicily

remains a fascinating and variable phenomenon.

Identity in Thucydides

One aspect of Thucydides' interest in Sicily lies in the identities, especially the

ethnic identities, of the cities located there.[2] The Sicilian Archaeology is, among other

things, an extended exercise in seeking to establish identity through origins. In this text,

the historian identifies every city in Sicily by its mother city and often by ethnicity, and

this focus on kinship relations is repeated throughout the Sicilian narrative. In a brief

article, H. C. Avery has suggested that in fact Thucydides was assimilating the Athenian

expedition of conquest to a mission of colonization, and that this explains his focus in the

introduction on colonization: it primes the reader to pick up signals that lie ahead, later in

Books 6 and 7.[3] This has been followed especially by Simon Hornblower, who rightly

argues that relations between colony and mother city are a major focus for Thucydides

throughout the Sicilian narrative.[4]

But I suggest that this can be taken even farther. Thucydides is interested in

kinship relations of all sorts, including colony-mother city relations but also more broadly

ethnicity and other forms of collective identity. We may note the famous confusion in the

night battle of Epipolae in which the Athenians are confused by the Dorian paeans sung

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[2] For Thucydides' interest in ethnicity generally, see Alty 1982, 3-7; Crane 1996, 147-61; Hornblower, *Comm.*, II.61-80.

[3] Avery 1973, 8-13; followed and expanded by Kallet 2001, 24-27.

[4] Hornblower, *Comm.*, III.262-63, 278-99, 654-70.

by their own Argive allies and end up slaughtering each other (7.44.6); this foreshadows the theme of intra-ethnic warfare in the catalogue of allies in 7.57-58 (see below). In the context of Books 6 and 7, this attention to kinship relationships of all sorts is framed by the Sicilian Archaeology and the Catalogue,[5] since the former introduces and provides background for the latter; this same concern features prominently in Hermocrates' speeches and in many other places throughout the entire history.

Elsewhere, Thucydides routinely reports that cities cited ethnicity as a motivating factor in forging alliances and going to war. Specifically, one state, such as Leontini, which was Chalcidian, might call on a member of its own ethnic group, such as Athens, for help in a war against a member of a different ethnic group – Dorian Syracuse. This is what happened in 427, and the Athenians cited their *syngeneia*, or kinship, with Leontini as the official reason for their military assistance.[6] That is, the Athenians accepted the notion that they and the Leontinians were members of the same ethnic group (the Ionians), and publicly declared this common ethnicity to be a valid reason for sending an expedition. This is not the only example from this period of kinship cited either as an argument in a request for aid, as a reason for expectation of aid, or as the official reason for the provision of aid. Nor are such arguments limited to Ionians – the phenomenon is widespread throughout the Greek world.[7]

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[5] Cf. Connor 1984, 196.

[6] 3.86.3. For the interpretation of this statement as the official reason put out by Athens, see Westlake 1960, 106. Leontini cited both *syngeneia* and "the ancient treaty" (3.86.3), but Thucydides mentions only that the ethnic factor was taken up by Athens.

[7] The following examples, of various types, are from Thucydides alone, and are not exhaustive: 1.26.3 (Epidamnus and Corcyra), 1.34.3 (Corinth and Corcyra), 1.71.4 (Corinth and Sparta), 5.80.2 (Macedonia and Argos), 5.104.1 and 5.108.1 (Melos and Sparta), 6.6.2 (Syracuse and the Peloponnesians), 6.20.3 (Athens, Naxos and Catana), 6.46.2 (Athens, Rhegium and Leontini), 6.80.2 (Camarina and Syracuse), 6.88.8 (Syracuse and Corinth). Further examples (including from other authors, but also not an exhaustive

Thucydides sometimes does and sometimes does not agree that these "ethnic arguments" were the "truest cause" of the action in question. In the case of Leontini in 427, the historian gives alternate reasons – preventing Sicilian grain from reaching the Peloponnese and scouting out possibilities for conquest – which he thinks were Athens' real motives.[8] But just above at 3.86.2, Thucydides accepts without comment that Rhegium was allied with Leontini because of kinship. The juxtaposition of these two instances, one of which Thucydides accepts and one of which he rejects, shows that he was willing to assess the validity of each claim individually without applying preconceived notions across the board.[9] Another good example of this is the decision to send the main Sicilian Expedition in 415. Thucydides emphasizes that Athens' main goal was to conquer Sicily (6.1.1, 6.6.1), but he reports that publicly they declared their intention of protecting their *syngeneis* and allies (6.6.1, 6.50.4).[10] When the expedition arrived in Sicily, the Athenians proclaimed that they had come to restore Leontini

list) are collected by Fauber 2001, 42 n. 18, and cf. Jones 1999, especially 23-40 on the classical period, and Patterson 2010. On the other hand, Cogan 1981, 283-85, suggests that ethnic arguments were increasingly used in the latter part of the Peloponnesian War (from c. 416) and not in the earlier part, due to increasing desperation on all sides in the search for allies (see the counter-arguments of Alty 1982, 11-14). But this ignores the substantial evidence for ethnic arguments used earlier in the war, and Cogan wrongly assumes that Thucydides is arguing against any value for the concept of ethnicity.

[8] For full discussion of Athenian motives, see Westlake 1960, 105-16, who sees the two reasons Thucydides gives as those of two separate factions within the Athenian *demos* that agreed on sending the expedition but not on its goals (106). Smart 1972, 146, suggests that Athens took a defensive posture centered around Rhegium and the Straits, not Leontini, indicating her concern for Leontini was just a pretext; cf. also Kagan 1974, 181-86; Zahrnt 2006, 640-41, with further references.

[9] See Alty 1982, 5; Crane 1996, 159-61; other scholars (e.g., Will 1956, 65-69; de Romilly 1963, 83-84, 243-44; Cogan 1981, 283-85, Curty 1994, 194-95) assume that Thucydides has set out to demolish the idea that kinship is actually a factor in Greek politics.

[10] While "allies" could refer equally to Segesta and Leontini, the Athenians made no claims of kinship with Elymian (i.e., non-Greek) Segesta and so the *syngeneis* must be the Leontinians. Thucydides makes no explicit mention of Leontinian ambassadors, emphasizing only the role of Segesta in sparking the expedition, but Diod. 13.83.1-3 (followed by Kagan 1981, 159 n. 1) reports that Leontini and Segesta sent a joint embassy; cf. Plut. *Nic*. 12.1. For the political maneuverings at Athens that led up to the decision to send the expedition, see Smart 1972, 138-44.

(6.50.4, cf. 6.63.3). That these pretexts had widespread publicity and even some resonance with at least one city in Sicily is shown by the great lengths to which Hermocrates goes to debunk them in his speech at Camarina, and Thucydides is clearly aware of their power.[11]

Thus, despite Thucydides' occasional skepticism about their sincerity, such ethnic arguments, or "kinship diplomacy," as Christopher Jones calls it, were in fact used in late-fifth-century international relations, and we have to ask why. If the Athenians did not in fact send ships to Sicily solely because of their perceived kinship with Leontini but rather had other, more practical reasons, then why did they say otherwise? By publicly declaring that they were sending assistance to Leontini because of kinship – that is, because of common ethnicity – they legitimated their decision to their own people and to the international community. Legitimation was in fact one of the major roles that identity played in Greek politics. A famous example of this is the legitimation of Athenian power in the Delian League through ethnic arguments: The Athenians deliberately emphasized their role as colonial mother-city and ethnic matriarch of the Ionians, and this was more or less accepted by the allies.[12] Not just in the pages of Thucydides but in the Greek world at large, ethnicity was deeply enough felt that it was considered a legitimate reason to act.[13] Although moderns may be skeptical of the historicity of the kinship relationships

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[11] 6.76.2-3, 6.77.1, 6.79.2.

[12] Cf. Thuc. 1.95.1, Eur. *Ion* 1571-94, with Hornblower, *Comm.*, I.141-42, 520-21, II.72-73; Alty 1982, 8-9; Barron 1964, 46-48; Zacharia 2003, 48-55; Schuller 1974, 112-18. The idea of Athens as a leader of the Ionians existed as early as Solon F4a West.

[13] Alty 1982, arguing primarily against Will 1956; cf. also Calligeri 2001-2002, 259.

in question, the ancients were not; they did not "deliberately or consciously" falsify ties of *syngeneia*.[14]

At the same time, however, identity was subject to manipulation by any interested party. While the ethnic connection between Leontini and Athens was long-standing,[15] neither party was an uninterested bystander. Leontini wanted a powerful ally in its perennial struggles against Syracuse. As Thucydides himself points out, Athens had important interests in Sicily as well. The two cities did not fabricate the connection between them for this occasion, but we cannot assume that either city would have emphasized it if they had not had something to gain from an Athenian presence in Sicily. A somewhat different example of manipulation of ethnic identity occurs in Thucydides' Camarina Debate (6.76-87), discussed at length below. Hermocrates of Syracuse and the Athenian Euphemus are dueling over which side Camarina should join, and the former appeals to the shared Dorian ethnicity of the two cities. Euphemus' concession that Ionians and Dorians are enemies by nature,[16] despite his need to convince Camarina to contravene this, shows that ethnic divisions were a real phenomenon. But he immediately shifts the focus of this divide from Sicily to Greece, emphasizing the danger to Ionian Athens from Dorian Sparta, and uses this instead to justify Athenian imperialism and, more specifically, the Athenian presence in Sicily. In this situation, Euphemus could not

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[14] Jones 1999, 3-4.

[15] See Hornblower, *Comm.*, I.492, and references there for discussion of the treaty between Leontini and Athens. Smart 1972, 145-46, argues that this refers not to a specific alliance but to the more general alliance between Athens and all her Ionian brethren, i.e., to their common ethnicity and its usual effect of securing cooperation between them. Although a formal alliance did exist and had recently been renewed in 433/2 (ML 64, and cf. 63, the treaty with Rhegium), I am here concerned only with the ethnic aspects of this political decision.

[16] 6.82.2: Ἴωνες αἰεὶ ποτε πολέμιοι τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν εἰσίν; cf. Cogan 1981, 110-11; Price 2001, 158-59.

very easily have ignored Hermocrates' statement of enmity towards Ionians, but he finds

a way to twist it to his own advantage. This shows how ethnic identity was something

that mattered greatly to the Greeks, but could also be manipulated as desired to suit

specific ends.

Ethnic Warfare in the Catalogue, 7.57-58

Thucydides himself seems to think that the proclivity of cities to ally with their

ethnic brethren is actually normal and perhaps even a good thing. This has often been

denied,[17] and requires some discussion. It is certainly true that Thucydides does not

believe ethnicity was an important factor in determining the alliances in the war of 415-

13, and in fact he argues against this in 7.57-58, the catalogue of forces on each side

before the final battle in the Great Harbor of Syracuse. But to treat this passage as simply

an attempt by Thucydides to prove that ethnicity was not a factor in politics at the time is

to ignore the broader picture.[18] As discussed above (pp. 195-197), Thucydides finds

kinship diplomacy a normal and acceptable phenomenon.

Moreover, his report that the alliances in Sicily in 427 fell primarily along ethnic

lines (3.86.1-3, quoted with full discussion below, pp. 206-216) goes virtually without

comment, as a normal and unremarkable occurrence. We may compare 3.2.3, where, in a

speech reported in indirect discourse, the Tenedians report to the Athenians that the

Mytilenians are forcibly bringing Lesbos under their control, in league with the

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[17] E.g., by Will 1956, 65-68; de Romilly 1963, 83-84; Cogan 1981, 284; Crane 1996, 157-59; Price 2001, 151-61; Calligeri 2001-2002, 260-61.

[18] As Dover, *HCT*, IV.433, recognizes.

Boeotians, who are their *syngeneis*. Although this is a speech, the speaker has no special interest in establishing the kinship relationship, since neither he nor the audience are among the *syngeneis* in question; he (and Thucydides) merely note it as the assumed reason for such collusion and take it for granted that this was a normal way of operating. Conversely, what Thucydides does single out (twice) in 3.86.2 is that Camarina was the only city that did not follow the rule that Dorians fought with Dorians against Chalcidians. Thus, there are exceptions, which Thucydides finds shocking and noteworthy, and these are his focus in the Catalogue. There, he is describing the neglect and abuse of a normal and laudable mode of international relations, and his tone is insistent and, at times, almost shrill. Thucydides is surely arguing against those who believe that ethnicity actually was the main factor,[19] but I suggest here that he was also arguing that ethnicity *should have been* a factor.

In the Catalogue, Thucydides lists each allied city together with its ethnic affiliation and other relevant information.[20] This is an exhaustive list, covering some fifty cities. In just under three Oxford pages of text, the names of the Ionians, Dorians, and other identity groups (excluding cities) appear no fewer than twenty-six times,[21] many of them in close proximity to each other, indicating unexpected contrasts. He sets the stage with an example that he clearly thinks is positive: "The Athenians themselves, being

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[19] As Alty 1982, 6-7, suggests, accurately describing the catalog as having a "polemical style and arrangement" (7); cf. Price 2001, 156-57.

[20] On the complex organization of the Catalogue, see the detailed outline of Dover, *HCT*, IV. 432-36, with a helpful chart.

[21] Dorians, 8; Ionians, 4; Aeolians, 3; Boeotians, 3; Arcadians, 2; Cretans, 2; Sikeliotai, 2; Dryopians, 1, Italiotai, 1. Thucydides sometimes also uses geographical expressions, such as "mercenaries from Arcadia," rather than the name of an ethnic group *per se*.

Ionians, came of their own free will against the Dorian Syracusans."[22] This sets the stage

for the rest, which have negative implications, for example: "The Dorian Argives fought

against other Dorians at the side of the Ionian Athenians not so much because of the

alliance as because of hatred for Sparta, and the prospect of making quick personal

profits for themselves."[23] Other particularly striking examples are those of the Boeotians

(7.57.5) and of Corcyra (7.57.7), discussed below (pp. 202-204).

Moreover, the word *syngeneia* and its cognates also feature in prominent and

programmatic locations in the Catalogue, especially at its opening: "They stood together

not because of any moral principle or ethnic connection; it was rather because of the

various circumstances of interest or compulsion in each particular case."[24] This

programmatic statement strongly suggests that Thucydides believes justice and ethnicity

are the usual reasons to stand with one's allies in war, but that in this case self-interest or

force were more important factors. Indeed, ethnicity is a prime organizing factor of the

Catalogue, and explicating Thucydides' understanding of its role is one of the main

reasons for its existence. Moreover, Thucydides is at great pains to point out the

numerous cases where cities that are members of the same ethnic group are fighting

against each other. This includes not only Dorians and Ionians, but also Aeolians,

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[22] 7.57.2: Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν αὐτοὶ Ἴωνες ἐπὶ Δωριᾶς Συρακοσίους ἑκόντες ἦλθον; note the chiasmus which deliberately brings the names of the two ethnic groups together. Cf. also 7.57.4 (ὑπήκοοι δ' ὄντες καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ὅμως Ἴωνές γε ἐπὶ Δωριᾶς ἠκολούθουν), referring to Athenian allies in Euboea, Ionia, and the islands, which clearly implies that it is good for Ionians to fight Dorians, even when this happens under compulsion.

[23] 7.57.9: Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων τε ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς παραυτίκα ἕκαστοι ἰδίας ὠφελίας Δωριῆς ἐπὶ Δωριᾶς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων Ἰώνων ἠκολούθουν; cf. also 7.57.5, 7.57.7. Athens has already been listed as Ionian, in case anyone needed reminding; its repetition here is emphatic and for effect. Cf. 7.57.6 for a similar repetition of Dorian Syracuse.

[24] 7.57.1: οὐ κατὰ δίκην τι μᾶλλον οὐδὲ κατὰ ξυγγένειαν μετ' ἀλλήλων στάντες; cf. also 7.57.7, 7.58.3.

Boeotians, and others. He even includes "a few Megarian exiles fighting [for Athens] against the Megarians of Selinus" (7.57.8); these could hardly have mattered in purely military terms. For Thucydides, the natural state of affairs is for members of the same ethnic group to ally with each other and to fight members of the opposite group.

Thucydides' interest in intra-ethnic warfare applies on several levels. While it is bad enough for Dorians to fight Dorians, infighting within groups with even closer kinship ties is also problematic. Thucydides objects to the Aeolian Methymnians, Tenedians, and Ainians fighting the Aeolian Boeotians among the Syracusan allies, but he then adds that only the Plataeans, as Boeotians, were fighting other Boeotians (7.57.5):

> πρὸς δ' αὐτοῖς Αἰολῆς, Μηθυμναῖοι μὲν ναυσὶ καὶ οὐ φόρῳ ὑπήκοοι, Τενέδιοι δὲ καὶ Αἴνιοι ὑποτελεῖς. οὗτοι δὲ Αἰολῆς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κτίσασι Βοιωτοῖς <τοῖς> μετὰ Συρακοσίων κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμάχοντο, Πλαταιῆς δὲ καταντικρὺ Βοιωτοὶ Βοιωτοῖς μόνοι εἰκότως κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος.

> There were also people of the Aeolian race – the Methymnians, subjects who provided ships instead of paying tribute, and the Tenedians and Aenians, who were in the tribute-paying class. These Aeolian peoples fought under compulsion against their fellow-Aeolians and founders, the Boeotians who were with the Syracusans. Only the Plataeans, though Boeotians themselves, fought against the other Boeotians, for the good reason that they were their enemies.

Thucydides feels a need to point out Plataea's action, even though he feels that in this case their reason is justified. This is due to the particular case, as Thucydides condemns hatred as a motivation for Corcyra (see below, pp. 203-204) and Argos (7.57.9).

Nevertheless, the word *ethnos* covers a wide range of constructions, including such "top-level" intra-Hellenic ethnic groups as the Aeolians, who were spread across the Greek world, and regional ethnic groups like the Boeotians. Although the one is a subset of the other, both can be referred to in modern terms as ethnic groups. Myth gave the Boeotians an eponymous founder, Boiotos, just as it gave Aeolus to the Aeolians. This is

a primary method of articulating ethnic identity in archaic Greece, and it applies to groups on multiple levels.[25] Thucydides himself has a Theban speaker (in an extremely tendentious context) refer to the Theban colonization of Plataea (3.61.2), implying an ethnic connection. But unlike the other ethnic groups discussed in the Catalogue, "Boeotia" is also a geographical expression; it is not as important to Thucydides that geographical groups avoid infighting as for ethnic groups. For Thucydides, the multiple valence of the notion that Plataea was Boeotian allows more flexibility than if it was simply part of the Boeotian ethnic group.[26] Meanwhile, that city's enmity with Thebes was long-standing and well-known, having been discussed at great length by Thucydides himself (2.2-6, 3.52-68). The combination of these last two factors perhaps convinced him that here individual circumstances outweighed his normal judgment that members of the same ethnic group should not fight each other. This contrasts sharply with his condemnation of Corcyra and Argos for acting with the same motivation.

Thucydides is outraged by cases where a colony and a mother city fought against each other.[27] This is especially the case for Corcyra and Corinth, where he states that the Corcyreans are not only Dorians but actually Corinthians (by descent, 7.57.7):

> Κερκυραῖοι δὲ οὐ μόνον Δωριῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Κορίνθιοι σαφῶς ἐπὶ Κορινθίους τε καὶ Συρακοσίους, τῶν μὲν ἄποικοι ὄντες, τῶν δὲ ξυγγενεῖς, ἀνάγκῃ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς, βουλήσει δὲ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Κορινθίων οὐχ ἧσσον εἵποντο.

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[25] Boiotos: Diod. 4.67.2; Aeolus: Apollodorus 1.7.3; cf. the Introduction, pp. 7-8, and Hall 1997, 34 on Boeotia, and more generally, 67-89.

[26] Hornblower, *Comm.*, III.657, who cites Hdt. 6.108.5 for the idea of the Plataeans as "Boeotians who do not want to count as Boeotians," which could refer to either geographic or ethnic identity.

[27] Cf. also 7.57.6, the cases of Rhodes and Cythera: Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Κυθήριοι Δωριῆς ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κυθήριοι ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς ἅμα Γυλίππῳ μετ' Ἀθηναίων ὅπλα ἔφερον, Ῥόδιοι δὲ Ἀργεῖοι γένος Συρακοσίοις μὲν Δωριεῦσι, Γελῴοις δὲ καὶ ἀποίκοις ἑαυτῶν οὖσι μετὰ Συρακοσίων στρατευομένοις ἠναγκάζοντο πολεμεῖν.

The Corcyreans were not only Dorians but actually Corinthians, and were openly joining in against Corinthians and Syracusans, though they were colonists of Corinth and ethnically connected with Syracuse. They could claim that they were obliged to take this course, but in fact they were acting of their own free will, because of their hatred of Corinth.

Thucydides' explanation for the Corcyraeans' behavior is that they were motivated by hatred of Corinth, which for the historian is clearly not an acceptable motivation.[28] He states that the Corcyreans claimed that they were forced to fight against their *syngeneis* because of *anankē* but that the actual reason was hatred of Corinth, thus setting up a hierarchy of motivations in which hatred is an even less legitimate reason for action than force. Corcyra is also fighting against Syracuse, another Corinthian colony and thus its *syngenēs*. This relationship is much like an ethnic group in that it treats the connection between the three cities as one of descent (see the Introduction, pp. 7-8). Thucydides thus treats a wide range of relationships between states – not just ethnic groups narrowly defined[29] – under the expectation that cities will ally with members of the same identity group and fight only members of opposing groups.

It is, however, the exceptions to this rule of ethnic alliances that predominate in the Catalogue. Thucydides' explanation for these exceptions is that some cities were compelled by force and others were driven by self-interest to ignore their ethnic affiliations and fight against their kinsmen.[30] When this happens, for Thucydides it is no

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[28] For long-standing Corcyrean hatred of Corinth, see 1.13.4, 1.24-55 (esp. 1.25.3-4, 1.34.1-3), 3.70-85; Hdt. 3.49.1; Graham 1964, 146-49. Contrast Thucydides' approval of Plataea's action by hatred; Dover, *HCT*, IV.438 suggests that regarding Corcyra, Thucydides makes "a more complicated point," about their use of a pretext to hide their real motivation.

[29] And not just colonial relationships, as Hornblower, *Comm.*, III.656-58, assumes. Both ethnic and colonial relationships are important, as Curty 1994, 194, recognizes, though he goes too far in trying to separate their functions: they are different but nonetheless similar, and function in similar ways.

[30] 7.57.1: οὐ κατὰ δίκην τι μᾶλλον οὐδὲ κατὰ ξυγγένειαν μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων στάντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἑκάστοις τῆς ξυντυχίας ἢ κατὰ τὸ ξυμφέρον ἢ ἀνάγκη ἔσχεν.

longer the natural state of affairs, since an external force has disrupted it. Now, these two

factors, compulsion and self-interest, are absolutely central to Thucydides' political

thought. In his opinion, these factors are in fact driving many of the events he reports,

even though he disapproves of this.[31] His attempt to show how the Peloponnesian War

disrupted the normal workings of kinship diplomacy is one aspect of his larger historical

project to demonstrate how the war disrupted normal human behavior.[32]

Moreover, it is primarily the Athenian list of allies that draws such heavy scrutiny

and disapproval. Thucydides pays special attention to identifying the precise status of

each of Athens' allies. Along with their ethnic affiliations, he explains whether a city is a

subject ally or an autonomous ally, providing ships or money, for example (7.57.4):

> καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν Ἐρετριῆς καὶ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ
> Στυρῆς καὶ Καρύστιοι ἀπ᾽ Εὐβοίας ἦσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ νήσων Κεῖοι καὶ Ἄνδριοι καὶ
> Τήνιοι, ἐκ δ᾽ Ἰωνίας Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σάμιοι καὶ Χῖοι. τούτων Χῖοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς
> ὄντες φόρου, ναῦς δὲ παρέχοντες αὐτόνομοι ξυνέσποντο.

> In the class of tribute-paying subjects were the Euboean peoples from Eretria,
> Chalcis, Styria, and Carystus, the peoples from the islands of Ceos, Andros, and
> Tenos, and from Ionia the peoples of Miletus, Samos, and Chios. Of these last, the
> people of Chios were not in the tribute-paying class but provided ships instead
> and came as independent allies.

By pointing out the mechanisms of control in the Athenian *archē*, Thucydides

emphasizes the role of force in subverting normal state behavior with regard to ethnic

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[31] Alty 1982, 5-7.

[32] The classic example of this is his account of the *stasis* at Corcyra, 3.70-85, esp. 3.82-83; cf. Cogan 1981,
149-54, and more generally, 120-69; Connor 1984, 194-95, who explicitly compares Corcyra; Hornblower,
Comm., I.477-91, and references there.

alliances.[33] It is Athens that has forced members of the same ethnic group to fight each other, and it is Athens that has disrupted the natural state of affairs.

## Camarina in the Alliance of 427

As Athens prepared to intervene in 427, Thucydides reports (3.86) that the alliances in Sicily were broken up along ethnic lines, with only one exception:

> οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις καθέστασαν. ξύμμαχοι δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν πλὴν Καμαριναίων αἱ ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις, αἵπερ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου ξυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ μέντοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε, τοῖς δὲ Λεοντίνοις αἱ Χαλκιδικαὶ πόλεις καὶ Καμάρινα· τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Λοκροὶ μὲν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν, Ῥηγῖνοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντίνων.

> Syracuse and Leontini were at war with each other. Apart from Camarina, all the other Dorian cities were in alliance with Syracuse, and had also been in alliance with Sparta since the beginning of the war, though they had not taken any active part in it. Leontini had for allies Camarina and the Chalcidian cities. Of the Italian states the Locrians were on the side of Syracuse, and the people of Rhegium supported Leontini because of kinship.

Thucydides' emphasis on the ethnic identities of the various combatants in this passage is striking: he highlights the only exception to his normal expectation that alliances will fall on ethnic lines is Camarina, which, despite being Dorian, fought with the Chalcidians. I suggest that the explanation lies in a proper understanding of the flexibility and varied deployment of different tiers of identity. The other Sicilian cities at this time all treated ethnic identity as the prime determining factor in their alliances. While they were all Greek, and while they were each separate cities that might end up in conflict with each

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[33] See also, programmatically, 7.57.3: τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπήκοοι, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἳ μισθοφόροι ξυνεστράτευον, and 7.57.5, 7.57.7, with Dover, *HCT*, IV.432-35, for whom status under the Athenian *archē* is a major organizing feature of the Catalogue.
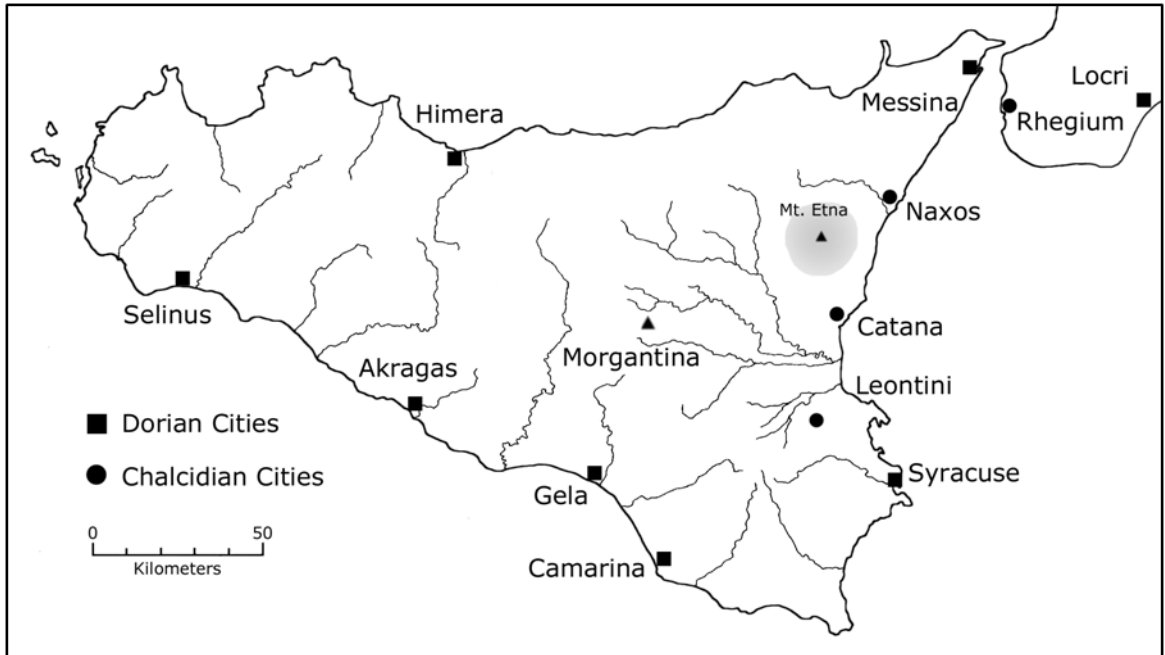
Map 5: The war in Sicily, 427-24. Adapted from Caven 1990.

other on other occasions, for the moment they ignored those sets of similarities and

differences, which constituted their Hellenic and civic identities, and concentrated on

their ethnic identity. Ethnicity became the primary concern and the foremost tier of

collective identity for these people, at this precise place and time.

Camarina's Civic Identity

Camarina, on the other hand, evidently did not follow this trend, even to the

extent of fighting against its own mother-city, Syracuse. This was possible, I suggest,

because Camarinaean civic identity was constructed around hatred of Syracuse, resulting

from the mother-city's imperialistic behavior towards its colony over more than a century

after its founding in 598.[34] Syracuse destroyed Camarina twice, first in 552 and again in

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[34] Thuc. 6.5.3. Necropolis material essentially confirms an early-sixth-century date; cf. Pelagatti 1980-81, 719-23.

484 under Gelon,[35] and meanwhile treated it not as an independent *polis* but as a dependency subordinated to Syracuse. Camarina's two refoundations by Gela – once in 492 by the latter city's tyrant Hippocrates and again in 461 – led to a more favorable view of Gela and added to Camarina's anti-Syracusan orientation.

Thucydides (6.5.3) specifically refers to the destruction in 552 as resulting from a revolt (ἀπόστασις) by Camarina, a term that implies prior Syracusan control. Indeed, Herodotus reports that Camarina belonged to Syracuse "of old," though it is unclear how far it is legitimate to push this statement.[36] Camarina's revolt in 552 evidently sparked a major war, possibly even nearly comparable in scope to the war of 427-24, as Philistus (F5) reports that Syracuse was allied with Megara Hyblaea and Enna,[37] and Camarina with the Sikels and other allies, but that Gela refused to fight with Camarina against Syracuse. For Syracuse, it was merely a step on the way towards domination of southeastern Sicily. But for the people of Camarina, this war may have had a deeper significance as an event in their shared history around which their civic identity began to crystallize.

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[35] Hdt. 7.156.2; Thuc. 6.5.3. Cf. Demand 1990, 47-49, 54-55; Luraghi 1994, 156-65, 275-76. For a date of the 57th Olympiad (=552/49) for the first destruction, see schol. ad Pind. *Ol*. 5.16; Ps.-Skymnos 294-96 places it forty-six years after the founding of Camarina, i.e., in 552.

[36] 7.154.3: Συρακοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Cf. Artemon of Pergamum (*FGrH* 569) F2, a historian of Sicily of the mid-second century BCE, who reports that Camarina had been subject (ὑποτέτακται) to Syracuse.

[37] Or, if we accept an emendation of Pais, Acrae and Casmenae. But there is no real reason to alter the text except scholars' preconceived notions about the likely political situation in mid-sixth-century Sicily; cf. Di Vita 1956, 17, who accepts it (a stance slightly altered in Di Vita 1987, 23-4 and n. 10), but Jacoby does not even print it in his apparatus. On this war, see Anello 2002a, 68-73.

Syracuse's three main colonies in southeastern Sicily, Acrae, Casmenae, and

Camarina, had different functions and statuses.[38] Acrae and Casmenae, founded in 664

and 644, respectively, were essentially hill fort towns, intended to secure Syracusan

control over the Hyblaean Mountains in the inland region of that corner of the island.[39]

Unlike all other Greek cities in Sicily, with the partial exception of Leontini (sited some

ten kilometers from the sea, but on the edge of the Plain of Catana, not in the interior

hills), these hilltop sites were remote (between thirty and forty kilometers from the sea),

and communicated with Syracuse via rough terrain.[40] They were located so close to each

other (only four kilometers apart) that they are unlikely to have possessed very large

chorai, and the nearby soil was too poor for significant agriculture in any case.[41] Their

locations, on the other hand, are perfect for observing and controlling large swaths of the

valleys that lead down to the coast and to Syracuse. Although they were clearly at least

nominally independent *poleis*, they were held in a degree of subordination by Syracuse

and at no point did they act independently.[42] Acrae did not mint its own coins, one major

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[38] On Syracusan expansion generally and the different functions of these three cities in particular, see
Dunbabin 1948, 95-112 (esp. 99-101, 109-110); Graham 1964, 92-94; De Angelis 2000, 112-14; Anello
2002a, 63-70. Di Vita (1956; 1987; 1997) generally prefers to see all three cities as more similar in function
than I do, but I am here particularly interested in how Camarina perceived her own status, not in Syracusan
intentions.

[39] On these two cities, see Graham 1964, 92; Erdas 2006, 45-47; Di Vita 1956, 7-12. The best and most up-
to-date summary is in *IACP*, s.v.

[40] According to Di Vita 1956, 7-8, 14-15, the only practicable and direct road from Syracuse through the
hill country to Gela and points west went through these cities.

[41] Erdas 2006, 47, speaking of Casmenae. Farmsteads found in the Tellaro valley below Acrae suggest a
slightly different picture there, though only slightly: *IACP*, 189.

[42] According to Herodotus (7.155.2), the Gēmoroi of Syracuse fled to Casmenae around 485 after a popular
uprising, but this does not constitute an independent action of Casmenae. Acrae does not appear in any
other source until 263, when it is listed by Diodorus (23.4.1) among the *poleis* assigned to Hieron II by
Rome.
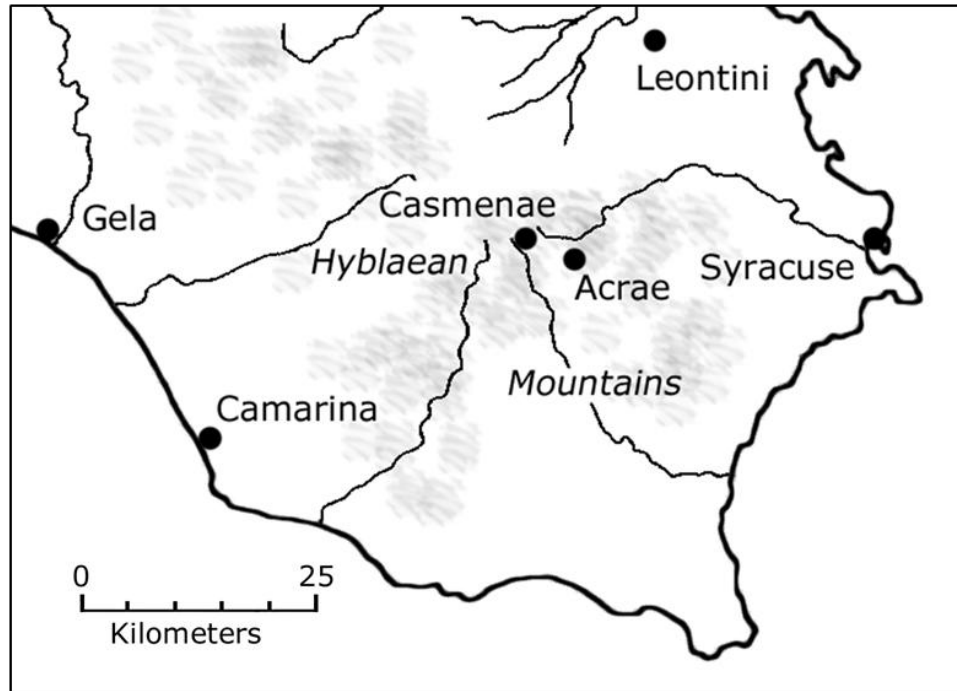
Map 6: Southeastern Sicily. Adapted from Caven 1990.

sign of a separate community, until the third century, and Casmenae apparently never

did.[43] Their lower status is represented in Thucydides' very brief report of their respective

foundations (6.5.2), in which he does not name their oikists. Camarina, on the other hand,

enjoys a coastal location, on the other side of the mountains, some eighty kilometers from

Syracuse, with a fertile territory comparable to that of other small-to-mid-sized cities,[44]

and is thus able to take a place among the fully independent Greek cities of Sicily.[45] The

town site is large, although most likely not all of it was occupied in Archaic times,[46] and

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[43] Graham 1964, 92; Di Vita 1956, 12; 1987, 22.

[44] About 500 km^2, compared with c. 400 km^2 for Leontini and for Megara: *IACP*, s.v.; Bell 2000, 292.

[45] Dunbabin 1948, 104-6; Di Vita 1956, 13-15; Westermark and Jenkins 1980, 11; Mattioli 2002, 40; *IACP*, 202-3.

[46] About 150ha is enclosed by the fourth-century walls, though archaic occupation is mostly attested in the western sector; compare 81ha for Megara and 200hafor Gela, though some cities were larger: *IACP*, s.v.

its coinage is well known from the early fifth century onwards.[47] Its higher status is evident from Thucydides' more detailed report of its foundation, including two oikists, Dascon and Menecolus.[48]

However, Syracuse did not always see eye to eye with Camarina about its higher status. By the mid-sixth century, Syracuse saw Camarina as essentially similar to Acrae and Casmenae: part of the infrastructure of Syracusan control of southeastern Sicily and an essential military strong point, not an independent ally – hence, the Camarinaeans were said to have revolted.[49] Camarina, on the other hand, saw a sharp distinction between itself and the other two colonies, and as Syracuse continued to deny this distinction, the insult eventually became intolerable and war broke out.

Although the result of Camarina's revolt was described by one author as total destruction,[50] archaeological evidence indicates that this is not entirely accurate.[51] Moreover, Syracuse in 492 ceded Camarina to Gela (Hdt. 7.154.3), which means that it controlled the site prior to that date. But such control would have no meaning if the site was abandoned; most likely, it was settled and maintained by Syracuse in a manner

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[47] Westermark and Jenkins 1980.

[48] While Dascon, evidently named after a location near Syracuse, was probably Syracusan, some (Dunbabin 1948, 105; Manni 1987, 68-69; more fully argued by Cordano 1987, 121-22) have suggested that Menecolus was Corinthian. This would tie Camarina into a common theme wherein the colony that founds a sub-colony sends for an oikist from the original mother city (attested for Epidamnus, 1.24.2 (where this is said to be a common custom); Selinus, 6.4.2; Zancle, 6.4.5). If true, this would provide further evidence for Camarina's higher status, but it must remain conjectural.

[49] Cf. Graham 1964, 94, who attributes Syracuse's failure to keep Camarina in line to the larger distance between them.

[50] Ps.-Skymnos 295: αὐτοὶ δὲ ταύτην ἦραν ἐκ βάθρων.

[51] Pelagatti 1976-77, 523-6; cf. Di Vita 1987, 24-5; Luraghi 1994, 159-60; Cordano 1992, 3-4.

befitting a military outpost.[52] In other words, Syracuse eliminated the troublemakers and continued its policies of control. T. J. Dunbabin described Camarina's *apostasis* from Syracuse as a "war of independence."[53] Though this formulation seems somewhat extreme, it underscores the central position this war took in Camarina's civic identity, which came to be predicated on its (failed) war of independence from Syracuse.

Gelon's destruction of Camarina in 484 was similarly intended to end the existence of this *polis* as a separate community that could resist Syracusan control. A somewhat garbled text in the scholia to Aeschines (3.189) suggests that Gelon set up a tyrant, Glaucus of Carystus, in Camarina, but that the Camarinaeans killed him rather than accept a foreign tyrant – an act of rebellion that Gelon could not accept.[54] Herodotus (7.156.2) also reports that, as soon as Gelon had captured Syracuse and established his rule there, he began fortifying the city both physically and by additions of population. Camarina was his first target: he destroyed the city and brought its population to Syracuse, where they became citizens. This act and others like it were clearly intended to consolidate power in his capital by removing possible centers of resistance. Its legitimacy depended on the idea that Camarina already in essence formed a part of the Syracusan community and that it was legitimate for the ruler of Syracuse to do with them as seemed in the best interests of Syracuse. Camarina, on the other hand, newly refounded by Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, after the territory had been ceded to him in 492, did not

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[52] Cf. Dover, *HCT*, IV.219.

[53] Dunbabin 1948, 105, followed by Anello 2002a, 72-73. If Thucydides' source in the Sicilian Archaeology is in fact Antiochus of Syracuse, as is usually thought (originally Dover 1953; cf. Dover, *HCT*, IV.198-210; Hornblower, *Comm.*, III.272-74), his Syracusan perspective would explain the description of the war as a revolt; cf. Di Vita 1987, 24.

[54] Luraghi 1994, 150-1, 275-6.

consider itself an extension of Syracuse and evidently opposed this action: the word

κατέσκαψεν used in a fragment of Philistus strongly suggests that Gelon's action was

violent.[55] Camarina's separate civic identity was still strong, and Gelon's actions –

imposing a tyrant on them and then exiling them from their homeland – only made the

Camarinaeans more vehemently opposed to Syracuse.

Meanwhile, the two refoundations of Camarina were both led by Gela, once in

492, during the reign of Hippocrates, and once in 461.[56] Although Gela had refused to

participate in Camarina's war of independence, its strong support for Camarina in the

first half of the fifth century would thus have come as a radical and welcome change and

thus may have led to a more favorable opinion of Gela prevailing at Camarina.

Hippocrates of Gela himself was their oikist (at least of the 492 refoundation: Thuc.

6.5.3), which presumably led to the institution of a hero cult to him, although there is no

record of this.[57] Former citizens of Camarina certainly participated in the refoundations;

new settlers from Gela did as well, and so the two groups lived side by side and became a

single community.[58] Although the two cities were at war with each other in 427, since

Gela had sided with Syracuse, Thucydides reports that they were the first to come to

terms with each other in 424, leading to the Congress of Gela and the end of the war

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[55] F15. Of course, this fragment is almost certainly not a verbatim quote of Philistus but a rendering by the scholiast to Pindar *Ol.* 5.19. Nonetheless, the scholiast (or his source) had access to the fuller version of Philistus himself and so the implications of the word are likely to be well founded. Archaeological evidence also suggests that the site was uninhabited during approximately the second quarter of the fifth century: Giudice 1988, 56-7.

[56] 492: Hdt. 7.154; Thuc. 6.5.3; Philistus F15. 461: Thuc. 6.5.3; Diod. 11.76.5. On the history of Camarina in this period, see the useful summary of Cordano 1992, 3-15.

[57] Luraghi 1994, 164-5, and references in his n. 185.

[58] On the composition of the citizen body after 461, see Cordano 2000, 191.

(4.58.1).[59] These different attitudes towards Syracuse and Gela helped define key aspects of Camarina's civic identity.

This Camarinaean identity continued to be relevant through various periods of turmoil, destruction, and exile. For instance, we hear of an Olympic victor, Parmenides of Camarina, in 528, exactly when Camarina might be thought to lie in ruins (Diod. 1.68.6). For Parmenides, his status as a citizen of Camarina was important enough to proclaim at Olympia: the memory and identity of Camarina was still alive.[60] But it was Syracuse's two destructions of Camarina that led the latter city to hate and fear its mother city: that bloody history had become a part of Camarina's civic identity, and in the critical moment of 427, civic identity trumped ethnic affiliation with Syracuse.[61]

Identity and Camarina

Now, the question arises whether we can truly ascribe Camarina's political decision to fight against Syracuse in 427 to the issue of identity. Thucydides' report of the war of 427-24 is notoriously sketchy and incomplete,[62] and it is entirely possible that Camarina had practical considerations that we are totally unaware of. Perhaps, from a purely political or strategic viewpoint, the Camarinaeans thought they had more to gain from fighting against the Syracusans than with them. As it turned out, at the end of the

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[59] Timaeus F22 reports that it was the Geloans who first made overtures to Camarina, but the Camarinaeans were clearly receptive to the idea of peace; cf. Kagan 1974, 266.

[60] See also *IvO* 266.2, dating from 480-475, a dedication by Praxiteles, a Mantinean who became both a Camarinaean and a Syracusan, and so was probably a mercenary of Hippocrates who settled in Camarina and was then removed to Syracuse by Gelon. Despite his new legal status as a Syracusan, he chose to proclaim his Camarinaean identity as well; see also Chapter Two, pp. 138-9.

[61] Cf. also 6.88.1 and Di Vita 1987, 24-25, for the connection to later events.

[62] Westlake 1960, 103-4.

war Camarina benefited from the only territorial change Thucydides mentions in his

report of the peace agreement – Morgantina was ceded to Camarina by Syracuse.[63]

Perhaps the Chalcidians had offered Camarina something. The list of possibilities is

endless, and none of them have any basis in evidence. Furthermore, any of these

speculative scenarios would apply just as well to any other city – why did Gela or

Akragas, for example, not go over to the Chalcidians as well? Something separated

Camarina from the rest of the Dorian cities, and I suggest that this factor was its history

with Syracuse which became embedded in Camarina's civic identity.

Moreover, as mentioned above (pp. 197-198), a critical realm in which identity

plays a role in politics is that of legitimation. Despite the lack of evidence, it is entirely

possible that Camarina saw strategic advantages in the alliance with the Chalcidians, and

that this was in some sense the "truest cause" of the break with the Dorians. But how did

they legitimate this decision? How did they convince themselves that what they were

doing was not only strategically sound but morally right? If most Camarinaeans believed

that they were fighting their brother Dorians and that that fact was truly important and

wrong, they surely would not have done it. In order to get around this issue, they

certainly did not deny their Dorian status – rather, they denied that it was important. They

valued their civic identity, which was predicated on opposition to Syracuse, above their

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[63] On this see Bell 2000, who thinks that the entire war was fought essentially over territory; similarly, Mattioli 2002, 151-52, sees an attempt by Camarina to carve out a separate territory between those of Syracuse and Gela. Pace 1927, 47-48, goes too far in assuming that an attempt on Morgantina was the main reason behind Camarina's adhesion to the anti-Syracusan bloc. If, as Bell suggests, Camarina was hemmed in by Dorian territory on all sides and her only way to expand was at their expense, this still has to be legitimated. The cession of Morgantina, whose territory does not border on Camarina's by any stretch of the imagination, could be a novel way of trying to appease Camarina's territorial demands without infringing on her neighbors. Westlake 1958, 178-79, thinks instead that "the Syracusans made a gesture designed to prove their acceptance of the principles established at the Congress by making a concession to a weaker neighbor." This is also possible and not at all irreconcilable with Bell's idea.

ethnic affiliation with them.[64] This leads to the conclusion that in the environment of late-fifth-century Sicily, multiple understandings of identity were not only possible but actively adopted by different groups.

Hermocrates at Gela, 4.58-65

These different understandings of identity come into sharp relief in the speech of Hermocrates at Gela in 424, which was delivered at a general peace conference attended by representatives of all the Sicilian cities.[65] Hermocrates' political goal was to unite all the Sicilian cities in order to end the Athenian military presence on the island. In the speech, he does this by invoking a pan-Sicilian identity, referred to as the Sikeliotai (4.64.3), that transcends ethnic and civic divisions, and in particular asks his audience[66] to ignore the difference between Dorians and Chalcidians, since both sides are equally in danger from Athens (4.61.2). Now, what sort of identity group are these Sikeliotai? What are the underlying similarities and differences that define the boundaries of this group? Although Carla Antonaccio has argued in detail that this is an example of an ethnic

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[64] Of course, not all Camarinaeans viewed the situation in exactly the same way. We hear in one instance (4.25.7) of a faction that was ready to betray the city to Syracuse in 425. This group was led by Archias, evidently a pro-Syracusan politician whose name (the same as that of Syracuse's founder) *may* indicate a strong Syracusan connection for him. Whether he was motivated by ethnic identity as a Dorian, by a version of civic identity in which Camarina was subordinated to Syracuse, or by something else entirely is impossible to say.

[65] This speech was also treated in full by Timaeus (F22), but we know it only from Polybius' harsh critique of it, which offers little to compare with Thucydides' version. See below (pp. 231-5) for my position on the nature and historical value of Thucydidean speeches.

[66] Thucydides refers to πρέσβεις (4.58), and Timaeus (F22) explicitly states that Hermocrates' audience consisted of plenipotentiary representatives, rather than citizens at large.

group,[67] such an argument requires widening the definition of the term "ethnicity" so much that it is no longer useful.

Kinship terms such as *syngeneia* do not occur in relation to the Sikeliotai. Hermocrates is not making any claim of common descent – which constitutes the basic criterion of the ethnic group (see the Introduction, pp. 7-8) – for his new identity group. Insofar as claims of common ethnicity were often articulated through eponymous ancestors, Hermocrates does not add another layer of genealogy, a common ancestor of both the Dorians and Chalcidians. This is not a new overarching ethnic group to which the other two are subordinated; it cannot be, since Hermocrates is suggesting an entirely new criterion for distinguishing group boundaries. In fact, he admits that the Dorian and Chalcidian ethnic groups, and the divisions between them, will continue to exist as a parallel structure to the Sikeliotai (4.64.3). The Sikeliotai thus fail to meet the narrow definition of ethnicity.

Geography and the Sikeliotai

But this actually makes them even more interesting, as a hitherto little-explored thread of the tapestry of identity.[68] They represent a different type of collective identity, one based on geography. Hermocrates points out that "taken all together, we are all of us neighbors, fellow-dwellers in the same country, in the midst of the sea, all called by the single name of Sikeliotai."[69] In this striking formulation, he focuses on the concept of

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[67] Antonaccio 2001, 118-21.

[68] See the Introduction, p. 12 and n. 22, for a few studies of geographic or regional identity.

[69] 4.64.3: τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν γείτονας ὄντας καὶ ξυνοίκους μιᾶς χώρας καὶ περιρρύτου καὶ ὄνομα ἓν κεκλημένους Σικελιώτας.

neighbors: we all live together, so we ought to get along. The Athenians, on the other hand, are interlopers from across the sea who have no business in Sicily. The frequent refrain τὴν πᾶσαν Σικελίαν, which occurs three times in the speech, refers to a place, not a group of people, and thus encourages us to think in geographical terms. This is a completely different set of terms from the kinship terms that are the basis of ethnic discourse, and it implies a different set of criteria for the construction of identity than had been used before. The essential similarity that binds this group together is geographical: they all inhabit the same place.[70] Hermocrates' notion that the relevant identity group is defined by its boundaries, namely, the sea, is picked up by Nicias (portrayed by Thucydides as an astute observer of Sicilian affairs). In his first speech opposing the Sicilian Expedition, he urges the Athenians to keep to the boundaries that divide the Sicilians from them, namely, the Ionian and Sicilian Seas.[71] The notion of the sea as a natural and often divinely established boundary was widespread in Greek thought (compare Herodotus and the Hellespont), and Nicias seems to be familiar with its application here.

Of course, by making this new identity group co-extensive with the geographical boundaries of Sicily, Hermocrates is ignoring the fact that three native groups (the Sikels, Sikanians, and Elymians) inhabited much of the island, along with some Phoenicians

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[70] Cf. Freeman 1891-94, III.60-61: "an insular way of looking at things." Konstan 1994, 65-7, describes Hermocrates' achievement as a "reorientation of categories from class to regional interests" – unfortunately, he applies this phrase instead to the Camarina Debate, which I argue focuses on ethnicity. Nevertheless, Konstan deserves credit as one of the few to recognize the applicability of the regional or geographic concept to Sicilian identity.

[71] 6.13.1: ψηφίζεσθαι τοὺς μὲν Σικελιώτας οἷσπερ νῦν ὅροις χρωμένους πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐ μεμπτοῖς, τῷ τε Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ παρὰ γῆν ἤντις πλέῃ, καὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ διὰ πελάγους, τὰ αὑτῶν νεμομένους καθ' αὑτοὺς καὶ ξυμφέρεσθαι.

under Carthaginian control in western Sicily.[72] The contrast between Greeks and non-Greeks is not a factor in the definition of the Sikeliotai at all. They are not characterized first as Greeks and then as Sicilians, since that would put them partly in the same category as Athens. But nevertheless the non-Greeks do not seem to be included among the Sikeliotai, despite being inhabitants of Sicily. It seems that lying somewhere behind the rhetoric is the idea that Athens should leave Sicily alone so that the Sikeliotai can rule the natives and fight Carthage – those aspects are part of Sikeliote identity, but the fundamental characteristic is the geographic dichotomy that separates them from Athens.

While the fundamental element of this new identity was separate from other areas of identity, some aspects were similar. Hermocrates refers to wars between the Sicilian cities as *stasis* (4.61.1). This word normally denotes civil war within a polis, not war between independent cities. By likening Sicily as a whole to a single city, Hermocrates is encouraging his listeners to think of Sicily as a single unit.[73] The parallel between one tier of identity, the civic, within which war is not normally socially acceptable, and another, the geographic, suggests that war should not occur within the latter as well. By drawing this comparison, Hermocrates is helping people to recognize the implications of his arguments and making it easier for his audience to accept them, since the conceptual underpinnings are made familiar. He continues this line of thought by comparing cities to individuals: each city should not try to increase τὰ ἴδια but act for the common good (4.59.4, 4.60.1, 4.63.1). This encourages people to think in terms of joining a larger

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[72] Cf. Freeman 1891-94, III.61-62; Westlake 1958, 177.

[73] For an instructive parallel, see Thuc. 3.62.5, 4.92.6, with Lewis 1992, 116, both in speeches by Thebans claiming that Athens' successes in Boeotia were due to *stasis* among the Boeotians. The threat there is also of foreign interference and the speakers are again citizens of the hegemonic city, though Boeotia generally is not seen as a geographically-based identity group (though see above for Plataea, pp. 202-3).

community composed of cities; the frequent use of forms of *koinos* (which appear six times) reinforces this thought.[74] The orator also compares the Sikeliotai to the two main ethnic groups, saying that just as it is not shameful for members of an ethnic group to give way to each other, so too the Sikeliotai may yield to each other (4.64.3). Importantly, this passage does not suggest that the Sikeliotai actually are an ethnic group.[75] Rather, Hermocrates is saying that the Sikeliotai are *like* an ethnic group – he is using a comparison to help people understand what he wants them to think. These comparisons to more familiar conceptions of identity help people understand and categorize the less familiar one.

Now, I am not suggesting that Hermocrates invented this identity on the spot and successfully imposed it on an entire island full of people; in fact, that is probably impossible. But the concept of Sicilian identity was not new: I argued in Chapter Two (pp. 143-148) that it was fostered by the Deinomenids to unify their domains and solidify their power. Thus, Hermocrates was able to identify some useful criteria that were already latent in people's minds and encouraged them to consider those similarities and differences, associated with Sikeliote identity, more important than the ethnic criteria they had been using before.[76] Moreover, he used terminology that was familiar to people from other realms of identity to help them understand his argument. Hermocrates was still asking people to act on the basis of self-interest – but whose self-interest? In other words, what is the extent of the "self" part of self-interest? Up to this point, cities or at

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[74] Connor 1984, 121-22, treats these issues as a question of identity, though not systematically.

[75] So Antonaccio 2001, 118-19; cf. Gomme, *HCT*, III.520.

[76] Fauber 2001, 43-44, agrees that Hermocrates "attempted to suppress shared descent in an effort to unite the entire island, so that 'Sikeliote' identity would take rhetorical priority." For earlier attempts at Sicilian unity, see Fontana 1981, 151-59.

most ethnic groups were the largest entities whose self-interest people were willing to consider; Hermocrates asks them merely to broaden their vision and act in the best interests of Sicily as a whole.[77] In this way he encouraged people to change which tier of identity they considered most important at the moment. The outcome of the Conference of Gela – the Sikeliotai did make peace, albeit temporarily – suggests that this encouragement was successful, Hermocrates' speech really did alter way most Sicilians viewed their identities. This episode, then, represents an example of a change of identities that operates in the short term of the Annalistes' *histoire événementielle*.

Thucydides and the Sikeliotai

However, we still must explain why Thucydides chose to devote so much space – nearly half of his total narrative of the first Athenian expedition – to this speech. This is clearly a literary question, not a historical one, and the answer must be sought on the literary level. No doubt the answer is partly that Thucydides esteemed Hermocrates greatly and wanted to provide a further venue for this character.[78] The Athenians' rebuff from Sicily also represented for Thucydides their first failure following the great successes recounted in the first half of Book 4, especially the victory at Sphacteria; it was thus an important moment that changed the momentum of the war somewhat and deserved some attention.[79] It was also partly Thucydides' interest in the questions of identity that the speech raises. The conflict of self-interest and ethnic identity as

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[77] 4.59.1: ἐς κοινὸν δὲ τὴν δοκοῦσάν μοι βελτίστην γνώμην εἶναι ἀποφαινόμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ πάσῃ.

[78] See especially 6.72.2 with Westlake 1958, 198-202.

[79] That the Sicilian "defeat" was seen as such by Athenians at the time is seen in the trial of the generals, 4.65.3-4; cf. Gomme, *HCT*, III.525-27; Westlake 1960, 105, 118-22; Cogan 1981, 79-81. See also Raaflaub 2002.

expressed through kinship diplomacy is a topic of great interest to Thucydides, as we saw in the Catalogue.

Moreover, while Thucydides did not want to steal his own thunder by spending too much time on Sicily before the narrative of the main expedition, Hermocrates' speech gave him an excellent opportunity to introduce themes that would recur later in more detail, either in their original form or reversed.[80] The occasion of the speech, a peace conference, offers a review of the disunity that had been prevalent in Sicily, since at the outset the various delegations were seeking the advantage for their own cities (4.58, 4.59.4). This provides a nice background to Alcibiades' description of Sicily in his speech in favor of the expedition of 415 (6.17.2-4). His entire strategy is based around the idea that Sicily will be unable to unite against Athens, and his expectation that the Sicilians would στασιάζειν (6.17.4) finds its parallel in Hermocrates' admonition that *stasis* would destroy Sicily (4.61.1). However, the success, albeit temporary, of Hermocrates at uniting the Sicilians around their common identity as Sikeliotai, should give the reader pause in assuming that Alcibiades' self-confidence will be anything other than disastrous.[81] Alcibiades believes that in Sicily "no one feels that he is fighting for his fatherland (οἰκείας πατρίδος); no one has adequate armor for his person or a proper establishment on the land" (6.17.3). The word *oikeias* recalls that Hermocrates at Gela urged *oikeioi* to yield to *oikeioi*. In Hermocrates' vision, the Sikeliotai do have a fatherland – Sicily as a whole – and Alcibiades has hopelessly misunderstood the various

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[80] Cf. the themes adduced by Connor 1984, 124-25.

[81] Cf. Hunter 1973, 138; Macleod 1975, 51-65.

tiers of identity in force in Sicily that will lead the Sicilians to resist the Athenian invasion.

Nicias, on the other hand, would have found Hermocrates' ideas much more in line with his own way of thinking. Hermocrates spends a great deal of time establishing the vagaries of fortune and the dangers of overreaching. He could be speaking directly to Athens when he argues that cities should go to war to protect what they already have rather than to gain what is not theirs (4.61.1). Nicias, meanwhile, points to the unsubdued rebels much closer to home (6.10.5) and urges that the possible rewards are not worth the risk (6.11.1). Although they are coming from opposite perspectives, their views are very similar, and their warnings certainly prove correct in the long run.[82] Alcibiades, on the other hand, argues that Athens must continue to conquer new areas or risk losing what it already has (6.18.3). Although his focus on the risk of losing what one has is reminiscent of the other two speeches, Alcibiades comes to the opposite and, for Thucydides, incorrect conclusion. All three orators are concerned that their respective states take precautions to avoid loss of power, but their recommendations are sharply different. Thucydides' introduction of Hermocrates' argument foreshadows the debate at Athens and reinforces Nicias' position.

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[82] For the Sicilian disaster as the source of further ills for Athens, cf. 2.65, 8.2. For the accuracy of Nicias' specific warnings, see de Romilly 1963, 206-7; Stahl 1973, 65-69. For further comparison of Nicias and Hermocrates, see Stahl 1973, 77; Bloedow 1996, 143-44; Hunter 1973, 150-51, 154-55.

Ethnicity in the Camarina Debate, 6.76-80

A decade after Gela, the situation was rather different. The Athenians returned in 415 with a much larger armada, and the idea that the Sicilians had more to fear from Athens than from Syracuse was easier to believe. This time, Camarina hesitated between the two sides,[83] and Hermocrates spoke again to encourage them to ally with Syracuse. One would think this would be a prime opportunity for a renewal of the geographic basis of Sikeliote identity of the previous decade. The situation is quite similar: Sicily was facing a foreign invasion, and Hermocrates was trying to put together a unified response.

But rather than use these same arguments, Hermocrates' speech offers a vicious ethnic screed urging the Camarinaeans to support Syracuse as fellow Dorians. He asks the Camarinaeans to make it clear to the Athenians that they are not dealing with "Ionians, Hellespontines or islanders, who may change masters but are always slaves either to the Persians or to someone else, but free Dorians from the autonomous Peloponnese, inhabiting Sicily."[84] He points out that "the Ionians, who are always our enemies, are plotting against us, while our fellow Dorians are betraying us."[85] Moreover, the word *syngeneia* and its cognates, which did not occur in the Gela speech except to contrast the ethnic groups with the Sikeliotai, appears twice in this speech, in prominent

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[83] The Camarinaeans contributed twenty cavalrymen and fifty archers to oppose the initial Athenian landing at Syracuse in 415 (Thuc. 6.67.2) but after the Athenian victory at Dascon (6.66-70), they evidently appeared persuadable.

[84] 6.77.1: οὐ ξυστραφέντες βουλόμεθα προθυμότερον δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐκ Ἴωνες τάδε εἰσὶν οὐδ᾿ Ἑλλησπόντιοι καὶ νησιῶται, οἳ δεσπότην ἢ Μῆδον ἢ ἕνα γέ τινα αἰεὶ μεταβάλλοντες δουλοῦνται, ἀλλὰ Δωριῆς ἐλεύθεροι ἀπ᾿ αὐτονόμου τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντες.

[85] 6.80.3: δεόμεθα δὲ καὶ μαρτυρόμεθα ἅμα, εἰ μὴ πείσομεν, ὅτι ἐπιβουλευόμεθα μὲν ὑπὸ Ἰώνων αἰεὶ πολεμίων, προδιδόμεθα δὲ ὑφ᾿ ὑμῶν Δωριῆς Δωριῶν.

positions.[86] Furthermore, the concept of *physis*, crucial in Greek thought, plays a major, yet differing role in the two speeches. At Gela, Athens is an "enemy by nature" (4.60.1: φύσει πολέμιον), but not because of ethnicity. Rather, it is the sea that divides Athens from the Sikeliotai, and to Hermocrates, this is enough to constitute a natural boundary that should not be crossed.[87] At Camarina, however, Ionians are "always enemies" (6.80.3: Ἰώνων ἀεὶ πολεμίων) of Dorians and even "enemies by nature" (6.79.2: φύσει πολεμίους). The ethnic divide is strongly felt, and it is seen as an unsurpassable divide between the two *ethne*. This is a substantial change. Hermocrates has gone from asking the Sicilians to ignore ethnicity altogether to urging Camarina to act primarily on the basis of ethnic identity.

As a result of Hermocrates' speech, Camarina tried to remain as neutral as possible (6.88.1), but eventually provided 1,100 troops (7.33.1), a not insignificant total, and is listed in the Catalogue on the Syracusan side (7.58.1). Thucydides gives no further indication of Camarina's reasons for sending troops, so he is implying that, despite a delay, it was this speech and the arguments contained in it that persuaded the Camarinaeans to aid Syracuse. Thus, we have another example of a swift pivot between different tiers of identity operating in the short term mode of the Annalistes.

On the other hand, Hermocrates does not use the ethnic argument alone. In this desperate situation, he uses every argument at his disposal to urge Camarina to join Syracuse against Athens. He discusses Camarina's existing alliance with Athens, and

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[86] 4.79.2, 4.80.2. These words also occur twice in describing the Athenian pretext for the expedition (4.76.2, 4.77.1). The concept is constantly in play here, for one side or the other, a sharp contrast with the Gela speech.

[87] So the scholiast; cf. Gomme, *HCT*, III.514-15, who refers the phrase to the enmity between Dorians and Ionians in Sicily. See also above, p. 218.

places it at the center of a sophisticated ring composition, indicating its importance.[88]

This is primarily a juridical topic, but Hermocrates makes his argument in terms of

ethnicity: if Rhegium, who was not only an Athenian ally but also their *syngeneis*, did not

uphold the alliance, neither should Camarina, who is not bound by kinship ties.

Another of his main tactics is the "domino effect" argument – the idea that if the

Athenians captures Syracuse, they will then be able to conquer the other cities of Sicily

one by one, and thus by fighting for Syracuse the Camarinaeans would equally be

fighting for themselves (6.77.2-78.1). This argument featured briefly in his speech at

Gela (4.64.4), but here is given much more weight. The climax of this section contains

another of Hermocrates' striking phrases: "And when fellow-dwellers at a distance are

destroyed first, do we not imagine that danger will come to each of us in turn?"[89] That

word ξυνοίκου reminds us of the basic element of Hermocrates' geographically-based

Sikeliote identity, the fact that Sicilians live together. So this identity has not disappeared

entirely; it is merely submerged behind other aspects that Hermocrates emphasizes more

strongly. Even in Hermocrates' statement of self-definition as a Dorian, quoted above

(6.77.1: p. 224), he recognizes a distinction between Sicilian Dorians and other Dorians,

since only the former "inhabit Sicily;" that is, they are distinguished geographically,

although he glosses over this by referring to the Sicilian Dorians as Peloponnesians (by

descent). Hermocrates also urges Camarina to protect "the benefit that is common to

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[88] Hornblower, *Comm.*, III.491-94, 499-500, who emphasizes Camarina's "interestingly conflicted symmachical obligations" in explaining why Thucydides chose to highlight this debate; this clearly only represents one part of Thucydides' interest in Camarina.

[89] 6.77.2: καὶ οἰόμεθα τοῦ ἄπωθεν ξυνοίκου προαπολλυμένου οὐ καὶ ἐς αὐτόν τινα ἥξειν τὸ δεινόν, πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὸν πάσχοντα καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν δυστυχεῖν. Cf. τοὺς πέλας, 6.79.1.

Sicily,"[90] lest "we be taken city by city."[91] Both phrases are clear reminiscences of his arguments a decade earlier.

Hermocrates also acknowledges the geographic component of Camarina's civic identity, which Thucydides outlines in the concluding section to the Camarina Debate: Camarina has always hated Syracuse because of their proximity (τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸ ὅμορον διάφοροι, 6.88.1), but Hermocrates turns this idea to his benefit. Rather than a source of conflict with Syracuse, their common border poses a danger to Camarina from Athens, since once Syracuse falls, Camarina will naturally be the next target.[92] Moreover, Hermocrates spends a great deal of time arguing that Camarina should be more afraid of Athenian than of Syracusan imperialism.[93] This is partially aimed at persuading the Camarinaeans to ignore their civic identity, which, as I mentioned earlier, is predicated on hatred and fear of Syracuse. The way to do this is by arguing that other factors are more important: Hermocrates specifically argues that being *syngeneis* matters more than being enemies.[94] Though Hermocrates buttresses his argument with appeals to other types of identity, he focuses primarily on their common ethnicity as the main reason why Camarina should come to the aid of Syracuse. Why is this?

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[90] 6.80.2: τὴν τε κοινὴν ὠφελίαν τῇ Σικελίᾳ φυλάξαι; cf. 4.59.1, 61.2.

[91] 6.77.2: ἕως ἂν ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις ληφθῶμεν; cf. καθ᾽ ἑκάστους, 4.64.4.

[92] 6.78.4: καὶ μάλιστα εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Καμαριναῖοι, ὁμόρους ὄντας καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κινδυνεύσοντας προορᾶσθαι αὐτά.

[93] 6.76.2-4, 6.78.1, 6.78.4.

[94] 6.79.2: ὑμεῖς δ᾽ εὐλόγῳ προφάσει τοὺς μὲν φύσει πολεμίους βούλεσθε ὠφελεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον φύσει ξυγγενεῖς μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων διαφθεῖραι.

Scholars have generally pointed out that, unlike at Gela, where representatives of

every Sicilian state were gathered, here we have a Dorian speaking to Dorians, so there is

no need for Hermocrates to find a way of bridging the ethnic divide; he can use the

argument that is assumed to be more natural.[95] But there can be no doubt that

Hermocrates intended his words to be heard far beyond the immediate audience of the

citizens of Camarina. He was speaking, at least implicitly, to all the Greeks of Sicily, and

readers are intended to understand that the arguments presented by both sides are more

widely applicable.[96] This is especially true from a literary point of view in the context of

Thucydides' sixth and seventh books.[97] Nowhere else does the historian discuss so fully

the issue of which side the Sicilian cities should take, a debate which must have been far

more widespread in every city at the time, at Himera and Catana, for instance, or at

Akragas, the only Sikeliote city that ultimately took no part in the war (7.58.1). This

debate at Camarina is intended to consolidate all such discussion in one place; therefore,

the arguments presented should have broader appeal.[98]

So why did Hermocrates so vigorously shove aside the Chalcidians? Perhaps the

Chalcidian cities of Naxos and Catana were so irreconcilably pro-Athenian that

Hermocrates could pretty easily write them off and didn't need to worry about whether he

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[95] E.g., Dover, *HCT*, IV.351; Fauber 2001, 47-48.

[96] Westlake 1958, 187.

[97] Cf. de Romilly 1963, 50-51, for the balancing function of the Camarina Debate in the architecture of Book 6.

[98] Of course, the fact that Thucydides has condensed such a wide-ranging debate into a single pair of speeches should not detract from the historical value of the arguments presented here; see below, pp. 231-5, for discussion.

was insulting them.[99] However, this divide may not have been quite so clear-cut. After all, the citizens of Catana had not originally admitted the Athenians into the city (6.50.3); the city became Athens' main rear base only after some Athenian soldiers managed to break down a gate while the Catanaeans were distracted by Alcibiades speaking in the assembly, leading to the flight of the pro-Syracusan party (6.51).[100] Nobody knew what might happen in the future. Moreover, the city of Himera, described by Thucydides as a mixed Dorian and Chalcidian colony,[101] ended up fighting for Syracuse (7.58.2): would the Himeraeans not be insulted? This suggests that Hermocrates' choice of arguments was not so natural and ready-made as scholars have assumed. This was a conscious choice that he made for specific reasons.

Just because he had advocated a geographically-based identity a decade earlier does not mean that he had to do the same here. Identity is a constantly shifting phenomenon, and people can choose which of several options suits them at the moment. On the other hand, not all choices are necessarily equal. While from a purely logical standpoint, appealing to either Sikeliote or Dorian identity would have the same effect in this situation viewed in isolation, Hermocrates must choose the arguments that he thinks will actually work in practice. He apparently considered that Dorian identity was more deeply felt than Sikeliote identity – it had been around longer and, for whatever reason,

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[99] As Dover, *HCT*, IV.351, argues.

[100] Cf. also the near-betrayal of Messina into the hands of the Athenians by some of its own citizens, which was only foiled by the double-crossing of Alcibiades (6.74.1). On the reality of the divisions in Catana and other cities, see Konstan 1994, 62-64; Zahrnt 2006, 653-54. Fauber 2001, 46, sees Hermocrates' mention of Rhegium's refusal to help Athens (6.79.2) as a challenge to Athens' Chalcidian allies.

[101] 6.5.1: Himera was founded from Chalcidian Zancle with the help of Syracusan exiles called the Myletidae; most of the colonists were Chalcidian and the customs were Chalcidian, but the dialect was a mix of Chalcidian and Doric.

people were more willing to give it their full consideration – and so he expected that it would be easier to convince people by this argument than by any other. This constitutes an important check on the ability of identity to mutate freely. Although identities can shift and be selected differently at different times, considerations of practicality impose limits on this.

Nonetheless, perhaps Camarina's shifting attitudes can be explained through the simple issue of self-interest; this would deny that identity is a factor at all in this debate, since the city's desire for self-preservation in the face of Athenian invasion takes precedence. It is true that Hermocrates addresses such concerns in his speech (6.76.2-4, 78.4). But this is not his focus; he is more afraid that Athens will convince Camarina with words than by force:

> Οὐ τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὦ Καμαριναῖοι, μὴ αὐτὴν καταπλαγῆτε δείσαντες ἐπρεσβευσάμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν λόγους, πρίν τι καὶ ἡμῶν ἀκοῦσαι, μὴ ὑμᾶς πείσωσιν.

> Camarinaeans, we did not come on this mission because we were afraid that the forces which the Athenians have could frighten you; it was more the words that they were going to speak which made us fear that they might convince you before you had had an opportunity of hearing what we have to say on our side.[102]

Hermocrates specifically urges the Camarinaeans to set aside questions of force or self-interest and instead to consider what is *right* for them to do. It is κάλλιον to help one's kinsmen (6.80.2). This is his primary contention, the underlying basis of the ethnic argument, and it has nothing to do with self-interest. Instead, it is a situation like that of the Catalogue, where Thucydides expresses his view that ethnic feeling was not the dominant factor in creating the Athenian alliance, and that this was an unnatural state of

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[102] 6.76.1. In fact, self-interest is actually a much more important factor in the Gela speech (see above, pp. 220-1). There, he is much more concerned with the fact of the Athenian presence than with any words (4.60.1, cf. 4.63.1), which is the opposite of his position at Camarina.

affairs. Here, Hermocrates recognizes that a similar reversal is in place for Camarina, and attempts to bring his audience back to the normal position of joining the Dorians. His manipulation of ethnic identity – both to promote it at Camarina and to deny its usefulness, though not its existence, at Gela – far from denying the reality of the concept, instead shows its true importance.[103]

Hermocrates and Thucydides

The nature of Thucydidean speeches has, of course, been a morass of debate for centuries. This is not the place to get bogged down in it, so I will merely pose the basic question – is this Hermocrates or is this Thucydides? Does what we read in Thucydides bear any relation to what was actually said, and therefore, can we use it as evidence for actual fifth-century Sicilian attitudes? Although this issue does not greatly matter for my purposes here, I must address it at least briefly. The basic problem is the famous statement in 1.22.1: "My method has been, while keeping as closely as possible to the general sense of the words that were actually used, to make the speakers say what, in my opinion, was called for by each situation."[104] This passage leaves two basic possibilities. Thucydides may have had accurate information for these speeches of Hermocrates and thus his text may represent a reasonably faithful facsimile of, if not his actual words, then

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[103] Cf. Fauber 2001, 48; Hornblower, *Comm*., II.225.

[104] ὡς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται. On this problem in general, see Hornblower 1987, 45-72; Wilson 1982, 95-103; and the articles collected in Stadter 1973. My interpretation largely agrees with that of Alty 1982, 4-5. Fauber 2001, 37-41, 48-50, argues more strongly for the actual authenticity of Hermocrates' speeches, which I find harder to accept, though it is possible.

at least his arguments. This would leave us in an excellent position for understanding

Sicilian ideas, and because Hermocrates' ideas are so striking and unlikely to have been

invented, especially by someone like Thucydides, who believed that force and self-

interest were more important factors than identity,[105] I believe this is more likely to be the

correct option. On the other hand, Thucydides may have created a speech based on τὰ

δέοντα, what he thought a person in Hermocrates' position should have said (or would

have said, or however the phrase should be translated). This would indicate that the

historian had a good idea of what the politician's goals were for each particular speech,

and of his audience, and of what arguments might have succeeded in that situation. In

other words, Thucydides thought that ethnic arguments would have convinced a late-

fifth-century Sicilian audience, and since he was well acquainted with Sicily we should

probably trust him here. Thus, whether Hermocrates actually used these precise

arguments or not, we can assume that arguments like them would have had some effect

and therefore represent a reality that is worth investigating.

The speech at Gela has provoked particular controversy and should be discussed

more specifically. Several scholars have argued that (a) Thucydides, who thinks very

highly of Hermocrates, has antedated his importance and invented wholesale his

influence and perhaps even his presence at Gela;[106] (b) certain references in this speech

imply knowledge of the Great Expedition of 415 and thus that the speech was written by

Thucydides after that time and inserted into Book 4;[107] and (c) the speech is infused with

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[105] Alty 1982, 5.

[106] Hornblower 1987, 56, *Comm*., II.220.

[107] Grosso 1966, 106-7; Hammond 1973, 53, 57-59; Hunter 1977, 83-85; Fontana 1981, 156; Vanotti 2003, 185.

Thucydides' political thought as it developed later in his career (i.e., near or after the end of the Peloponnesian War).[108] However, (a) seems unlikely and in any case is based only on the unnecessary assumption that Hermocrates is among the "young" mentioned by Athenagoras in 415 as attempting to subvert the democracy (6.38.5).[109] We know from Timaeus (F22) that, at a minimum, Thucydides did not invent the occasion for the speech at Gela,[110] and the datum that Antiochus of Syracuse ended his history in 424 has often been taken to mean that he concluded with the Congress of Gela and saw it as a highly significant event for Sicilian history, though any references to Hermocrates do not survive.[111] Regarding (b), this is probably true of one reference (4.60.1), but one reference does not add up to an entire invented speech since, while references to possible future Athenian invasions are helpful to Hermocrates' case, they are not necessary for it: such references could have been inserted into a basically authentic framework.[112] I would not want to dispute that Thucydides' speech may have been written after 415, but this would not negate the arguments presented above about the nature of Thucydidean speeches in general. A more serious potential objection is (c), since it would imply that

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[108] Hammond 1973, 57-59; Vanotti 2003, 184-86, 193-97.

[109] Grosso 1966, 119-22, 140. Fontana 1981, 161-62, argues that Hermocrates was a mature politician at the head of a group of young revolutionaries, but even this is not necessary, since it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Thucydides deeply disapproves of Athenagoras' position (after all, events prove him to have more seriously misjudged the situation regarding the reality of the Athenian fleet than almost any other character), and since his opinion of the threat from Athens is tied to his estimation of the internal political situation at Syracuse, we should be wary of trusting him on that also, despite Grosso 1966, 123-24. Sordi 2008, 153-57, accepts Hermocrates' leadership of this group of young men, but takes no position on his actual age.

[110] Cf. Vanotti 2003, 182-83, arguing against the value of this fragment, but even she admits this much.

[111] Antiochus T3 = Diod. 12.71.2, with Jacoby's commentary (arguing for caution); Fontana 1981, 156; Hornblower, *Comm.*, II.220; Vanotti 2003, 181 and references in her n. 8.

[112] Cf. Fontana 1981, 156-57; for the reverse position, that acceptance of Hermocrates' importance at Gela does not require us to accept the particulars of the speech as we have it, see Vanotti 2003, 183-4.

not only the words but also the ideas of the speech are Thucydides' and not

Hermocrates', but I believe that even so, the arguments presented above prevail.[113]

Connected with this is a second objection to my use of these speeches, namely the

tendency of some scholars to see Hermocrates not as a true patriot and great statesman, as

Thucydides did,[114] but as a determined oligarch with tyrannical aspirations.[115] On this

reading, his position at Gela was an entirely self-serving construct designed purely to

further Syracusan ambitions, as well as his own – in other words, he didn't mean a word

of it.[116] But despite appearing in rhetorical contexts, these arguments are not merely

rhetorical – they were meant to persuade their audiences.[117] Hermocrates was speaking to

a real audience in the assembly of Camarina, for example, and though he did not succeed

in getting Camarina to send troops, he at least persuaded them to remain neutral. Thus,

his arguments evidently had at least some force for the Camarinaeans, and were not mere

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[113] A further argument, put forward by Freeman 1891-94, III.55-56, and similarly Gomme, *HCT*, III.521-22, that Thucydides would only have bothered to include this speech in a later period (presumably after 413) when he had better information and a greater interest in Sicily, has no bearing on the contents of the speech, to which 1.22 still applies. Overall, in favor of an invented speech: Gomme, *HCT*, III.520-23. In favor of an accurate report of at least the ideas of the speech: Freeman 1891-94, III.631-36; Kagan 1974, 267 n. 24.

[114] See especially 6.72.2 with Westlake 1958, 198-202. Timaeus, who must have had better information than we do, also saw Hermocrates in a highly favorable light (F22, F100-102); this historian was vehemently opposed to most tyrants (especially Dionysius I and Agathocles) but approved strongly of Gelon; cf. Bearzot 2006.

[115] E.g., Grosso 1966; Fontana 1981; Sordi 1981. This view is based primarily on a reading of Diodorus' account of Hermocrates' later career (esp. Diod. 13.75.5), combined with his known association with the future tyrant Dionysius I (Diod. 13.75.9), which is then retrojected into his earlier career. On Diodorus' portrait of Hermocrates, see Vanotti 2005, and on Philistus as a likely source of this portrait, see Fontana 1981, 155-56, 160-62. On the other hand, Kagan 1974, 266-70, admits the possibility of selfish motivations but ultimately calls him basically sincere; cf. also Westlake 1958, 178-79.

[116] Grosso 1966, 108-10, who focuses on the change of tactics from Gela to Camarina to suggest that both lines of argument were simply politically expedient; the alternative explanation for this change presented above is, I think, sufficient rebuttal. Along similar lines, cf. Fontana 1981, 158-59.

[117] Cogan 1981, 283; Alty 1982, 3-5; Calligeri 2001-2002, 258.

rhetorical showmanship or artifice. At Gela, his audience consisted of envoys from the various cities, whom he had to convince and who then had to convince their fellow-citizens that the decisions they had made were legitimate. Regardless of any ulterior motives he may have had, his successful, if temporary, peacemaking nevertheless showed that his arguments had real effects. Third and similarly, we cannot dismiss this as merely a cunning politician at work, with no repercussions on the identity of the population at large. If the politician can successfully convince his audience that their identity is what he says it is, then it is in fact their identity, at least until something better comes along. Moreover, if people have several options of identities that they can espouse as desired, they must somehow determine which is expedient or desirable at a given moment, and it makes no difference whether they are convinced by a politician or come to that conclusion on their own. Even if Hermocrates did not mean what he said, he still convinced people that what he was saying had some validity.

Conclusion

Thucydides is highly interested in the opinions of Hermocrates and the activities of Camarina, partly for historical reasons – both the politician and the city did in fact play important roles in supporting or opposing both Athenian expeditions[118] – and partly for literary reasons, but particularly because of the light their political choices shed on the issue of identity in a multi-ethnic Sicily. Camarina appears frequently, throughout both 427-24 and 415-13 (various forms of the name or ethnic appear some twenty times), but

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[118] See Bosworth 1992, 50-53, and cf. Arist. *Acharn*. 606, produced during the first expedition.

Thucydides "surrenders his information about [it] slowly,"[119] to increase the dramatic effect of its presence in the narrative (much as he does with Hermocrates, whom he mentions twice (at 4.58 and 6.32) and to whom he gives a full speech before properly introducing him at 6.72)[120]. By minor references, such as those framing the report of the Congress of Gela, Thucydides can anticipate future events like the Camarina Debate.[121] In fact, Thucydides' choice to highlight the debate at Camarina, rather than Akragas, a more powerful city that also remained neutral, is itself significant. Camarina's prominent position at the end of the Sicilian Archaeology signals its prominence in the narrative to follow, and the information Thucydides chooses to give there, more full than for most cities, prepares us for the theme of the colonial relationship – Camarina's with Syracuse, Syracuse's with Corinth, and even the colonizing role that Athens tries to assume, according to Avery's theory.[122] As Hornblower has recently recognized, Camarina plays an important role in articulating Thucydides' message throughout the entire work.[123]

As we have seen, identity and especially ethnicity were real factors in international politics in the late fifth century. Thucydides, along with most Greeks, thought it was normal for political actions to follow ethnic lines unless something got in the way. This might be an internal consideration, such as a different tier of identity, as in the case of Camarina, or an external, disruptive force like the power politics of the

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[119] Hornblower, *Comm.*, III.429.

[120] Hornblower, *Comm.*, III.483-85.

[121] Cf. Hornblower, *Comm.*, I.492, on the mention of Camarina at 3.86.2.

[122] Avery 1973, 8-13; Hornblower, *Comm.*, III.274, 298-99, 430, comparing especially ἀνάστατος, 6.5.3 *bis*, 6.76.2.

[123] See, in particular, Hornblower, *Comm.*, III.298-99, 428-32, 491-95, 499.

Peloponnesian War, and the study of these disruptive forces, like force and self-interest, was one of the major concerns that permeate Thucydides' history. At the same time, however, ethnicity could be manipulated as desired, either by individual politicians or by whole states: Hermocrates' changes of tactics between his speeches at Gela and Camarina help demonstrate that even a seemingly objective concept like self-interest can be flexible and manipulable. In terms of identity, the situation on the ground was even more complicated. Not only ethnicity but also geographic and civic identity played a role in determining historical events. Moreover, these factors were not static; no single tier of identity was foremost at all times. Identity was a dynamic and powerful force in antiquity, one that could shift and change directions rapidly and be deployed in various ways to adapt to changing circumstances and to legitimate different actions. Although some parameters were fixed – Camarina could never argue that it was actually Chalcidian, for example – and some, like ethnicity, were more deeply entrenched than others, they could be emphasized or ignored at will, or even manipulated by external forces or individuals, creating numerous possible permutations that allowed for a rapid switch between tiers of identity when this became desirable.

CHAPTER FOUR

Greeks and Barbarians in the Third Century

The third century BCE was a turbulent time for the Greeks of Sicily and southern Italy. The sociopolitical landscape of these regions was changing rapidly, as non-Greeks – Lucanians and Bruttians in Italy, Carthaginians and Mamertines in Sicily – began to play an increasingly important role in politics and society. The identities held by Greeks shifted as well in this period: as I will argue, the influx of new peoples was perceived as a new barbarian invasion and a threat to Greek civilization, and Greek identity, constructed in opposition to these barbarians, became widely salient once again. At least, this was one popular conception at the time, championed especially by Taras in Italy and by kings such as Pyrrhus and Hieron II in Sicily. Other Greeks, especially in the smaller and less important cities, ignored these larger issues and focused on local concerns and, I suggest, their civic identities.

The arrival of Rome in the political arenas of the Greek West, between the late fourth and mid-third centuries, was not initially seen as a major departure from these paradigms. Early Greek responses to Rome, I argue, were conditioned by a long history of interactions with other non-Greek Italian peoples that were sometimes – but only sometimes – perceived as a fight against a barbarian enemy. Thus, some Greeks saw the Romans as helpful protectors against local barbarians, while others saw them as

barbarians themselves; others again tried as best they could to ignore Rome altogether, preferring to focus instead on local problems. These varying mentalities developed slowly, as a result of both gradual sociopolitical changes and a series of specific events, and thus can be analyzed in Annaliste terms as a phenomenon of the medium term.

I argue that two aspects of the functioning of identity – both seen before in minor roles – became much more prominent in the third century: the conflation of multiple tiers of identity and the construction of Greek identity in opposition to multiple barbarian enemies. I argued in Chapter One that civic and ethnic identities partially merged in the construction of Achaean identity. In the third century, Greek identity was often incorporated into civic identity – or the reverse. For instance, the Tarantines' civic identity was predicated on their perceived role as the leaders of the Greeks of Italy in a panhellenic struggle against the barbarians, while lesser cities like Thurii might predicate their civic identity in part on the survival of their community against the barbarians next door. Alternatively, some communities ignored Greek identity altogether out of concern for Tarantine imperialism, seeking out Roman aid much as Aegean Greeks had earlier taken the Persian side against their Greek neighbors.

Since there were various barbarian groups in the West, Greek identity became flexible enough to allow friendly relations with one group in order to attack another. Thus, Hieron II of Syracuse fought the Mamertines (the non-Greek Campanian mercenaries who had occupied Messina) early in his reign and even allied with Carthage to do it, deploying the Greek identity of his subjects to legitimate a war against one barbarian while ignoring the non-Greek status of allied Carthage; later, however, he joined Rome in the First Punic War, redeploying Greek identity to legitimate the war

against Carthage, while ignoring the Mamertines, who still held Messina.[1] Thus, while these two phases of Hieron's career both involve Greek identity, it was deployed differently in different situations, a common phenomenon of identity in general.

In the final analysis, the Greeks of Italy and Sicily were brought under Roman control through military force. But that process took some eighty years from the Pyrrhic War to the end of the Second Punic War. During these decades of the third century, the Western Greeks were routinely faced with a choice between Rome, Carthage, and others, and their changing responses to that choice illustrate the deeply interwoven tapestry of changing identities in the Hellenistic West. The fourth and third centuries saw vast changes in the sociopolitical landscape of Sicily and southern Italy, although the nature of these changes is disputed, not least because of the poor quality and changing perspective of the sources. The sources (and indeed much scholarship) no longer approach the material from a Greek perspective, as in earlier centuries, but now start from a Roman perspective and interpret events through the lens of Roman biases: for example, the scattered and fragmentary reports of the outbreak of the Pyrrhic War (discussed below, pp. 259-262) display a strong anti-Tarantine bias. Nevertheless, this study attempts to reconstruct the neglected Greek perspective on the events of the Roman conquest of the third century and the motivations behind Greek actions, seen in terms of collective identity.

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[1] Plb. 1.9-11, 16.

Background: The Greek West to 289 BC

The roots of the conflicts between the Western Greeks and the barbarians go deep into the fourth century (and even earlier). Many Greek concerns and mentalities stayed constant from the fourth through the third centuries; hence, full understanding of the complex tapestry of Greek identities in the third century must begin earlier.[2] Despite living in what scholars now recognize as a time of heightened cross-cultural interaction, many Greeks saw their era as one of decadence, in which civilized Greekness was under threat. I will argue that due to increasing conflict between Greeks and non-Greeks, there emerged a tendency to focus on Hellenic identity, predicated on a Greek vs. barbarian dichotomy. Further, this was often conflated with civic identity, which could itself take various forms, ranging from a focus on exclusively local issues to an imperialistic insistence on leadership.

Greeks and Barbarians in Italy

Kathryn Lomas has described fourth-century Italy as a scene of opportunistically shifting alliances, in which a model of civilized Greeks vs. barbarian Italians is not valid.[3] Similarly, Nicholas Purcell has argued forcefully that to accept the simplistic Greek vs. barbarian dichotomy is "not just to distort the truth, but also to miss the opportunity to

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[2] Cf. Lomas 1993, 75-76: "[T]his period shows a similar range of preoccupations on the part of the Greeks as did the fourth century."

[3] Lomas 1993, 44; cf. Lombardo 1987, 76; Purcell 1994, 393, who nonetheless calls the idea of Taras as a bulwark against barbarians "a *mythos*, an explanatory narrative, that is informed by another powerful antithesis, that between the pure Hellenism of Laconian Taras and the native hordes growling at the borders." This study focuses on precisely those constructed perceptions.

examine one of the most fascinatingly complicated patterns of cultural interchange which we can perceive from antiquity."[4] I would wholeheartedly agree with this statement, but as I stated in the Introduction (pp. 24-25), this is a study not of historical facts and trends but of the perceptions of those trends that Greeks held at the time. In fact, many Greeks came to believe that their civilization was threatened by barbarian invasion – and not entirely without reason.

Conflict between the Greek cities of Italy and their non-Greek neighbors had been a long-standing phenomenon, but the intensity and nature of the conflict changed substantially in the course of the fourth century. In the fifth century and earlier, this type of conflict was particularly associated with Taras.[5] Evidence for wars between other Greek cities and non-Greeks begins somewhat later, with the battles against the Lucanians fought by the Thurians under the Spartan general Cleandridas in 433.[6] Clearly such clashes were at least relatively common occurrences in the archaic and classical periods.

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[4] Purcell 1994, 395-96; cf. also Lomas 1995, 349-53.

[5] The founding oracle of Taras (Antiochus F13; cf. Diod. 8.21.3) suggests that one purpose of the colony was "to be a bane to the Iapygians"; while the authenticity of this oracle is open to doubt (it has recently been defended by Malkin 1994, 115-27), it certainly implies a context of conflict either at the time of the foundation or at some point thereafter when it may have been invented. The Tarantines and their Rhegian allies famously suffered a massive defeat at the hands of the Iapygians in 473 (Hdt. 7.170.3; Diod. 11.52; Arist. *Pol*. 5.1303a3). Two separate dedications by the Tarantines were seen at Delphi by Pausanias; one, a large bronze statue group, was dedicated out of spoils taken from the Messapians (10.10.6) and the other from the Peucetians and Iapygians (10.13.10); these may or may not relate to any incident known from other sources. For other incidents and full discussion of Taras' early relations with the Iapygians, see Nenci 1976; Malkin 1994, 118-21.

[6] Polyaen. 2.10; Front. *Strat*. 2.3.12; Cappelletti 2002, 1-4. These notices have been doubted as late and untrustworthy, especially since Herodotus, who lived at Thurii not many years after these events, makes no mention of them. But Herodotus does not record everything he knows, and these raids are rather far from his main topic; cf. Guzzo 1989, 31.

But this pattern of conflict intensified substantially in the fourth and third

centuries, in the form of repeated incidents involving the Lucanians and the Bruttians.[7] In

390, the Lucanians attacked Thurii and defeated an army of allied Italiote Greeks; only

the intervention of Leptines, admiral of Dionysius I, prevented total disaster (Diod.

14.101-2). The Thurians were again attacked by the Bruttians in 344 and were aided by a

Corinthian reinforcement army on its way to Timoleon in Sicily (Plut. *Timol*. 16.4).

Strabo reports that the city of Petelia was fortified by the Samnites (i.e., probably, the

Lucanians) against Thurii at an uncertain, but probably fourth-century date.[8] Elsewhere in

Calabria, Croton was besieged by the Bruttians in 319 and received Syracusan assistance

(Diod. 19.3.3). The concept of Lucanians and Bruttians as common enemies of the

Greeks entered literature as well: two epigrams of Leonidas of Tarentum, in the late

fourth or early third century, are devoted to spoils taken from the Lucanians and

dedicated to Athena, as well as one by Nossis of Croton, describing shields abandoned by

the Bruttians to the Locrians.[9] In a number of cases, we only hear of an ongoing war at

the point when someone from the outside intervenes, such as Leptines or Timoleon – a

fact that, along with the scattered, fragmentary and generally poor nature of the sources,

implies that such wars were probably even more frequent than the surviving sources

suggest.

Furthermore, and even more crucially, the nature of the conflict began to change

as well. For the first time, in the late fifth century, Greek cities actually began to fall

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[7] Purcell 1994, 381-82.

[8] Strabo 6.1.4. Since Petelia is located just north of Croton, Strabo may be confusing Croton with Thurii.

[9] Leonidas: *Anth. Pal.* 6.129, 131. Nossis: *Anth. Pal.* 6.132. No other source mentions a battle between Locri and the Bruttians, which should give pause in suggesting that we have a full account of all wars for this period.

under the domination of non-Greeks. Cumae was captured by the Lucanians in 421 and

Poseidonia around 410; these were no longer considered Greek cities, though they

flourished as Lucanian cities.[10] Neapolis apparently maintained formal independence and

was considered a Greek city, but was heavily Oscanized (Strabo 5.4.7). Laus had already

been captured by 390, when the Thurians attempted to besiege it (Diod. 14.101.3). The

Bruttians captured Terina in 356, followed by Hipponium, Thurii and "many other cities"

(Diod. 16.15.2), one of which was Temesa (Strabo 6.1.5). Thurii was independent again

by 344, but the rest either remained Bruttian or, like Hipponium, were captured and

recaptured several times. By mid-century the entire Tyrrhenian coast was in non-Greek

hands, with the exception of Elea, which seems to have made an accommodation with the

Lucanians.[11] Elsewhere, Diodorus records, in uncertain chronological context, the

destruction by the Bruttians of the last city of Sybaris, refounded on the Traeis river in

445 (12.22.1). These events mark a major change from earlier conflicts, and it is not

surprising that they were seen as a rising tide of barbarian invasions.

The probable explanation for this substantial increase in conflict and the change in

its nature is the Italic migrations. In the traditional model, "hill peoples" from the central

Apennines are said to have descended on the coastal plains and fragmented into a number

of separate groups, which then wreaked havoc on the cities there, including the Greek

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[10] Cumae: Liv. 4.44.12; Diod. 12.76.4; cf. Cornell 1974. The date of Poseidonia's capture is estimated from archaeological sources, especially the destruction layer at the Foce del Sele sanctuary (Frederiksen 1984, 137, 150 n. 28). Etruscan Capua was also captured in 413: Liv. 4.37.1. See Frederiksen 1984, 136-40; Lomas 1993, 33-34; Purcell 1994, 386-89.

[11] Thurii: Plut. *Timol*. 16.4; cf. Strabo 6.1.13. Hipponium: Diod. 21.8, Strabo 6.1.5. Elea: Strabo 6.1.1; Lombardo 1987, 55-56.

cities of the Ionian and Tyrrhenian coasts as well as Rome itself.[12] This model of

marauding barbarian hordes fits the pattern found in the literary sources very well, but is

unlikely to be correct. A more likely model that still maintains the idea of physical

movement of peoples, suggested in part by linguistic evidence,[13] is one of slow

infiltration into new territories[14] followed by development more or less in place.[15]

Towards the end of the fifth century and through the fourth, as a result of these slow

migrations, the non-Greek populations became increasingly well-organized and,

potentially, more hostile to the Greeks. It is Greek perceptions of this change and the

associated increase in the overall level of conflict that I will investigate here. Such a

migration, although slow, could easily be perceived, especially in retrospect, as a

barbarian invasion.

And indeed this mentality developed. Strabo summarizes the end result of these

migrations thus: "Today all parts of [Magna Graecia], except Taras, Rhegium, and

Neapolis, have become completely barbarized (ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι), and some parts have

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[12] Cornell 1995, 305, offers an extreme formulation: "The migrations set off a chain reaction, and the shock waves were felt the length and breadth of the peninsula." For a more skeptical view of the Italic migrations, see Chiranky 1982, 38-68.

[13] Broad affinities do exist between the various Oscan dialects spoken throughout central and southern Italy, suggesting that the speakers of these dialects did descend from a single group in the Apennines: Salmon 1988, 699; Purcell 1994, 394-95; but cf. Bradley 2000, 113-14, on the limits of this evidence.

[14] Salmon 1982, 6-16, 1988, 699-711; Frederiksen 1984, 124-37; Guzzo 1989, 29-40; Lomas 1993, 33-35; Horsnaes 2002, 125-26; *contra* Chiranky 1982, 46-58. This would have involved gradual incorporation of pre-existing groups, such as the Oenotrians and Opicians identified by fifth-century sources as the main non-Greek inhabitants of Italy: Hdt. 1.167.3; Thuc. 6.4.5; Antiochus FF2, 4-5, 7, 9; cf. Salmon 1988, 709-10; Herring 2000, 49-54; Horsnaes 2002, 119-22.

[15] Purcell 1994, 393-403, and Horsnaes 2002, 126-28, focus on this development to the exclusion of migration. Diodorus reports that the nation of the Campanians formed in 438/7 (12.31.1) and that the Bruttians formally separated themselves from the Lucanians in 356/5 (16.15, but cf. Aristophanes F629 Kock, Antiochus F3c, with Guzzo 1989, 47-57); cf. Cappelletti 2002, 27-48. These reports probably reflect some sort of a political event (or at least, what the Greeks perceived as a political event) that crystallized, in a more formal sense, the results of changes that had been ongoing for some time: Frederiksen 1984, 98, 137-38; Lomas 1993, 33.
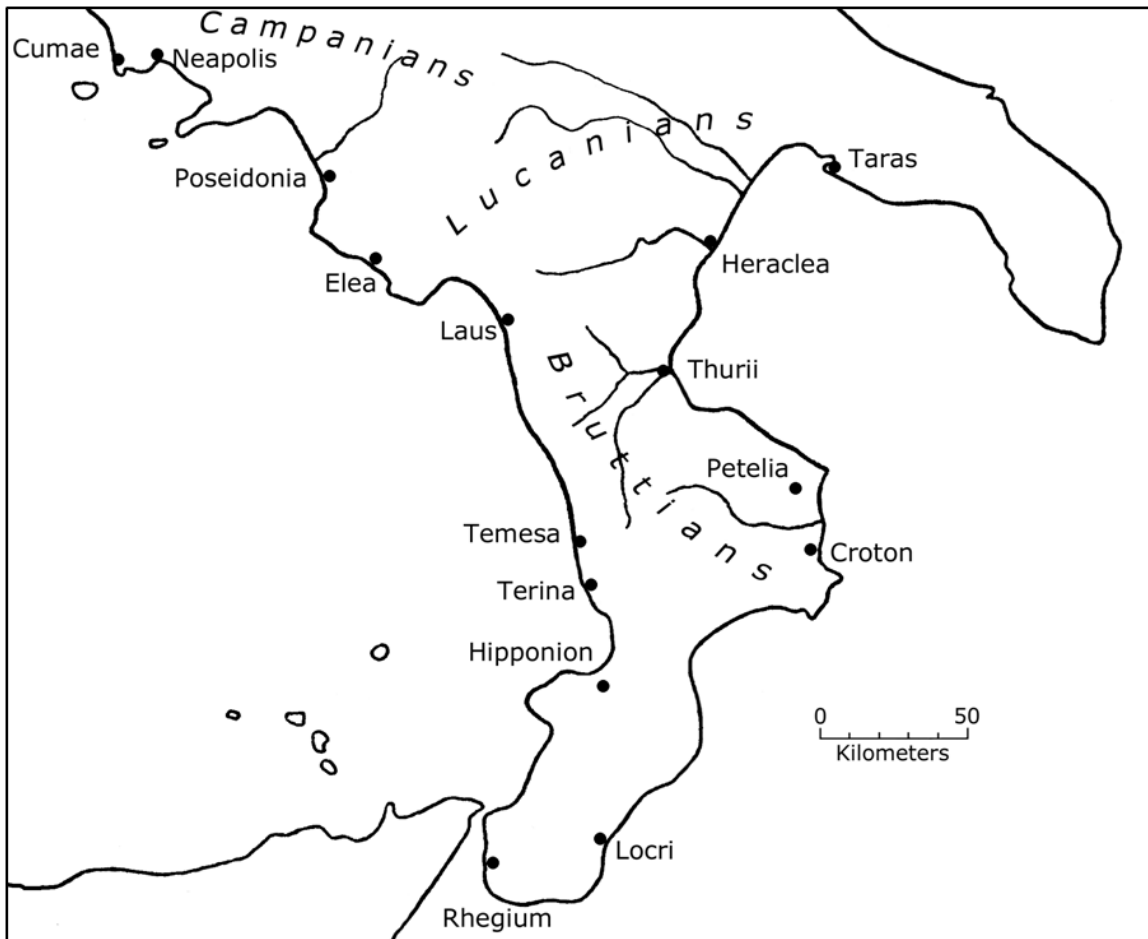
Map 7: Italy in the third century. Adapted from Dunbabin 1948.

been taken and are held by the Lucanians and the Bruttians, and others by the

Campanians."[16] Although recent scholarship has emphasized the continuing presence of

Greek elements in the cities that were captured by the various Italic groups,[17] Greeks in

the cities that remained independent did not consider this fact relevant. The Greek

attempt to recapture Laus in 390 implies that they considered its possession by the

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[16] Strabo 6.1.2: νυνὶ δὲ πλὴν Τάραντος καὶ Ῥηγίου καὶ Νεαπόλεως ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι συμβέβηκεν ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ μὲν Λευκανοὺς καὶ Βρεττίους κατέχειν τὰ δὲ Καμπανούς.

[17] Most striking is the essential similarity between "Greek" Neapolis and "Oscan" Paestum, and the substantial prosperity of both: Pedley 1990, 97-112; Lomas 1995, 351-52; Wonder 2002; cf. Diodorus' description of Lucanian Laus as a πόλις εὐδαίμων (14.101.3).

Lucanians unacceptable. Warfare was certainly not continuous.[18] Nonetheless, while the

Tarantines were sometimes allied with some non-Greeks, they were almost always

fighting other non-Greeks. For example, at an uncertain but probably fourth-century date,

Taras was allied with the Daunians and Peucetians – but only in order to fight the

Messapians in a war over Heraclea (Strabo 6.3.4).

The wars with the Lucanians and others were taken extremely seriously. The

Italiote League had a regulation that "if any city's territory was being plundered by the

Lucanians, they should all come to its aid, and that if any city's army did not take up a

position to give aid, the generals of that city should be put to death."[19] This was no

laughing matter; the perception was that all the Greeks of Italy were in this life-and-death

struggle against the Lucanians together. Another startling example of the importance

placed on wars with non-Greeks relates to Archidamus, king of Sparta, a foreign general

invited by Taras to help fight the barbarians, whose death in battle against the Messapians

(or perhaps the Lucanians)[20] in 338 was said to have occurred on the same day and at the

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[18] The Italiotes made peace with the Lucanians in 389 (Diod. 14.102.3), as did Dionysius II in 358 (Diod. 16.5.2). Croton also made peace in 319 when faced with *stasis*, and more importantly seems to have officially recognized a boundary with the neighboring Bruttian city of Petelia (Diod. 19.3-4). Similarly, Taras at some point negotiated a treaty with Rome that defined their respective spheres of interest (App. *Samn*. 7.1: Roman ships could not sail beyond the Lacinian Promontory); this clearly indicates a formal recognition on the part of Taras of Rome's legitimate claim to large parts of Italy.

[19] Diod. 14.101.1: αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις ἔν τε ταῖς συνθήκαις εἶχον οὕτως, ἵν' ἥτις ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν Λευκανῶν λεηλατηθῇ χώρα, πρὸς ταύτην ἅπαντες παραβοηθῶσιν· ἧς δ' ἂν πόλεως μὴ καταστῇ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν, τεθνάναι τοὺς ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως στρατηγούς.

[20] Diod. 16.88.3; cf. 16.62.4; in both passages the Lucanians are specifically named. Plut. *Agis* 3.2, on the other hand mentions his death against the Messapians and locates it at Manduria, in the Sallentine Peninsula, far from any likely Lucanian threat; thus, given Plutarch's specificity, the Messapians are most likely the correct enemy (cf. Lomas 1993, 42). Cf. also Theopompus F232 (=Athen. 12.536c-d); Paus. 3.10.5; neither names the enemy.

same hour as the Battle of Chaeronea in Greece.[21] Synchronisms of this sort are usually reserved for the most important events, such as the one repeated in several forms synchronizing the Battle of Himera in 480 with either Salamis or Thermopylae.[22] Thus, some observers evidently considered Archidamus' war against the barbarians as important for western history as Chaeronea was for mainland Greeks. The Greeks perceived these conflicts as wars of survival against a barbarian enemy.

The end result that the Greeks feared is seen in a famous passage of uncertain but probably late fourth-century date, in which Aristoxenus of Tarentum laments the "barbarization" of Poseidonia:[23]

F124 Wehrli = Athenaeus 14.632a-b

> διόπερ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τοῖς Συμμίκτοις Συμποτικοῖς ὅμοιον, φησί, ποιοῦμεν Ποσειδωνιάταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ Τυρσηνικῷ κόλπῳ κατοικοῦσιν. οἷς συνέβη τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἕλλησιν οὖσιν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι Τυρρηνοῖς ἢ Ῥωμαίοις γεγονόσι, καὶ τήν τε φωνὴν μεταβεβληκέναι τά τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἄγειν δὲ μίαν τινὰ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ συνιόντες ἀναμιμνήσκονται τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων ὀνομάτων τε καὶ νομίμων καὶ ἀπολοφυράμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποδακρύσαντες ἀπέρχονται.

> On account of this Aristoxenus says in the Promiscuous Banquets, we act in a manner similar to the Poseidoniates who live on the Tyrrhenian Sea; for it happened to them that, though they were originally Greeks, they have become thoroughly barbarized, becoming Tyrrhenians or Romans, and to have changed their language and all the rest of their national habits. But one Greek festival they do celebrate even until the present day, in which they meet and recollect all their ancient names and customs, and bewail their loss to one another, and then, when they have wept for them, they go home.

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[21] Diod. 16.88.3; Plut. *Cam.* 19.5.

[22] Salamis: Hdt. 7.166. Thermopylae: Diod. 12.24.1. In general cf. Asheri 1991-1992 and Chapter Two, p. 157.

[23] A large bibliography has developed on this passage; see especially Fraschetti 1981; Asheri 1999; Crawford 2006a; Russo 2008; Meriani 2008.

This is clearly a tendentious and one-sided report, from an author not directly concerned with Greek-Oscan relations, and need not be taken at face value as historically accurate; nevertheless, it represents a good source for contemporary Greek opinion. The Greeks of the Ionian coast saw what was happening in Campania and perceived it as an encroaching tide of barbarism; doubtless they would be next.

Notably, however, Aristoxenus does not attribute the barbarization to Lucanians, but rather at least partially to Romans. This has caused consternation among scholars, some of whom emend the reference out of the text, while others push Aristoxenus' dates down past the foundation of the Roman colony in 273. But the Romans had a major presence in Campania well before that time, having incorporated Neapolis into their alliance system in 327. Aristoxenus surely knew this and considered the Romans a danger to Greek civilization in southern Italy. In other words, he considered Rome in the same category as other barbarians like the Lucanians and Bruttians. I suggest that, after more than a century of conflict with non-Greeks, one important option, not believed by all people at all times, but available to be deployed when desired, was to see Rome as simply another barbarian tribe to be defeated.

Responses: Hellenic and Civic Identities

Throughout the latter half of the fourth century, the Tarantines, along with other Greeks, developed a set of responses to what they perceived as an increasing threat, which would later condition their responses to the expansion of Roman power. The increasing prominence of Greek identity led to both the creation of the Italiote League and to the summoning of a series of *condottieri*, roaming military leaders, from the Greek

mainland; in both cases, the primary purpose was to fight the barbarians. Meanwhile, Taras' leadership role within the League was absorbed into that city's civic identity, and maintenance of that leadership position on the basis of that civic identity became one of the primary motivations behind its actions.

Beginning in the late fourth century, the Tarantines invited a series of generals or *condottieri* from mainland Greece to fight their enemies.[24] Strabo (6.3.4) describes these generals as a coherent series summoned by Taras:

> They sent for Alexander the Molossian to lead them in their war against the Messapians and Lucanians [334],[25] and, still before that, for Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus [338],[26] and, later on, for Cleonymus [303/2],[27] and Agathocles [315 and 300], and then for Pyrrhus [280], at the time when they formed a league with him against the Romans.

Another general who is sometimes included under this rubric is Acrotatus of Sparta (315/4); both he and Agathocles[28] pursued policies more focused on Sicily. All of these generals were brought in specifically to fight the various Italic groups whom the Greeks perceived as threatening them, and each of them is at first almost exclusively associated

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[24] See generally the useful summaries of Wuilleumier 1968, 77-98; Lomas 1993, 41-44; Purcell 1994, 391-93, as well as the Atti of the Taranto Convegno devoted to them (2003).

[25] Liv. 8.3.6-7, 8.17.9-10, 8.24; Strabo 6.1.5, 6.3.4; Justin 12.2; Gellius 17.21.33; Pliny *NH* 3.98. Cf. Guzzo 1989, 52-55. See generally Giannelli 1969, 6-22; Cappelletti 2002, 56-75. It is less clear whom Alexander was intended to fight: some sources mention Rome (Liv. 8.3.6; Gell. 17.21.33), though this seems unlikely and was probably introduced by Romanocentric tradition. Justin, on the other hand, reports that Taras invited him to help in their war against the Bruttians; he then adds that Alexander fought the Lucanians and Apulians without mentioning Tarantine intentions (12.2.12; Liv. 8.24 lists the same enemies, adding the Messapians). Certainly he was intended to fight Italic peoples perceived as a threat by Taras.

[26] See Giannelli 1969, 2-6; Cappelletti 2002, 48-55.

[27] Cleonymus was summoned in 303/2 to fight the Lucanians and the Romans (Diod. 20.104-5); cf. Giannelli 1974, 358-69; Cappelletti 2002, 75-90.

[28] See Giannelli 1974, 370-80.

with Taras. Pyrrhus' war against the Romans constitutes the culmination of this development of Greek identity as a primary motivation for political action at Taras.

But this development began much earlier in the fourth century. The twin goals of the Italiote League, which was formed (or perhaps reorganized) in 391, were to defend the Italian Greeks against Dionysius and against the Lucanians.[29] We have seen above (pp. 247-248) how seriously they took this joint venture; the perception was that all the Greeks of Italy were in this life-and-death struggle against the Lucanians together. The leadership of this league was probably at first held by Croton,[30] but after Dionysius' capture of Croton in 379, Taras took over the leadership, which it retained for more than a century. This period was the age of Archytas, when Tarantine power, as exercised through hegemony over the Italiote League and much of Magna Graecia, reached its peak.[31] The league festival was relocated to Heraclea, a Tarantine colony, thus symbolizing Taras' power over the League as, in essence, its mother-city. Taras' power led to a phenomenon also observed at Syracuse (see Chapter Two), namely the integration of that leadership role into Tarantine civic identity. Having tasted power, the Tarantines were unwilling to recognize any reduction in that power, since they felt that any infringement of their sovereignty constituted an attack on their rightful place as leader of the Greeks of Italy.

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[29] Diod. 14.91.1; cf. Chiranky 1982, 301-8; Lombardo 1987, 55; Purcell 1994, 386-87.

[30] The argument that Croton was the original hegemon rests on the fact that in the campaigns against Dionysius in 390-389, that city served as naval base (Diod. 14.100.3) and provided the general, Heloris, for the battle of the Eleporus (Diod. 14.103.4). Moreover, the annual festival that served as a meeting of the League was located at the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, which had long been both a Crotoniate civic sanctuary as well as one with broader appeal (see further in Chapter One, and Ps.-Arist. *Mir.Aus.* 96 for the festival). Against this view, see Chiranky 1982, 330-35.

[31] On Taras in this period, see Wuilleumier 1968, 51-75; Brauer 1986, 43-59; Huffman 2005, 8-18.

We have evidence of two important early examples of the importance of this new aspect of Tarantine civic identity. Livy (9.14.1-8) reports that in 320, a Tarantine force appeared just as Roman and Samnite armies were about to engage each other, and demanded to arbitrate the dispute. Roman incursions into what Taras considered its sphere of influence in southern Italy may well have triggered this response.[32] The episode has doubtless been slanted by pro-Roman, anti-Tarantine historians, but nonetheless strongly suggests the leadership role that Taras felt was hers by right. Importantly, Taras' civic identity as portrayed in this episode also included a component of Hellenic identity: the idea that Taras' proper role was to protect the Greeks from the Italic barbarians.

The relationship between Taras' leadership role and its Hellenic and civic identities is further exemplified by events at Neapolis in 327, where the Tarantines attempted to intervene in a dispute between that city and Rome. Our two main sources, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, both treat this intervention in terms of Greeks helping Greeks.[33] In Dionysius' account (15.5.3), ambassadors from Taras and Nola (a Samnite city) urge the Neapolitans not to come to terms with Rome and to hold out for Samnite and Tarantine reinforcements. Thus, Greek identity was flexible enough to allow the Tarantines to ally with the Samnites, including Nola, an Italic town which Dionysius nonetheless describes as great admirers of the Greeks;[34] by that phrase, their non-Greek status is elided into non-existence.

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[32] Lomas 1993, 49.

[33] *Contra* Lomas 1993, 44-47.

[34] 15.5.2: Νωλάνων...σφόδρα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀσπαζομένων.

Yet at the same time, opinions vary: the Neapolitans are wary of the Samnites, who already control the city: Livy (8.25.7) has the Neapolitans unwilling to accept Samnite aid but eager for Taras to help on the grounds that both cities were Greek. In fact, they hope to use Tarantine reinforcements to fight the Samnites and Nola just as much as the Romans.[35] The Romans are thus grouped in the same category as the barbarians, and are eventually judged the lesser of two evils. The Tarantines probably shared this opinion of Rome as a barbarian power, since the ambassador's speech, reported by Dionysius in indirect discourse, urges the Neapolitans not to be afraid of Roman arms but to act nobly and as befits a Greek.[36] By bringing into the equation concepts of Greekness, the Tarantines are setting up a dichotomy between the Greeks and the barbarians – i.e., the Romans. Meanwhile, Taras intends to play a major role in the defense of the city against these barbarians, as befits the leading Greek city of Italy. Thus in this brief episode concepts both of civic identity and of Greek identity are in play. Taras' civic identity incorporates the idea that it is a bulwark of civilized Greekness against barbarism; thus the two tiers of identity are deeply interwoven.

By the time Pyrrhus arrived in Italy in 280, a definite pattern had been set, dominated by considerations of Tarantine identity. Two tiers of identity were in operation simultaneously, Hellenic and civic, the latter predicated especially on Taras' leadership role. Although the reality on the ground was much more complex, since cultural contact

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[35] 8.25.8: per quos [=Tarentinos] Samniti Nolanoque quam ut Romanis hostibus resisterent.

[36] 15.5.3: ἐὰν δὲ ταύτην ποιήσωνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ πολέμου τὴν πρόφασιν, μὴ ὀρρωδεῖν, μηδ' ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν καταπεπλῆχθαι, ἀλλὰ μένειν γενναίως καὶ ὡς προσῆκεν Ἕλλησι πολεμεῖν, τῇ τ' οἰκείᾳ πιστεύοντας δυνάμει καὶ τῇ παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν ἀφιξομένῃ βοηθείᾳ, ναυτικήν τ' ἰσχὺν προσληψομένους ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἣν Ταραντῖνοι πέμψουσιν, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ ταύτης δέωνται, πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθήν. Although the speech seems to be attributed to the Nolan ambassadors, the promise of Tarantine military aid strongly suggests that it represents their views as well.

and even political alliances between Greeks and non-Greeks – as well as conflict between

Greek cities – were common, the Tarantines in particular, as well as other Greeks,

constructed a Greek identity based on a perceived dichotomy between Greeks and

barbarians, and the Romans fit into this model very well. While not always salient, this

dichotomy was the single most important factor in the identity politics of the late fourth

and third centuries.

Sicily in the Fourth and Third Centuries

In Sicily, meanwhile, this Greek-barbarian dichotomy had already been strong for

a century and more, especially since the Carthaginian invasions of the end of the fifth

century. At that time, Dionysius had used this to unify the Greeks under his leadership

(see Chapter Two, pp. 165-171), and this remained the case, especially under Timoleon

in the 340s. The decades after the death in 289 of Agathocles, the last strong tyrant of

Syracuse, by contrast, were extremely turbulent, even by Sicilian standards,[37] and what

the Sicilians seem to have wanted most was a legitimate and successful leader who could

protect them from two separate barbarian menaces. A combination of the continued

Carthaginian presence in much of the island and the seizure of Messina by the

Mamertines – former Campanian mercenaries of Agathocles – meant that in the early

third century, the salience of Greek identity for the Sicilian Greeks was stronger than

ever.

After the death of Timoleon in 339, Syracuse was governed by an oligarchy,

which soon gave way to a confused jumble of numerous tyrants. Unlike some of their

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[37] See especially Zambon 2004; cf. Franke 1989, 474.

predecessors, these are ephemeral figures, often little more than bare names, such as Phintias of Akragas or Tyndarion of Tauromenium;[38] only Agathocles (317-289) managed to secure his power for any length of time. Neither did non-tyrannical forms of government have much success: after one tyrant died or was ousted, another usually soon took his place. Warfare was nearly constant, and the unsettled situation of Sicily led to a number of situations in which identity played a role and to a variety of types of identity that could be deployed. Carthage was active in renewing its attempt to complete the conquest of Sicily, and many cities looked to their own immediate safety, implying a focus on civic identity, rather than uniting under one Hellenic banner, which would have necessitated Syracusan leadership.[39] Others, especially tyrants like Agathocles, tried to solidify their position by fighting the old enemy. Ultimately, the situation was very similar to that in Italy in this period: relations between Greeks and non-Greeks were varied, with cooperation in some instances and conflict in others. This led to a complex situation in which the Greek vs. barbarian model could be deployed if desired and undermined at other times.

Furthermore, there was a growing presence of another barbarian group, this time from Italy, which arrived as a result of mercenary service. Though mercenaries had played a role in the military affairs of Sicily for centuries,[40] a major turning point came with the increasing use of Campanian mercenaries by Dionysius,[41] many of whom were

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[38] On these tyrants, primarily in the period 289-278, see Zambon 2004.

[39] Zambon 2008, 53-56.

[40] They formed the backbone of Carthage's armies (Diod. 13.44.1-3, 55.7, 62.5, 80.4, 14.8.5) and were used by the Deinomenids and other Greeks as well (see Chapter Two, pp. 137-43).

[41] On mercenaries in the fourth century, see Tagliamonte 1994, 124-64.
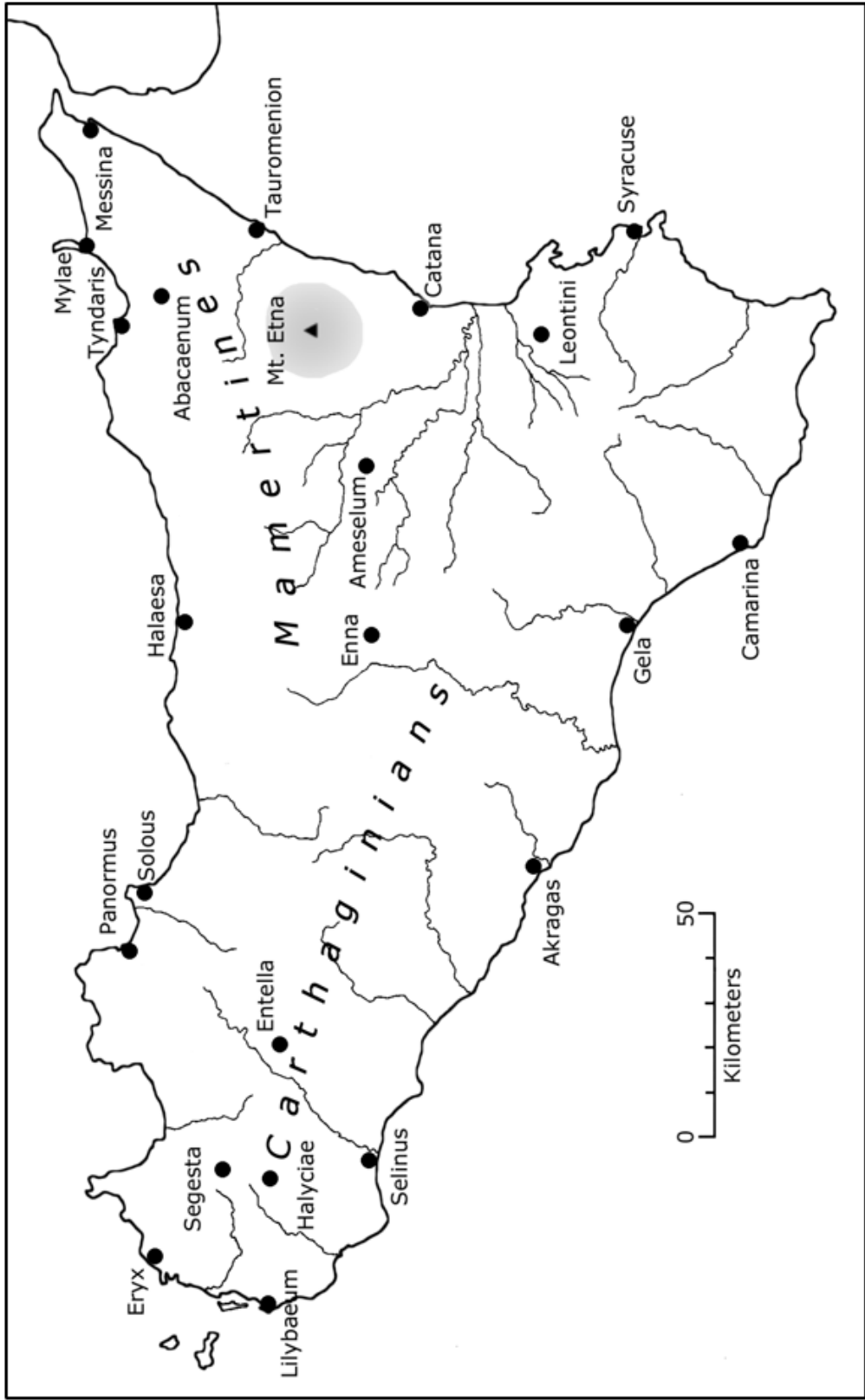
Map 8: Sicily in the third century. Adapted from Caven 1990.

settled in colonies or given citizenship in various cities after their terms of service (see

Chapter Two, pp. 174-175). Of course, most Sicilian Greeks did not like this; the

mercenaries were symbols of the hated tyranny, and even when these individuals were no

longer actually in his employ, they still protected and symbolized his power.

Over the course of the fourth century, the Campanian presence in Sicily became a

more permanent, settled one. Already in 404, Campanian mercenaries fresh from

Dionysius' service treacherously seized the city of Entella (Diod. 14.9.8-9), and their

occupation can be traced in the Oscan inscriptions found there.[42] When the Mamertines

seized Messina in the 280s and carved out a state for themselves in north-east Sicily,[43] the

Greeks' prior experiences led them to perceive these former mercenaries as a major

enemy. The Mamertines were of Campanian origin, and hence not Greek; under their

rule, Messina became an Oscan-speaking city.[44] Much as in Italy after the seizure of

Poseidonia and several other cities, the Greeks widely considered the Mamertines to be

barbarians that, according to a widespread version of Hellenic identity, needed to be

defeated. Thus, in Sicily as in Italy, the Greek vs. barbarian model of Hellenic identity

was available for anyone to emphasize if they chose, and there were a variety of

barbarian groups to provide the enemy.

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[42] While Diodorus' account of this seizure is probably contaminated by comparison with the Mamertine seizure of Messina more than a century later, their possession of the city appears on its coins, and the mixed Oscan-Hellenized nature of the city is observed in the appearance of Oscan magistracies such as the *meddix* side by side with Greek ones such as the *archon* and *hieromnamon*; cf. Orioles 2001, 285; Prestianni Giallombardo 2006, 111-12.

[43] Tagliamonte 1994, 191-98; Herring 2000, 69-71; Orioles 2001; Prestianni Giallombardo 2006, 115-18; Zambon 2008, 33-53.

[44] Crawford 2006b.

Since Greek identity was widely considered salient, the situation in both Italy and Sicily was thus ripe for a leader to win popular support by presenting himself as offering strong leadership and a panhellenic campaign against the barbarians, whether Carthaginians or even Romans. A series of these leaders appeared: Pyrrhus of Epirus, first summoned to Italy by Taras, itself another leader of the Greeks, and later invited to Sicily; and finally Hieron II of Syracuse. All of these cities and kings exploited the Greek identity of their supporters by presenting themselves as panhellenic champions against various barbarians; each also suffered significant setbacks as this rhetoric conflicted with other tiers of identity that became salient as the situations changed.

Panhellenism I: Taras, Pyrrhus, and Rome

As we have seen, the Tarantines developed a set of strategies for dealing with what they perceived as barbarian invaders that involved a complex interweaving of Hellenic and civic identities. Both were in play when they invited Pyrrhus to campaign against Rome on their behalf: they considered the Romans barbarians and deployed their Greek identity to marshal support against them, but their civic identity predicated on the leadership of the Italian Greeks also played an important role. This combination of factors came to define Taras' schizophrenic relationship with Pyrrhus: the Tarantines initially appealed to Pyrrhus, as they had appealed to other generals in the past, because of their Hellenic and civic identities, but eventually came to reject him on the basis of a different and newly salient aspect of their civic identity. Pyrrhus himself, meanwhile, saw

his venture as a panhellenic expedition against the barbarian Romans and appealed to his allies' Greek identity as well.

Taras continued to assert its civic identity as leader of the Greeks of Italy in the 280s as it had done in previous decades, but it now felt that identity to be under threat. In 284, Thurii, again under attack by the Lucanians, appealed for help not to Taras, but to Rome.[45] This cannot have been taken well at Taras, since at least in formal terms it constituted a break from Tarantine hegemony. Although Roman assistance was not very strong in 284, in 282, when invited again, Roman troops appeared in force under C. Fabricius and left a garrison in the city. Roman help was sufficiently welcome that the Thurians set up a statue of C. Aelius, the tribune of the plebs who was instrumental in securing aid.[46] Rhegium, too, fearing barbarian aggression and possible Tarantine hostility, asked for and received a Roman garrison.[47] The explicit reference to Taras suggests that Taras' imperialistic interpretation of its leadership role was widely known – and feared.[48] Croton and Locri in all probability also received garrisons.[49] All of these Greek communities sought Roman instead of Tarantine assistance, and may even have done so specifically due to tensions with their fellow Greek city. This attitude partakes of a long tradition of Greeks finding local identities more salient than a larger conflict with

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[45] App. *Samn*. 7.1-2; Liv. *Per*. 11; Plin. *N.H.* 34.32; Dion.Hal. 19.13, 20.4; Val. Max. 1.8.6.

[46] Pliny *N.H.* 34.32.

[47] Dion.Hal. 20.4.2; this is the garrison that famously turned on the Rhegians and slaughtered them (Plb. 1.7).

[48] This represents a different version from that preserved in Diod. 22.1.2, which refers to the garrison appointed "to guard [Rhegium] against King Pyrrhus." This section of Diodorus is from the Hoeschel excerptor, not the Constantinian excerpts, and is probably badly garbled; the parallel Constantinian passage, printed as 22.1.3, does not refer to Pyrrhus.

[49] Locri: Just. 18.1.9. Cf. Lévêque 1957, 246; Wuilleumier 1968, 101-2; Frederiksen 1984, 222.

non-Greeks; compare the behavior of Aristagoras, the early fifth-century tyrant of Miletus, who employed Persian help in a conflict with Naxos, unconcerned by their status as non-Greeks (Hdt. 5.30-4).

Finally, in 282, ten Roman warships appeared at Taras, in contravention of the treaty barring Rome from the Gulf of Taranto.[50] Dio's report in particular, which is much more vivid than Appian's, suggests that the Tarantines were violently and unexpectedly angry at the appearance of Roman ships, and they sailed out at once and sank five of them. Evidently the Tarantines considered the Romans' appearance an affront to their dignity and civic identity. But they did not stop there: their next move was to march on Thurii and throw out both the Roman garrison and the pro-Roman party, thus reasserting their hegemony over that city. These sudden and violent actions must represent a sudden outburst of pent-up hostility based on what they perceived as Roman encroachment on their sphere of influence at Thurii and in southern Italy in general.[51]

But Tarantine hostility towards Rome was also rooted in its Hellenic identity under the Greek vs. barbarian model. Appian reports that the Tarantines were particularly incensed at the Thurians for preferring Rome "though they were Greeks."[52] By treating the matter in this way, they were appealing to Greek identity and the Greek vs. barbarian model. The Tarantines saw a need for solidarity among all the Greeks of Italy against the outside threat.

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[50] App. *Samn*. 7.2; Dio 9.39.5; Brauer 1986, 122-23.

[51] Brauer 1986, 122-24; Hoffmann 1936, 15.

[52] App. *Samn*. 7.2: ἔς τε Θουρίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι, ὅτι Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον ἀντὶ σφῶν.

Meanwhile, the Thurians, of course, had not been thinking of their Greek identity when they asked for Roman help; the fact that the Romans were not Greek was simply not important to them.[53] Instead, they were concerned with a more local problem, the Lucanians who were attacking them, and how to defend themselves. Moreover, by not seeking Tarantine aid, the Thurians were probably reacting against Tarantine imperial ambitions: it was not much better to be ruled by other Greeks than by the Lucanians. Like Taras, Thurii (and the other cities that received Roman garrisons) was conflating Hellenic and civic identities, but in a significantly different way. Thurii's civic identity was focused on local protection from local barbarians (and from other Greeks), not on any leadership role, while its Hellenic identity was flexible enough to allow help from Rome, if directed against the Lucanians, and to avoid seeking help from Taras, since they, too, wanted to take over the city.

Rome's reaction to the Tarantine attack on Thurii was to send an embassy led by Lucius Postumius to demand reparations.[54] He spoke Greek, in an unusual effort for a Roman on official business,[55] and yet the Tarantines jeered at his imperfect command of the language, and also at his clothing. Language had long been one of the factors distinguishing Greek from barbarian, suggesting that the Tarantines' implication was that

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[53] Cf. Brauer 1986, 122. Lévêque 1957, 246, unfairly chastises Thurii for ignoring the need for Hellenic unity.

[54] App. *Samn*. 7.3-6; Dion.Hal. 19.5.

[55] The *locus classicus* for the idea that Roman officials should speak Latin while conducting official business occurs more than a century later (Aemilius Paullus after Pydna in 168, Liv. 45.29.3; cf. 45.8.6). Cf. also, in that later period, Cato's jab at the historian Postumius Albinus, who apologized in his proem for his poor Greek (Plut. *Cato Maior* 12.5).

Postumius himself was a barbarian.[56] Clothing, too, played a role in distinguishing Greek from barbarian; compare the visual distinctions between Greeks and Persians seen on vase paintings and stone reliefs. These factors suggest that both Greek and civic identities, as developed in interlocking ways at Taras over the previous decades, contributed to the outbreak of Roman-Tarantine hostilities and the call to Pyrrhus.

In fact, not only Taras but also the other Italiotes sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus.[57] This suggests both an action of the Italiote League on the suggestion of its hegemon and a panhellenic crusade against the barbarians; in other words, both Taras' civic identity and the Hellenic identities of many communities were key factors. This call, of course, lay in the old tradition of summoning *condottieri* to help fight the non-Greek enemies of Taras. Thus, it seems that the Tarantines considered Rome just another barbarian to be fought off, and that it was their responsibility to do it.[58]

Pyrrhus apparently had a similar opinion. His famous statement preserved by Plutarch – while on a reconnaissance mission, he observed the Roman encampment and remarked that "the discipline of the barbarians is not barbarous"[59] – implies, of course, that prior to that point he had thought of the Romans unequivocally as barbarians; the most likely source for this assumption is the Tarantines themselves. Meanwhile, Pyrrhus traced his ancestry to Achilles, the great panhellenic hero of the greatest panhellenic

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[56] Brauer 1986, 124. Cf. Aristoxenus F124 (quoted above, p. 248), who focused on the change of language at Poseidonia as a key indicator of its barbarization.

[57] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 13.5.

[58] Cf. Deininger 1976, 145-46.

[59] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 16.4-5: τάξις...αὕτη τῶν βαρβάρων οὐ βάρβαρος. On this passage in its literary context, see now Mossman 2005.

epic.[60] Pausanias (1.12.1) even states that Pyrrhus envisioned Rome as a specifically

Trojan enemy;[61] if this has any validity, it suggests a context of panhellenic ideology and

an emphasis on the Greek identity of his allies.[62] Pyrrhus also negotiated for support from

the other Hellenistic dynasts: ships from Antigonus Gonatas, money from Antiochus I,

and troops from Ptolemy Ceraunos; their help contributes to the picture of a panhellenic

expedition conducted by the leaders of the Greek world.[63]

Pyrrhus' coinage, as well as that of his allies, also bears out the idea of a

panhellenic crusade against barbarians through the use of three coin types, showing

Athena Promachos, Achilles, and Heracles.[64] Coins of Taras now show Athena

Promachos, who had long symbolized struggles against barbarians,[65] with an elephant on

the reverse, clearly connecting the coin with the campaigns of Pyrrhus, who was the first

to bring elephants to Italy.[66] A silver octobol from Sicily similarly shows Athena

Promachos combined with a head of Persephone crowned with wheat (Fig. 18). This

coin, of which numerous variations have been found, combines the barbarian theme with

a local touch, since Persephone was particularly worshipped in Sicily (see Chapter Two,

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[60] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 1.1-3; Paus. 1.11.1; cf. Garoufalias 1979, 165-69, for full discussion of earlier sources.

[61] Cf. Perret 1942, 412-34; Franke 1989, 463-65. Perret's theory that the entire myth of Rome's Trojan past originated in Pyrrhus' propaganda has been amply refuted (cf. Lévêque 1957, 251-58; Garoufalias 1979, 308-11; Brauer 1986, 129-30), but this need have no bearing here.

[62] Brauer 1986, 131-32; Franke 1989, 463-6; Perret 1942, 431.

[63] Justin 17.2.13-14; Franke 1989, 463.

[64] Since the chronology of the various issues is not always clear, and since Pyrrhus' propaganda was similar in both Italy and Sicily, I will discuss the entire numismatic portfolio here in one place. The best descriptions of the Sicilian coins are found in Zambon 2008, 121-29, and of the Italian coins in Garoufalias 1979, 204-9; see also Lévêque 1957, 427-36, 464-74; Franke 1989, 463-66; Borba Florenzano 1992, 207-13; Lücke 1995.

[65] Zambon 2008, 123-24.

[66] Lévêque 1957, 432; Wuilleumier 1968, 112.

pp. 143-148). A ten-nummi bronze coin shows a head of Phthia, which perhaps refers to the homeland of Achilles.[67] The didrachmas with a helmeted head of Achilles on the obverse and Thetis seated on a hippocamp bringing Achilles his new shield on the reverse, a reference to *Iliad* 18.615-19.3, clearly draw attention to Pyrrhus' descent from Achilles and to the similarity between their two roles (Fig. 19). If the features of the face are in fact Pyrrhus' (as suggested by Kienast, *RE* s.v. Pyrrhos), the parallel is even more striking. Another drachma shows a head of Heracles wearing the lion skin, recalling both Pyrrhus' descent from Heracles and that hero's role as a civilizing force who overcomes barbarians.[68] Thus, Pyrrhus' coinage engages him in a complex web of associations, all aimed at presenting him as a champion of Greek identity.

The idea that Pyrrhus was embarking on a panhellenic venture to defend the Italian Greeks from various barbarians was clearly very popular with them, and hence they seem to have adopted his conception of Greek identity as their most salient form of identity. On the other hand, Pyrrhus seems to have had no conception of Tarantine civic identity, especially since the city's leadership role left little room for a king from overseas – an important point to which we shall return.

Panhellenism II: Pyrrhus in Sicily

Despite our meager evidence for Pyrrhus' activities in Sicily, we have a remarkable amount of information about the deployment of various tiers of identity that

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[67] Garoufalias 1979, 208; Borba Florenzano 1992, 208.

[68] Garoufalias 1979, 206; Borba Florenzano 1992, 210-12; Zambon 2008, 123-4.

both helped and hindered his project. The king was called into Sicily primarily to fight Carthage,[69] but he ended up fighting a second barbarian menace as well, the Mamertines. These two enemies would dominate the politics of the coming decades (into the age of Hieron II; see below) and gave Pyrrhus a strategy in Sicily similar to that in Italy: appeal to the Greek identity of the population according to the Greek vs. barbarian model in order to provide legitimate rule by fighting these two groups. Thus, Pyrrhus emphasized his panhellenic ideology, and he did so deliberately, to remind Sicilians of their Greek identity and encourage them to consider it their most important tier of identity. We see this Hellenic identity on display through the connection of the king, in the siege of Eryx and in a battle against the Mamertines, to panhellenic heroes of the past, Heracles and the Homeric heroes, and to previous ventures, especially Alexander the Great's panhellenic crusade against Persia.

The Carthaginian-held mountain fortress of Eryx was well known as the site of one of Heracles' adventures in Sicily (Diod. 4.23.2-3). The hero was challenged to a wrestling match by the eponymous hero, with rulership of the area as the prize. On his victory, "Heracles turned the land over to the natives of the region, agreeing with them that they should gather the fruits of it until one of his descendants should appear among them and demand it back."[70] This descendent was widely considered to be Dorieus, the son of a Spartan king who attempted to found a colony here at the end of the sixth century, using Heracles' bequest of the area to legitimate his own possession of it.[71]

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[69] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 22.1; Diod. 22.8.1; Paus. 1.12.5.

[70] Diod. 4.23.3: ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς τὴν μὲν χώραν παρέθετο τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, συγχωρήσας αὐτοῖς λαμβάνειν τοὺς καρπούς, μέχρι ἄν τις τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτοῦ παραγενόμενος ἀπαιτήσῃ.

[71] Diod. 4.23.3 is the fullest explication of the connection, but it occurs in outline already at Hdt. 5.43. Cf. Malkin 1994, 203-18; 2004, 359-63.

Although Dorieus, who was quickly evicted from his new city, was not a widely followed example and probably not in Pyrrhus' mind, nonetheless, Pyrrhus seems to have implicitly followed in his footsteps by referring to the myth of Heracles.[72] In the actual assault on the walls of the fortress, the king vowed games to Heracles "if the god would render him in the sight of the Sicilian Greeks an antagonist worthy of his lineage and resources."[73] We have seen above (pp. 262-264) how Pyrrhus exploited his ancestor Achilles for propaganda value in Italy; he continued this line of argument in Sicily, since as an Aeacid, Pyrrhus traced his ancestry to Heracles as well.[74] By the phrase τοῦ γένους...ἄξιον, Pyrrhus was explicitly invoking this connection to Heracles as legitimating his possession of the territory, for which he was fighting on behalf of the Greeks of Sicily.

The reference was particularly appropriate both to the specific site of Eryx,[75] because of the association with Heracles, and also to Sicily as a whole, where Heracles was especially worshipped.[76] Through his invocation of a major panhellenic hero (and one, incidentally, even more locally appropriate in Sicily), Pyrrhus encouraged those who fought alongside him[77] to consider themselves Greeks, rather than focus on any other tier of identity, since he reminded them of elements that they were already familiar with but

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[72] On the whole issue of Heracles in the Eryx episode, see Zambon 2008, 148-51; cf. also Billaut 2001, 26-27.

[73] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 22.5: προελθὼν εὔξατο τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ποιήσειν ἀγῶνα καὶ θυσίαν ἀριστεῖον, ἂν τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἄξιον ἀγωνιστὴν αὐτὸν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσιν Ἕλλησι.

[74] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 1.2; Just. 17.3.3-4; cf. Garoufalias 1979, 169-70, for full discussion.

[75] Garoufalias 1979, 105, 398, suggests that the purpose of the references to Heracles was to win over the inhabitants of Carthaginian-held areas; but this hardly works on non-Greeks.

[76] Cf. Lévêque 1957, 479.

[77] Cf. Nederlof 1940, 162-63.

did not always consider salient. Thus, Pyrrhus was connecting himself to a long tradition of defining Greek identity in terms of Greek possession of territory as ancestral territory handed down from the heroic age (see Chapter One, pp. 62-63), and he did so in order to secure Greek support for the war against Carthage. It is worth noting that Pyrrhus named the Sicilian Greeks (τοῖς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσιν Ἕλλησι) as the arbiters of his vow to Heracles. Imperial-era sources do not normally make a distinction between Greeks and non-Greeks in Sicily, so its appearance here emphasizes their status as Greeks. In a context of conflict with Carthage, Greek identity is the foremost tier of identity encouraged by Pyrrhus.

The king fulfilled his vow by "sacrific[ing] to the god in magnificent fashion and furnish[ing] spectacles of all sorts of contests."[78] Although Plutarch does not further specify the nature of these festivities, the concept of athletics was intimately linked with Greek identity. Athletics were an important part of the Homeric hero's activities (such as the funeral games for Patroclus or the contests of Odysseus among the Phaeacians), and the Olympic Games, the most prestigious contemporary athletic event, explicitly excluded non-Greeks (Hdt. 5.22). By participating in Pyrrhus' games, the Sicilian Greeks who were part of the army were actually performing their identity as Greeks and participating in the king's vision of himself as a panhellenic champion. This constituted a further reminder of newly salient aspects of their Greek identity, and shows how Pyrrhus' ideology was fully embraced by the broader population.

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[78] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 22.6: ἔθυσέ τε τῷ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ θέας ἀγώνων παντοδαπῶν παρέσχε.

Moreover, we have two descriptions of Pyrrhus' physical prowess in the battle of

Eryx, from Plutarch and Diodorus, both of which further show Pyrrhus' panhellenic

aspirations:

Plut. *Pyrrh*. 22.9-11

τῇ δὲ σάλπιγγι σημήνας καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνασκεδάσας καὶ τὰς κλίμακας προσαγαγών, πρῶτος ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους. ἀντιστάντων δὲ πολλῶν, ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσε τοῦ τείχους ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα καὶ κατέβαλε, πλείστους δὲ περὶ αὑτὸν τῷ ξίφει χρώμενος ἐσώρευσε νεκρούς. ἔπαθε δ᾽ αὐτὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσιδεῖν δεινὸς ἐφάνη τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἔδειξεν ὀρθῶς καὶ μετ᾽ ἐμπειρίας ἀποφαίνοντα τῶν ἀρετῶν μόνην τὴν ἀνδρείαν φορὰς πολλάκις ἐνθουσιώδεις καὶ μανικὰς φερομένην.

Then he ordered the trumpets to sound, scattered the barbarians with his missiles, brought up his scaling-ladders, and was the first to mount the wall. Many were the foes against whom he strove; some of them he pushed from the wall on either side and hurled them to the ground, but most he laid dead in heaps about him with the strokes of his sword. He himself suffered no harm, but was a terrible sight for his enemies to look upon, and proved that Homer was right and fully justified in saying that valor, alone of the virtues, often displays transports due to divine possession and frenzy.

Diod. 22.10.3

διὸ καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσαγαγὼν μηχανάς, καὶ πολιορκίας μεγάλης γενομένης καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, βουλόμενος φιλοδοξῆσαι ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἡρακλέους τάξιν ἁμιλλώμενος, πρῶτος τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπέβαλε καὶ μάχην ἡρωικὴν συστησάμενος τοὺς ἐπιρράξαντας Καρχηδονίους ἀπέκτεινε· συνεπιλαβομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων, κατὰ κράτος εἷλε τὴν πόλιν.

Hence he brought up his engines against the walls, and a mighty and violent siege took place and continued for a long time, until the king, desiring to win high renown and vying to rank with Heracles, personally led an assault on the walls; putting up an heroic fight, he slew the Carthaginians who stormed against him, and when the king's "Friends" also joined in the struggle, he took the city by storm.

These two passages evoke two sets of associations, the Homeric hero and Alexander the

Great, both of which imply a panhellenic context.[79] Alexander, of course, was famous for

taking extraordinary risks to show his personal prowess. His exploits were only half a

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[79] Mossman 1992 (esp. 99-101 on the battle scenes); Zambon 2008, 149.

century in the past, and Hellenistic kings took him as their model in virtually every respect. For example, much of Pyrrhus' coinage (discussed above, pp. 263-264) bears a deliberate similarity to the ubiquitous gold staters of Alexander, which were widely imitated by the Hellenistic kings, connecting each of them to their most illustrious predecessor.[80] Here Pyrrhus is shown imitating Alexander's heroic exploits, and moreover the reference to his "friends" is reminiscent of Alexander's Companions who accompanied him into battle and are often represented as turning the tide of the fight.

On the other hand, by showing the protagonist in the forefront of hand-to-hand combat, these sources represent Pyrrhus as a *promachos* in a Homeric battle. This image is reinforced by the description of the king vying with Heracles in striving for glory (a Homeric concept, though φιλοδόξειν is not a Homeric word), by the description of the battle as a μάχη ἡρωικὴ, and by Plutarch's actual reference to Homer.[81] By implicitly comparing Pyrrhus to both Alexander and the Homeric heroes, these passages treat his activities in terms of panhellenism and encourage those involved to use their Greek identities to think about him. After all, if Pyrrhus is Achilles, then his army represents the equally Homeric Myrmidons; if he is Alexander, his army is Alexander's army, equally covered in glory. The Sicilians in the army were clearly very pleased by the implications of this ideology, since they enthusiastically supported his Carthaginian campaign and its emphasis on their Greek identity.

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[80] Franke 1989, 463-65.

[81] *Il.* 5.185; *Od.* 6.101, 9.238. Cf. Lévêque 1957, 478-79: "Le caractère homérique de la peinture est patent, d'ailleurs renforcé par la référence à Homère qui termine le récit." See also Mossman 2005, 513, who comes to a similar conclusion but restricts herself to the functioning of this comparison in its literary context.

Later, as Pyrrhus withdrew from Sicily, Plutarch reports that "the barbarians combined against him" (*Pyrrh.* 24.1). The Carthaginians transported a Mamertine army reportedly 10,000 strong across the Straits of Messina, where they fought a series of battles with Pyrrhus. Plutarch calls them barbarians three times in the space of a page, heavily emphasizing the Greek vs. barbarian aspect of the encounter. This battle, like the one at Eryx, is described in terms reminiscent of Homeric combat:

Plut. *Pyrrh.* 24.1-4

εἷς δὲ καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιδραμών, ἀνὴρ τῷ τε σώματι μέγας καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις λαμπρός, ἐχρῆτο τῇ φωνῇ θρασυτέρᾳ, καὶ προελθεῖν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν εἰ ζῇ. παροξυνθεὶς δ' ὁ Πύρρος ἐπέστρεψε βίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς αἵματι πεφυρμένος καὶ δεινὸς ὀφθῆναι τὸ πρόσωπον ὠσάμενος δι' αὐτῶν, καὶ φθάσας τὸν βάρβαρον ἔπληξε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῷ ξίφει πληγήν, ῥώμῃ τε τῆς χειρὸς ἅμα καὶ βαφῆς ἀρετῇ τοῦ σιδήρου μέχρι τῶν κάτω διαδραμοῦσαν, ὥσθ' ἑνὶ χρόνῳ περιπεσεῖν ἑκατέρωσε τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος διχοτομηθέντος. τοῦτο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπέσχε τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν, ὡς τινα τῶν κρειττόνων θαυμάσαντας καὶ καταπλαγέντας τὸν Πύρρον.

One of them ran forth far in advance of the rest, a man who was huge in body and resplendent in armor, and in a bold voice challenged Pyrrhus to come out, if he were still alive. This angered Pyrrhus, and wheeling round in spite of his guards, he pushed his way through them — full of wrath, smeared with blood, and with a countenance terrible to look upon, and before the barbarian could strike dealt him such a blow on his head with his sword that, what with the might of his arm and the excellent temper of his steel, it cleaved its way down through, so that at one instant the parts of the sundered body fell to either side. This checked the barbarians from any further advance, for they were amazed and confounded at Pyrrhus, and thought him some superior being.

The focus on Pyrrhus' prowess in single combat is again heavily reminiscent of Homeric warfare, and Pyrrhus proves himself worthy of the comparison: the barbarians are awed at his fighting ability and treat him as some sort of superhuman being. The fact that this type of Homeric portrayal is applied to Pyrrhus' battle against the Mamertines as well as to the siege of Eryx shows that contemporary observers considered the two enemies to be

of essentially similar nature (both were barbarians), and applied the same type of identity (Hellenic) to their understanding of the conflicts.

On the other hand, the fact that Pyrrhus' battle in Italy is described this way suggests that the Homeric comparison originated in Pyrrhus' circle, not among the Sicilians, especially since similar scenes also occur elsewhere in Pyrrhus' career.[82] In fact, these passages of Plutarch and Diodorus ultimately stem from sources very close to Pyrrhus' own point of view, perhaps even his court historian, Proxenus. These passages therefore probably represent contemporary ideas about the nature of Pyrrhus' activities or even Pyrrhus' own propaganda. Nonetheless, I suggest that we can analyze these ideas as reflecting the identity of the Sicilians, because of how they reacted to Pyrrhus' presence and success in Sicily. Although Pyrrhus strongly manipulated Sicilians' opinions, nonetheless they vigorously adopted the identity he suggested, as we can see from their reaction to his presence.

Pyrrhus was greeted enthusiastically when he arrived in Sicily, suggesting that people believed he would serve as the champion of the Greeks of Sicily.[83] Tyndarion of Tauromenium, Heracleides of Leontini, and the cities of Catana, Selinus, Enna, Halicyae, Segesta,[84] and "many others" came over to him, both before his arrival in Syracuse and on his march from there against the Carthaginian-controlled west of the island (Diod. 22.8.3-5, 10.1-2). When he reached Syracuse, the two dueling tyrants, Thoenon in

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[82] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 7.4-5 (Pantauchus, the general of Demetrius, a passage in which Pyrrhus hopes to equal Achilles), 16.7-17.3 (Italians; also at Dion.Hal. 20.12), 30.5-6 (Spartans), 34.1-3 (Argives). Cf. also 11.2 (Pyrrhus dreams of Alexander the Great); Nederlof 1940, 174-75.

[83] Cf. Lévêque 1957, 459-60; Garoufalias 1979, 102-5.

[84] It is worth noting that the last three of these cities were not Greek. By this period, however, the distinction mattered much less, and Sikel and Elymian cities such as these were able to draw themselves into the Greek orbit in order to benefit from Pyrrhus' presence.

Ortygia and Sosistratus (with the citizens) in the rest of the city, handed over their

respective areas to him and were reconciled. Pyrrhus had won over the majority of the

Greek inhabitants without a fight, and the Carthaginians, seeing this, withdrew to the

west of the island, thus lifting the siege of Syracuse that was actually in progress at the

time of his arrival (Diod. 22.8.3). Pyrrhus' mere presence was evidently inspirational to

the Greeks in a way that it was not to the Tarantines. This was partly because Sicily had

not had much experience with *condottieri*. The most recent precedent was Timoleon,

whose memory was still revered as someone who expelled the tyrants and fought

Carthage. These are precisely the two reasons Plutarch says Pyrrhus was summoned

(22.1), so the precedent was probably clearly in sight. This, combined with the

Carthaginian flight, explains the outpouring of enthusiasm for this new champion.

Ultimately, Pyrrhus' initial success represents a case of reconciliation of internal dissent

by focusing on external enemies, with the Hellenic tier of identity as the most salient,

much as both Dionysius and Timoleon had previously orchestrated.[85]

Interlude: Pyrrhus' Failures

Despite the initial promise of Pyrrhus' campaigns both in Italy and in Sicily, he

eventually faced revolts in both regions, perpetrated by the very people who had

summoned him. After some six years of constant fighting, first in Italy, then in Sicily,

and finally in Italy again, Pyrrhus slunk back across the Adriatic, his grand vision of a

panhellenic crusade against the barbarians a complete failure. I suggest that this was

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[85] Cf. Billaut 2001, 22-26.

because his vision – which initially coincided with the Greek identities of his various partners – eventually fell afoul of other tiers of identity that became more salient as conditions changed. Both the Tarantines and the Syracusans found a king from overseas to be incompatible with aspects of their civic identities, so they no longer felt able to support him. Moreover, Pyrrhus' grandiose plans eventually became too large, as he contemplated abandoning Sicily for an invasion of Africa, failing to take account of Sicilian identity.

Pyrrhus' failures in these areas of identity should come as no surprise, since several previous *condottieri* had run into the same problems as their own goals came to conflict with Tarantine civic identity. Alexander the Molossian (sometimes referred to as Alexander of Epirus) broke with Tarantine interests after only a few years of fighting by extending his operations into Campania[86] and by making alliances with a number of groups, including the Romans. Strabo (6.3.4) reports that, out of enmity towards Taras, Alexander attempted to change the meeting place of the Italiote League from Heraclea, which, as noted above (p. 251), symbolized Tarantine hegemony, to Thurii, one of his own allies, thus claiming hegemony over the League for himself. Taras could not support him after this insult, and Alexander was killed in battle soon after, in 330. It is noteworthy that after his death, his body was ransomed from the Lucanians not by the Tarantines but by either the Metapontines (Livy 8.24.16) or the Thurians (Just. 12.2), who by then were his closer allies: here is another example of tensions between Greeks outweighing the perceived need for Greek solidarity. A generation later, Cleonymus, another scion of Spartan royalty, similarly did not follow the line the Tarantines wanted,

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[86] He is reported as operating near Poseidonia (Liv. 8.17.9).

making peace with the Lucanians and then persuading them to attack Metapontion.[87] The Tarantines then revolted from him, since he was no longer acting in their interests. It was the clash between their interests and Taras' civic identity that caused the breaks between the city and the generals.

Pyrrhus' campaign in Italy ended similarly. Several sources report that the Tarantines were unwilling to accept the harsh discipline Pyrrhus imposed on them when he first arrived.[88] While this is clearly exaggerated and has been introduced at least partly as a *topos*,[89] other factors are not. Appian reports that "the Tarantines were very much put out with the king's officers, who quartered themselves upon the citizens by force, and openly abused their wives and children."[90] This may be exaggeration also, but perhaps contains a grain of truth. Evidently the Tarantines' perception was that Pyrrhus did not respect their dignity as an autonomous ally and was instead treating them like a subject people;[91] in other words, he was now incompatible with their civic identity. This is precisely what had happened some sixty years earlier to Alexander the Molossian, and the faction opposed to calling in Pyrrhus had apparently predicted exactly this outcome.[92]

Later, in 278, when Pyrrhus accepted the invitation to fight in Sicily, he hoped to preserve his position in Italy as well. Plutarch writes (*Pyrrh.* 22.3):

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[87] Diod. 20.104.3; Athen. 13.605d (=Duris of Samos); cf. Lomas 1993, 43.

[88] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 16.2; App. *Samn*. 8.1-3; Zon. 8.2; cf. Lévêque 1957, 299-303; Wuilleumier 1968, 112-13.

[89] Compare, e.g., the refusal of the Ionians in the Ionian Revolt to submit to disciplined training: Hdt. 6.12; cf. Mossman 2005, 505.

[90] App. *Samn*. 8.1: οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τότε μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσοικιζομένους τε παρὰ σφᾶς βίᾳ καὶ φανερῶς ἐνυβρίζοντας αὐτῶν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν.

[91] Hoffmann 1936, 16-17.

[92] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 13.2-5; Dio 9.39.10; Dion.Hal. 19.8.1-3.

αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐμβαλὼν φρουράν, δυσανασχετοῦσι καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν ἢ παρέχειν ἐφ’ οἷς ἧκε συμπολεμοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις, ἢ τὴν χώραν προέμενον αὐτῶν ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν οἵαν παρέλαβε, μηδὲν ἐπιεικὲς ἀποκρινάμενος, ἀλλὰ προστάξας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ περιμένειν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καιρόν, ἐξέπλευσεν.

He himself threw a garrison into Tarentum. The Tarantines were much displeased at this, and demanded that he either apply himself to the task for which he had come, namely to help them in their war with Rome, or else abandon their territory and leave them their city as he had found it. To this demand he made no very gracious reply, but ordering them to keep quiet and await his convenience, he sailed off.

In other words, the Tarantines felt that, since they had called in Pyrrhus, he should submit to their orders and fight their enemies.[93] In other words, the Tarantines had expected to be in charge, and they found instead that Pyrrhus thought differently. Their perception was that by not only abandoning them but treating them as a conquered city worthy of a garrison, Pyrrhus was insulting their civic identity, which was predicated on both hegemony of Italy and the fight against the barbarians.

In Sicily, too, despite substantial successes, Pyrrhus eventually incurred the ire of the Sicilians, angering them so much that some of the cities "joined the Carthaginians, while others called in the Mamertines."[94] In other words, they were more willing to side with the barbarians whom they had just defeated than with the king, whom they now perceived as a tyrant. This represents a substantial shift in identity, since Greek identity clearly can no longer be in operation, and requires explanation. Pyrrhus' tyrannical behavior led the Greeks to emphasize their identity as autonomous cities, and his plan to move the war to Libya revived their Sicilian identity.

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[93] This passage, and Taras' dissatisfaction more generally, is doubted by Garoufalias 1979, 101-2, 389.

[94] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 23.4-5.

Sicilian identity had recently been a positive force for Pyrrhus. By the time he had

expelled the Carthaginians from the entire island except the city of Lilybaeum, Carthage

offered him peace on very favorable terms, but Pyrrhus ultimately preferred to attempt to

capture Lilybaeum, drive the Carthaginians out of the entire island, and "make the sea the

boundary of his domain."[95] This strongly recalls the arguments of Hermocrates in 424

with the idea that the sea is Sicily's natural boundary and all external powers should stay

away.[96] We are thus dealing once again with a geographic identity, a sharp turn away

from the Hellenic identity so recently in force.

Diodorus specifies that it was the Sicilians themselves who urged this idea upon

the king in council,[97] and this seems likely to be accurate for several reasons. First of all,

Pyrrhus was not a Sicilian; he was an outsider and would be *prima facie* unlikely to come

up with such an idea himself. Indeed, such a policy of Sicilian identity could be said to

exclude Pyrrhus himself, if anyone had chosen to argue this point! That no one did

suggests that two separate tiers of identity were here conflated: Pyrrhus was still

considered the champion of Greek identity, now redefined with a geographical

component. For the purposes of these negotiations, the two were inextricably intertwined:

while Pyrrhus, as a non-Sicilian Greek, was an acceptable presence in the island, the

Carthaginians, who were not even Greek, should be removed. Secondly, it is again

unlikely that Pyrrhus would limit himself to Sicily, as would be required by making the

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[95] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 23.2; Diod. 22.10.7. On this conference, see Lévêque 1957, 481-84.

[96] Thuc. 4.59-64: see Chapter Three, p. 218.

[97] 22.10.6; cf. Garoufalias 1979, 107-8. The king's Friends are also mentioned as opposed to peace.

sea his boundary.[98] Pyrrhus' use of geographic identity thus represents a good example of the rapidly shifting and intertwined tapestry of different tiers of identity.

For the Sicilians, on the other hand, the proposed expedition to Africa would be of little benefit. They had called in Pyrrhus to throw Carthage out of Sicily, not to fight the enemy on foreign soil, and they wanted him to finish the job in Sicily, including the siege of Lilybaeum, which the Sicilians had previously called "a stepping-stone for an attack on Sicily,"[99] and which Pyrrhus had abandoned in order to prepare for an invasion of Libya. Meanwhile, however, Pyrrhus' interests had diverged from those of the cities that called him in. Numerous fighting men joined Pyrrhus voluntarily when he was fighting in Sicily for Sicilians, as described above (p. 271); when his eyes moved to Africa and recruitment of men to fight overseas was no longer voluntary, it was suddenly perceived as tyrannical. The Sicilians were primarily interested in ridding Sicily of the barbarians, whereas Pyrrhus had abandoned the siege of Lilybaeum and the attempt to complete the conquest of all Sicily in order to prepare for an invasion of Libya. Thus, we see a continuing example of Sicilian identity, based on the Sicilians' exclusive interest in removing the barbarians from their own island.

Pyrrhus was also perceived as infringing upon the civic identities of the Greek cities by interacting with them as subjects, not autonomous communities. In his attempt to recruit sailors for the invasion of Libya, Pyrrhus treated the cities not "in an acceptable

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[98] The sources are emphatic that he had high hopes of invading Africa as Agathocles had done (Diod. 22.10.7; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 14.5 [with Agathocles as a specific precedent], 22.2, 23.3), and while this was clearly a *topos* going back at least to Thucydides' report of Alcibiades' war aims (6.15.2, 6.90.2), nonetheless it seems unlikely that Pyrrhus would so limit himself when he had had such success. The western *condottieri*, and Pyrrhus was no exception, seem to have seen themselves as western counterparts of Alexander, and the goal of conquering Libya is part of this dream; cf. Lévêque 1957, 487-89.

[99] Diod. 22.10.6; cf. Zambon 2008, 169-70.

or gentle manner, but in a lordly way, angrily putting compulsion and penalties upon them," thus becoming, as Plutarch puts it, no longer a popular leader but a tyrant.[100] He also put to death Thoenon and drove into exile Sosistratus, the two leading citizens of Syracuse who had summoned him to Sicily in the first place; this caused a substantial escalation in the tensions at Syracuse.[101] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (20.8) adds that Pyrrhus assigned the city magistracies to his own officers without regard for the laws of the cities and took over most of their administration himself. In other words, he took away the autonomy of the cities, rather than treating them with the respect their civic identity demanded.[102] These were surely the actions of a Hellenistic king and reflect Pyrrhus' goal of forging a lasting territorial kingdom in the West, rather than the Greek goal of defeating Carthage and remaining independent.[103] This is precisely the same sort of problem Pyrrhus had encountered at Taras.[104] The Sicilians had come to see Pyrrhus as a foreign king imposed upon them, which was incompatible with their civic identities as autonomous *poleis*.

A crucial question arises: why these changes of opinion should be understood as dealing with identity at all, and not merely political preference or a desire for freedom? As we have seen in the case of post-Deinomenid Syracuse (Chapter Two, pp. 179-182)

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[100] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 23.3: ἐπιεικῶς ἐντυγχάνων οὐδὲ πράως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικῶς καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν βιαζόμενος καὶ κολάζων...γινόμενος ἐκ δημαγωγοῦ τύραννος.

[101] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 23.4-5; Dion.Hal. 20.9.3-4.

[102] Lévêque 1957, 489-91; Garoufalias 1979, 108-10, 402-3; Zambon 2008, 169-70. Cf. also App. *Samn*. 12.1.

[103] On Pyrrhus' kingdom as one on the Hellenistic model, see Berve 1954; Zambon 2008, 118-21, 170-73. Lévêque 1957, 460-61, on the other hand, describes it as a national state with Pyrrhus as its head, joined by the Greek cities voluntarily. Perhaps these two views can be reconciled by positing that Pyrrhus himself viewed it in the former way, the Sicilians in the latter.

[104] Lévêque 1957, 491.

and will see below for Taras in the Second Punic War (pp. 290-296), the salience of freedom depends on specific historical circumstances – exactly the same circumstances that help generate identity. Thus, while purely political factors certainly played a part, they did so within the framework of a vision of civic identity centered on freedom from tyranny.

As in other cases we have seen – especially that of Dionysius (see Chapter Two, pp. 172-173) – the flexibility of identity had its limits. It can only be manipulated up to a certain point; beyond this, resistance occurs. Whereas in Italy Pyrrhus primarily ran afoul of Taras, in Sicily it was apparently all, or at least the majority, of the cities that began to hate Pyrrhus.[105] Thus, we can see that many separate cities adopted similar interpretations of civic identity at the same time, in response to specific events in a short time frame; identity can change very quickly in response to *histoire événementielle*. Moreover, in the time of Pyrrhus, Sicilian identity was once again a major factor in aligning Sicilian politics. This is a major shift from the previously salient Hellenic identity, which Pyrrhus had used to great effect in both Italy and Sicily, and shows the enormous flexibility and mutability of collective identity.

Panhellenism III: The Rise of Hieron II

Hieron II rose to power based on his success fighting the Mamertines, and he continued to pursue a policy of eliminating the Mamertines at any cost, even the cost of

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[105] Syracuse is described as the ringleader in this movement, due to Pyrrhus' treatment of Thoenon and Sosistratus, but all are involved.

fighting a Roman army in 264. Nonetheless, after substantial success, facilitated in part by an alliance with Carthage, Hieron reversed course and spent the rest of his life fighting Carthage in partnership with Rome.

This change in policy has usually been interpreted in hindsight as the result of an early recognition that Rome would inevitably be the victor in the First Punic War and beyond.[106] But this interpretation fails to account for Hieron's need to legitimate his policies with the Syracusan people. True legitimacy would require military victory over the barbarians threatening Syracuse. Like many previous rulers of Syracuse, he found that the best way to unite the Sicilians under his rule was to focus their attention on a crusade against a barbarian enemy. The Mamertines had become a dangerous problem, demanding tribute from the Greek cities and raiding and plundering a number of them.[107] Carthage, meanwhile, had been the traditional enemy of Syracuse for centuries. By placing himself in the role of protector of the Greeks of Sicily from the barbarians, Hieron was so successful at solidifying a legitimate position for himself that he was beloved by the Syracusans for his entire half-century reign.

Crucially, however, this role of protector against the barbarians could apply to either the Mamertines or to Carthage. His motivation for switching his focus in 263 was to revive the age-old but latent Greek identity based on hostility towards Carthage, which was even stronger (because it was older) than hostility towards the Mamertines. These were both Greek identities, but they were based on different sets of similarities and

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[106] This interpretation appears from Polybius onwards: Plb. 1.16.10-11, attributing Hieron's life-long security on the throne to his partnership with the Romans.

[107] Tribute: Plut. *Pyrrh*. 23.1, Plb. 1.8.1. Raids: Diod. 23.1.4. For a reconstruction of the Mamertine area, see Zambon 2008, 193-95.

differences, and therefore resulted in distinct political alignments. Thus, remarkably, they could function in much the same way as separate tiers of identity, underlining again how complex and flexible the workings of identity can be.

The Mamertines

Hieron originally set himself up as the protector of the Greeks against the barbarian Mamertines.[108] It was natural that the Mamertines would be perceived as barbarians, since they were of Campanian origin, and hence not Greek; moreover, they had taken over a Greek city and expelled its population, and exacted tribute from a number of other cities. Polybius' summary of the battle of the Longanus river is enlightening for its references to Hieron's views on the Mamertines:[109]

> θεωρῶν δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκ τοῦ προτερήματος θρασέως καὶ προπετῶς ἀναστρεφομένους, καθοπλίσας καὶ γυμνάσας ἐνεργῶς τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις ἐξῆγεν καὶ συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ Μυλαίῳ πεδίῳ περὶ τὸν Λογγανὸν καλούμενον ποταμόν. τροπὴν δὲ ποιήσας αὐτῶν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ζωγρίᾳ τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κατέπαυσε τόλμαν, αὐτὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ πάντων προσηγορεύθη τῶν συμμάχων.

> Observing that the barbarians, owing to their success, were behaving in a bold and reckless manner, he efficiently armed and trained the urban levies and leading them out engaged the enemy in the Mylaean plain near the river Longanus, and inflicted a severe defeat on them, capturing their leaders. This put an end to the audacity of the barbarians, and on his return to Syracuse he was with one voice proclaimed king by all the allies.

Polybius twice in rapid succession characterizes the enemy as "barbarians." Moreover, he describes their actions in terms fitting to barbarians: they act "in a bold and reckless

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[108] Hoffmann 1969, 155.

[109] Plb. 1.9.7-8; Diod. 22.13.2-6 offers a more detailed description, though less pointed for my purposes. The date of the battle is probably c. 270/69 (Gow 1950, 2.305-7; Berve 1959, 8-9, 14-15; De Sensi Sestito 1977, 53; Zambon 2008, 198; Hoffmann 1969, 158-59); Walbank, *Comm.* I.54-55, argues for 265.

manner" and are characterized by "audacity." This is clearly a situation where the Greek vs. barbarian dichotomy is salient.

Some time later, with a Roman army under Appius Claudius in the citadel of Messina and a Carthaginian army attacking from the north, Hieron thought that "present circumstances were favorable for expelling from Sicily entirely the barbarians who occupied Messina."[110] Not only did the king think of the Mamertines as barbarians, but he intended to continue the fight until there are no barbarians left to threaten the Greeks. Moreover, Diodorus (23.1.4) reports that at this stage negotiations took place, since neither Hieron nor Appius wanted to fight each other. Hieron refused to raise the siege, since:

> ὁ δὲ Ἱέρων ἀπεκρίνατο διότι Μαμερτῖνοι Καμάριναν καὶ Γέλαν ἀναστάτους πεποιηκότες, Μεσσήνην δὲ ἀσεβέστατα κατειληφότες, δικαίως πολιορκοῦνται, Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, θρυλλοῦντες τὸ τῆς πίστεως ὄνομα, παντελῶς οὐκ ὀφείλουσι τοὺς μιαιφόνους, μάλιστα πίστεως καταφρονήσαντας, ὑπερασπίζειν.

> the Mamertines, who had laid waste Camarina and Gela and had seized Messina in so impious a manner, were besieged with just cause, and the Romans, harping as they did on the word *fides*, certainly ought not to protect assassins who had shown the greatest contempt for good faith.

Once again, Hieron ascribes traits of barbarians to the Mamertines: they have done terrible deeds and committed great impieties, they are murderers, and they despise good faith. This Greek vs. barbarian dichotomy is strongly felt throughout the sources on this period, and represents Hieron's professed motivations.

The Sicilians reacted well to Hieron's successes, and by observing their reactions to events, we can gain valuable information about which tier of identity was foremost in

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[110] Plb. 1.11.7: Ἱέρων νομίσας εὐφυῶς ἔχειν τὰ παρόντα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς τὴν Μεσσήνην κατέχοντας ὁλοσχερῶς ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας.

their minds at the time. Diodorus (22.13.1-2) describes Hieron's initial campaigns against

the Mamertines in some detail: he raided the territory of Messina itself; captured Mylae

and Ameselum by force, taking their troops into his own ranks; received the surrender of

Halaesa; and was enthusiastically welcomed by Abacaenum and Tyndaris. The

Mamertines were now restricted to a small area northeast of a line drawn from Tyndaris

to Tauromenium (also held by Syracuse), and the enthusiasm shown by two of the above-

mentioned cities suggests that Hieron's campaigns against the barbarian menace were

extremely popular.[111] If the citizens of the Greek city of Tyndaris had been thinking

primarily in terms of civic identity, for instance, they probably would not have welcomed

Hieron's activities, which restricted their independence. Instead, their warm welcome

suggests that they strongly supported Hieron's war against the Mamertines, and therefore

that the Greek identity that Hieron was encouraging was in fact the most salient tier of

identity for them.

Further evidence of Sicilian support for Hieron's war against the Mamertines can

be seen in their reaction to the victory at the Longanus, which immediately followed this

campaign. The victory was apparently crushing: Hieron captured the barbarian leaders

and "put an end to the audacity of the barbarians." Diodorus reports that the Mamertines

decided to come to Hieron as suppliants,[112] and that their power would have collapsed

completely if the Carthaginians had not saved them. This, then, is the event that caused

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[111] Cf. Berve 1959, 12-13.

[112] Diod. 22.13.6: ἔκριναν μεθ᾿ ἱκετηρίας ἀπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ.

the Syracusans to proclaim Hieron king.[113] Since Polybius has already stated that Hieron

was ruling securely,[114] this must represent the point at which his rule became legitimate

in the eyes of the people of Syracuse. Hieron ceased to be a tyrant and became a king,

and this transformation is closely linked to his success at defeating the barbarians. Thus,

the Syracusans were acting in accordance with Greek identity in recognizing Hieron as

their champion, just as they had previously supported Pyrrhus in the same role.

Of course, this was not the end of the Mamertine problem, since they sent for help

to both Carthage and Rome (Plb. 1.10.1-2). A Roman army under Appius Claudius

eventually crossed the Straits by stealth and took up a position in the citadel of Messina;

the Carthaginians, abandoning any thought of aid to the Mamertines, took up a position to

the north with hostile intent. Hieron took two steps to deal with this situation, both of

which imply that the identity Hieron was espousing at the time had not changed. First,

despite a centuries-long tradition of hostility and of thinking of them as barbarians, he

made an alliance with Carthage.[115] This was a short-term, pragmatic alliance against a

common enemy: Hieron held no particular favor to the Carthaginians, but he was

virulently anti-Mamertine, as described above, and he was willing to take virtually any

step to defeat them.[116] Although the Greek identity was still in force against the

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[113] Plb. 1.9.8: αὐτὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ πάντων προσηγορεύθη τῶν συμμάχων. Walbank, *Comm.*, I.54-55, rejects this statement on chronological grounds; accepted by Zambon 2008, 199; De Sensi Sestito 1977, 60-62.

[114] Plb. 1.9.6: ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεξῆγεν.

[115] Plb. 1.11.7; cf. Diod. 22.13.9, 23.1.2. In stating that this alliance was against the Mamertines and not the Romans, I prefer the testimony of Polybius to that of Diodorus, who says that Hieron and the Carthaginian general Hanno agreed to make war on the Romans until they evacuated Sicily, and of Philinus, the pro-Carthaginian historian whom Polybius criticizes (and who was certainly distracted from Greek opinions by a focus on the Roman-Carthaginian conflict); cf. Zambon 2008, 204-5.

[116] Roussel 1970, 79-80, while insisting that the alliance could not have been made against the Mamertines alone, recognizes that here short-term interests trump long-term hostility. Welwei 1978, 579-80, also insists

Mamertines, it was flexible enough to allow an alliance with Carthage, often considered another barbarian power, in order to defeat another group of barbarians.

Secondly, Hieron fought a battle with the Roman army under Appius Claudius.[117] He had no particular hatred of Rome, just as he had no particular love of Carthage.[118] Even in the negotiations with Appius mentioned above (Diod. 23.1.4), Hieron spoke against Rome only insofar as Rome chose to protect the barbarians. Although he could easily have seen the Roman army as a foreign barbarian invader[119] and thereby attempted to drive the Romans out of Messina on the same basis of Greek identity, Hieron chose not to see matters this way and continued to oppose the Mamertines. Ultimately, however, fighting Appius turned out to be the only way to attack Rome's clients, but after a defeat, Hieron withdrew his troops to Syracuse. Although this was a battle between Greeks and Romans, the Romans were serving only as a proxy for the Mamertines themselves, and Greek identity, focused on the Mamertines, still governed Hieron's actions.

Between Carthage and Rome

Following the Roman victories outside Messina, the new consuls of the year 263 arrived and swept through most of eastern Sicily, capturing and receiving the surrender of

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that only an impending Roman invasion could convince Syracuse and Carthage to join forces; this is difficult to believe in light of Hieron's propaganda and subsequent events.

[117] On this battle, see Zambon 2008, 205-7.

[118] Molthagens 1975 makes the startling argument that the original Roman objective in the First Punic War was actually Syracuse, not Carthage, and that Carthage only became the primary enemy after the siege of Akragas in 262. Indeed, the Romans seem to have intended to take Hieron out of the war before attempting further conquests, but this does not affect Hieron's intentions at the outbreak of war.

[119] The Mamertines had appealed to Rome partly on the basis of shared Italic heritage: Plb. 1.10.2.

numerous cities, and finally appeared before Syracuse.[120] Hieron then switched his

alliance from Carthage to Rome, and we should observe his reasons carefully:

Plb. 1.16.3-5

ὧν παραγενομένων ἀπό τε τῶν Καρχηδονίων αἱ πλείους ἀφιστάμεναι πόλεις προσετίθεντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπό τε τῶν Συρακοσίων. ὁ δ' Ἱέρων θεωρῶν τὴν διατροπὴν καὶ κατάπληξιν τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, ἅμα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ βάρος τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων, ἐκ πάντων συνελογίζετο τούτων ἐπικυδεστέρας εἶναι τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐλπίδας. διόπερ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὁρμήσας τοῖς λογισμοῖς διεπέμπετο πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους.

When these troops arrived, most of the cities rose against the Carthaginians and Syracusans and came over to the Romans. Hieron, observing both the confusion and consternation of the Sicilians, and at the same time the numbers and the powerful nature of the Roman forces, reached from all this the conclusion that the prospects of the Romans were more brilliant than those of the Carthaginians. His conviction therefore impelling him to side with the Romans, he sent several messages to the consuls with proposals for peace and alliance.

Polybius twice describes this move as a political calculation (λογισμός), and Hieron was

no doubt thinking, as Polybius suggests, that the appearance of four Roman legions in

Sicily in 263 looked like an overwhelming force. But this cannot have been his only

reason for switching sides, since the episodes known from antiquity in which a city held

out against overwhelming force are innumerable.[121] If Hieron had been strongly

committed to the Carthaginian alliance, he would undoubtedly have continued to resist

the Romans. But as I have argued above, Hieron was neither strongly pro-Carthaginian

nor anti-Roman; he was merely anti-Mamertine. Hieron's political strategy must be

reexamined.

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[120] Plb. 1.16, Diod. 23.4; Zon. 8.9. Certainly a few communities did attempt to resist (Diod. 23.4), but not the majority. Zambon 2008, 207-11, treats this campaign quite differently, as aimed exclusively at undermining Hieron's political support; I suggest it succeeded in part by appealing to Carthage as the new enemy.

[121] Syracuse had particularly strong defenses and was never captured by force prior to the siege by Marcellus in 212.

The Romans had swept up a large swath of Hieron's kingdom. Polybius' word ἀφιστάμεναι suggests a voluntary revolt on the part of Hieron's subjects, and Diodorus (23.4.1) adds that the Syracusans themselves were discontent.[122] The legitimacy of his rule seemed about to collapse, and so the king clearly needed to rethink his strategy of legitimation. Hieron recognized that whereas his position had formerly been based on his role as the champion of Greek civilization against the barbarian Mamertines, the Sicilians had moved on and were now thinking primarily of a different barbarian enemy and a different champion: they had rapidly redirected their Greek identity in response to immediate events.[123] The Romans were now fighting Carthage and taking over, intentionally or otherwise, that role as leader of the Greeks of Sicily. Hieron saw that by switching sides and fighting with the Romans against Carthage, he could connect himself to that age-old identity predicated on hostility to Carthage. In terms of identity, this was actually a very small switch: Hieron was still basing his legitimacy on Hellenic identity, changing only from one barbarian enemy to another. Although the threat of the Mamertines had been more immediate, it was overshadowed by the threat of Carthage, which had been around for much longer and was more deeply rooted in the consciousness of the Sicilian Greeks. This is, therefore, a situation rather like that of Hermocrates at Camarina, who had multiple options of identity with which to work – Sikeliote or Dorian – but found one to be more deeply rooted and therefore more useful (see Chapter Three, pp. 229-230).

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[122] Zambon 2008, 212-14, considers Hieron's security on the throne the major reason for making peace with Rome, but ignores the role of Carthage in legitimating that peace.

[123] Roussel 1970, 97-101, argues that the Sicilians felt no fundamental incompatibility with either Rome or Carthage, due to the Italic origins of many Sicilians (such as the Campanian mercenaries) and to increasing Hellenization at Carthage, but this ignores the fact that identity is a discursively constructed phenomenon, which could emphasize or ignore any characteristic.

Hieron's new focus on Carthage can also be seen in Theocritus' encomium of him, *Idyll* 16 (esp. 73-81):

ἔσσεται οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμεῦ κεχρήσετ᾽ ἀοιδοῦ,
ῥέξας ἢ Ἀχιλεὺς ὅσσον μέγας ἢ βαρὺς Αἴας
ἐν πεδίῳ Σιμόεντος, ὅθι Φρυγὸς ἠρίον Ἴλου.   75
ἤδη νῦν Φοίνικες ὑπ᾽ ἠελίῳ δύνοντι
οἰκεῦντες Λιβύας ἄκρον σφυρὸν ἐρρίγασιν·
ἤδη βαστάζουσι Συρακόσιοι μέσα δοῦρα,
ἀχθόμενοι σακέεσσι βραχίονας ἰτεΐνοισιν·
ἐν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἱέρων προτέροις ἴσος ἡρώεσσι   80
ζώννυται, ἵππειαι δὲ κόρυν σκιάουσιν ἔθειραι.

That man shall be who shall have need of me for his poet
when he has done such deeds as great Achilles wrought, or dread Ajax,
on the plain of Simois where stands the tomb of Phrygian Ilus.   75
Even now beneath the setting sun the Phoenicians
that dwell in the outmost skirts of Libya tremble for fear;
even now Syracusans grip their spears by the middle
and charge their arms with shields of wicker,
while Hieron, in their midst, girds himself like the heroes of old   80
with crest of horsehair shadowing his helm.

At the end of the passage, Hieron and the Syracusans are intimately connected, as a legitimate leader fighting alongside his subjects, much like his namesake in the odes of Pindar (see Chapter Two, p. 159). In fact, the praise of the earlier Hieron by famous poets is explicitly in the background throughout the poem, as it is Simonides' praise for the Aleuad dynasty of Thessaly that provides Theocritus with a model for encomiastic poetry (esp. 34-47): the reference to Pindar's praise of Hieron I is therefore quite subtle.[124] Hieron (like Pyrrhus before him) is also strongly associated with the Homeric heroes. While not at all out of place in poetry, these association are nonetheless striking, calling to mind a panhellenic expedition against the Carthaginians and therefore the Hellenic

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[124] See Gow 1950, 312-13.

identity of Hieron's subjects; his Roman allies are nowhere to be found.[125] Notably, the

poet also expresses the hope that the Carthaginians would be expelled from the island

altogether (85-87), which serves as a salient reminder that geographic identity still plays a

role in this period.

Nonetheless, it was primarily the Carthaginian enemy that Hieron used to

manipulate his subjects' Hellenic identity. This was all the easier because other than

providing logistical support, Syracuse was asked to contribute little to the Roman war

effort: Hieron was thereby able to maintain a panhellenic ideology for decades without

actually spending the money or lives necessary to prosecute the twenty-three-year long

First Punic War, and thereby legitimate his power for the rest of his life.

Greeks in the Second Punic War

The Second Punic War represented the last chance for the Greeks of southern

Italy and Sicily to assert their identity as independent states; after the defeat of Hannibal

and his allied cities, Roman control was essentially unquestioned throughout the region.

During the war, however, each Greek city chose its own path according to various

interpretations of identity; the nature of Greek identity was hotly contested. Some

maintained their long-standing hatred of Carthage and remained loyal to Rome, while

others felt that the present power of Rome was now more of a threat to their identity as

free cities and joined Hannibal, thereby putting Rome into the same position of chief

enemy that Carthage had long held. Others again paid little attention to either combatant,

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[125] If he had such as the time: the date of the poem is disputed and may be as early as 275/4; cf. Gow 1950, 305-7.

focusing instead on local concerns and other long-standing enmities, such as that of Croton for the Bruttians.[126] Several of the cities that joined Hannibal held Roman garrisons at the time of their revolts; that they would revolt despite an actual Roman presence suggests that the desire to join Hannibal was strong. Unfortunately, the evidence is not equally detailed for all cities; I will therefore analyze in detail two case studies, namely, Taras and Croton, for which the evidence is sufficiently clear; these examples show how two cities in similar situations could come to radically different interpretations of identity.

Taras

We have seen that earlier in the third century, the most salient form of identity at Taras was a combination of Hellenic identity focused on opposition to the barbarians (eventually and especially Rome) and a civic identity as the leader of Italian Hellenism. After some sixty years of Roman domination, however, this combination of identities had been boiled down to just one. In the revolt of Taras in 212 – in which a group of young, disaffected aristocrats forged a secret deal to open the gates to Hannibal – Hellenic identity plays no role whatsoever; rather, the justification for revolt focuses on Roman infringement of Taras' civic identity as an autonomous city with a natural leadership position. Naturally, a Hellenic identity would not sit well with cooperation with Carthage.[127] But I have argued that Hellenic identity was sufficiently flexible, if desired,

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[126] Cf. Lomas 1993, 60-61.

[127] Cooperation with Carthage was probably made easier by the fact that Carthage had never been a major power in peninsular Italy but focused its attention instead on Sicily. Nonetheless, the Italian Greek cities had maintained close ties with Sicily and were well aware of the often-hostile relations between the Greeks and Carthaginians there.

to ignore Carthage's non-Greek status while focusing on Rome's barbarity. I maintain that Taras' choice of which tier of identity to emphasize was in fact a choice, and that an explanation based on identity can help us understand Taras' preference for Carthage.

For some, such as Brauer, a central question is why Taras essentially committed "state suicide," as he titles his chapter 11, by revolting in the face of overwhelming Roman power throughout the peninsula. This formulation is clearly the result of hindsight: Roman power was seriously in question during the Second Punic War, and the presence of (and promise of support from) Hannibal was a serious factor in the actions of the individual Tarantines who opened the city to the Carthaginians. On the other hand, we cannot attribute Taras' revolt to purely military factors, since it must be legitimated. If most Tarantines thought of themselves primarily as Greeks in opposition to Carthage, for example, the action of a few individuals could not have succeeded in bringing over the whole city; thus, the collective identity of the Tarantines as a whole played a significant role in determining political outcomes.

A number of factors, while intended to ensure the Tarantines' loyalty to Rome, actually had the effect of alienating them, because they were perceived as infringing on their autonomy. It is probable that there were at least some Tarantines serving as allies in the Roman army and/or navy, since Taras' official status was a *socius navalis*; these would serve as virtual hostages, should Taras defect.[128] But requisitions of troops notoriously have the result of seeming like an unfair burden on the citizenry or even a mechanism of oppression. More importantly, however, a Roman garrison held the citadel

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[128] Brauer 1986, 171, 184-85. The Greek cities are not listed in the catalogue of Italian manpower at the time the Gallic *tumultus* of 225 (Plb. 2.24), suggesting that they generally did not supply many troops; on the other hand, Livy does specifically mention five aristocratic Tarantines captured by Hannibal at Lake Trasimene and Cannae (24.13.1).

of the city from 214 (Liv. 24.20.12-13). There were also a number of Tarantine hostages held at Rome in the Atrium Libertatis, whose execution after a failed escape attempt is given by Livy as one of the reasons for the conspiracy (25.7.10-8.3). While the intention of garrisons and hostages is normally to ensure the loyalty of the city in question, these could instead be seen as a hostile action, an infringement on the liberty and autonomy of the city. The prevailing mentality at Taras, as a result of the history described above, viewed such infringements as an attack on its civic identity as the leader of the Greeks of Italy. If Roman forays into southern Italy a few generations earlier had caused such violent reaction, some sixty years of actual Roman control combined with the more specific, recent actions just mentioned would surely have prompted even greater discontent. Thus, the very reasons why Taras might have been forced to remain loyal to Rome actually could prompt it to revolt, based on its civic identity as an free *polis* community.

Hannibal, however, offered a rather different picture, much more amenable to Taras' civic identity. Thirteen young Tarantine aristocrats snuck out of the city to confer with Hannibal. According to Livy, the Carthaginian general agreed that "the Tarantines should be free, enjoying their own laws, and all their rights uninterfered with; that they should neither pay any tribute to the Carthaginians, nor receive a garrison against their will."[129] Polybius offers a similar list: Hannibal "would set Taras free and [promised] that the Carthaginians would neither exact any kind of tribute from the Tarantines nor impose

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[129] 25.8.7-8: liberos Tarentinos leges <suas> suaque omnia habituros neque ullum uectigal Poeno pensuros praesidiumue inuitos recepturos.

any other burdens on them."[130] An almost identical example is that of Capua: when it went over to Hannibal in 216, the terms agreed upon included provisions that Capua enjoy its own laws and magistrates, without liability to military service with Hannibal, and that no Carthaginian would have jurisdiction over Capuan citizens.[131] Capua had been the leader of the Campanians just as much had Taras had been of the Italiotes, and found Hannibal more willing to respect its civic identity.[132] This guarantee of freedom is very much like those that had been common in the Hellenistic East for more than a century, as well as like those used by Rome somewhat later, most notably by Flamininus at the Isthmia of 196.[133]

The scholarship on these proclamations of freedom, however, has not taken account of the discourse of identity. As we have seen in the case of Syracuse, the development of a concept of freedom does not happen automatically but rather develops in response to a particular set of circumstances.[134] Something separated Taras from the other Greek cities in their responses to a basically similar situation, and I suggest that this factor is Tarantine civic identity, which was not shared with the other cities. The

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[130] 8.25.2: Ταραντίνους ἐλευθερώσειν καὶ μήτε φόρους πράξεσθαι κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐπιτάξειν Ταραντίνοις Καρχηδονίους.

[131] Liv. 23.7.1: Legati ad Hannibalem uenerunt pacemque cum eo condicionibus fecerunt ne quis imperator magistratusue Poenorum ius ullum in ciuem Campanum haberet neue ciuis Campanus inuitus militaret munusue faceret; ut suae leges, sui magistratus Capuae essent.

[132] Frederiksen 1984, 240-41.

[133] Lomas 1993, 63-64. Erskine 1993, 60-62, suggests that Hannibal's freedom propaganda was actually an invention of Polybius, who Hellenized the Carthaginian; while it is true that some examples of freedom propaganda that appear in Polybius do not appear in Livy (e.g., Plb. 3.85.4, Liv. 22.7.4-5), this seems unlikely.

[134] Raaflaub 2004.

Tarantines demanded a guarantee of autonomy that respected their civic identity as a free people who could once again take up their rightful place as the leader of the Greeks.

It was the actions of a small group of elite individuals that led to Tarentum's revolt, and previous discussions of this episode have focused on its implications for internal politics. But I want to consider another aspect: how did the leaders of this secret cabal legitimate their actions to the Tarentine citizenry at large? This is where identity becomes critical, since if most Tarentines thought of themselves primarily as Greeks who were bitterly opposed to Carthage, for example, the actions of a few individuals could not have succeeded in bringing over the whole city. Instead, I maintain that it was the civic identity of a much larger group of Tarentines that legitimated a revolt against Roman infringement of Tarentum's political freedom, and thus that Tarantine collective identity played a significant role in determining this political outcome.

We see the role of the broader populace in Polybius' narrative of Hannibal's entrance into the city. The conspirators went through the city, "calling on the people to help the cause of freedom and exhorting them to be of good courage, as it was for their sake that the Carthaginians had come."[135] Hannibal himself addressed the assembled Tarantines to explain his actions, and "the Tarantines loudly cheered every sentence, delighted as they were at the unexpected prospect."[136] If this evidence can be trusted, not only the thirteen young aristocrats but the population at large (except for those that fled with the Roman garrison to the citadel) felt that Taras' civic identity was at stake. Large

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[135] Plb. 8.31.2: οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι περιπορευόμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ παρεκάλουν θαρρεῖν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων παρόντας τοὺς Καρχηδονίους.

[136] Plb. 8.31.4: τῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπισημηναμένων ἕκαστα τῶν λεγομένων διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς ἐλπίδος.

segments of the population not only accepted but welcomed this attempt at legitimation, showing that they had the same understanding of their civic identity as the conspirators did. Their strong positive reaction implies that they, too, felt that liberty was a key aspect of their identity as free Greeks. Freedom from Rome was worth the price of admitting the Carthaginians to the city.

This emphasis on freedom continued for some time, through the naval battle fought to prevent Roman ships from resupplying the citadel of Taras. Livy states that the Tarantines fought especially hard so that "having recovered their city from the Romans after the lapse of almost a century, they might also free their citadel."[137] Although this is given in Livy's own voice and not specifically described as representing Tarantine opinion, it is striking that the Roman author would use the word "liberarent" regarding an attempt at freedom from Rome. If this does indeed represent Tarantine opinion, we can attribute it to the wide swath of Tarantine society that crewed the ships. Freedom was part of the civic identity of all the Tarantines.

Leadership was also an important aspect of Tarantine civic identity. Newly independent Taras seems to have encouraged at least one other Greek city, Thurii, to revolt from Rome in the immediate aftermath of Taras' defection. Livy (25.7.11, 25.15.7) ascribes Thurii's break with Rome to the execution of some Thurian hostages at Rome along with the Tarantine hostages, perhaps engineered by a Tarantine. Appian (*Hann.* 6.3), on the other hand, suggests that Taras seized some Thurian ships and held the crews hostage until Thurii agreed to defect. In either case, Tarantine pressure seems to have

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[137] Liv. 26.39.9-10: cum in maioris discrimen rei quam ipsae erant pugnarent, Tarentini ut reciperata urbe ab Romanis post centesimum prope annum, arcem etiam liberarent.

been a major factor in Thurii's revolt from Rome.[138] This suggests that Taras was hoping

to reassert its proper role as leader of the Greeks of Italy, or at least of those Greeks in the

northern part of the Gulf of Taranto, as far as Thurii.[139] In any event, Taras' civic identity

was the major motivating factor in its decision to revolt from Rome.

Croton

Croton, on the other hand, presents a very different story. Like the other Italiote

cities, Croton had stayed loyal in the immediate aftermath of Cannae,[140] and it is this fact

in particular that should lead us to seek a reason for their eventual defection that is rooted

not in the question of which side appeared to be winning the war but rather in the precise

circumstances of that defection. In 215, the Carthaginians under Hanno attacked three

cities, Rhegium, Locri, and Croton, at the behest of their Bruttian allies. Livy explicitly

states that "these towns were more inclined to remain loyal to Rome in that they saw that

the Bruttians, whom they feared and hated, had gone over to Carthage."[141] In other

words, the Bruttians were their primary enemy; their decision to remain loyal to Rome, at

least initially, was made primarily in response to Bruttian actions, not Roman or

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[138] Wuilleumier 1968, 154-5; Lomas 1993, 70-72.

[139] Lomas 1993, 75-76.

[140] Although Livy (22.61.12; cf. 23.30.6-9, which anticipates events of the following book, and Lomas 1993, 64) reports that "nearly all the Greek settlements on the coast, namely Taras, Metapontion, Croton and Locri" went over to Hannibal after Cannae in 216, this is most likely not true. Livy's own narrative implies that these cities were in Roman hands until at least the following year. At most we may state that there was a change in the prevailing sentiment in these cities, though no actual revolt took place. Hannibal made no serious attempt on the Greeks of the Ionian coast in 216, focusing his attention instead on Campania.

[141] Liv. 24.1.1: Hanno adiutoribus et ducibus Bruttiis Graecas urbes temptauit, eo facilius in societate manentes Romana quod Bruttios, quos et oderant et metuebant, Carthaginiensium partis factos cernebant.

Carthaginian activities.[142] In worrying especially about local concerns, namely the barbarians close at hand, the Greek cities of Calabria were acting in a long tradition of focusing on local concerns.

Livy (24.2.1-3) reports that, after Rhegium's successful defense and Locri's surrender on terms prevented the sack of either city, the Bruttians attacked Croton with 15,000 troops on their own initiative, without Carthaginian approval or support. Hanno was apparently hoping that a political settlement would be facilitated if he could act as mediator between Croton and the Bruttians. The Bruttians quickly gained possession of the lower city but the Crotoniates succeeded in holding the citadel. Hanno then appeared and "tried to induce the Crotoniates to surrender on condition of their allowing Bruttian settlers into the town, by which means they might make good the ravages of former wars and restore the population to its old numbers."[143] This was unacceptable to the Crotoniates: "The rest repeatedly declared that they would rather die than permit, when mixed with the Bruttians, the gradual adoption of rites, customs, laws, and ultimately even the language of an alien people."[144] Despite the immediate situation of the siege, and despite their long-term problem of depopulation, the Crotoniates were so hostile to the Bruttians that they could not allow this. Why?

When confronted with the Bruttians, the people of Croton drew upon their long history of hostility with the Bruttians and emphasized their Greek identity. They thought

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[142] Lomas 1993, 68-70; Lombardo 2006, 21-23.

[143] Liv. 24.3.11: is condicionibus ad deditionem compellere Crotoniates conatus ut coloniam Bruttiorum eo deduci antiquamque frequentiam recipere uastam ac desertam bellis urbem paterentur. The population had been reduced to about 2,000 (Liv. 23.30).

[144] Liv. 24.3.12: morituros se adfirmabant citius quam immixti Bruttiis in alienos ritus mores legesque ac mox linguam etiam uerterentur.

of them in terms of the Greek vs. barbarian dichotomy, and were implacably hostile. Notably, however, the Crotoniates were not particularly hostile towards the Carthaginians or the Romans. Greek identity at Croton was flexible enough to allow a focus on one non-Greek people while essentially ignoring others. This focus on the local situation and the barbarian threat nearby were the result of a century and a half of warfare with the Bruttians. They expected that admitting Bruttians into the citizen body would result in something quite similar to what had happened two centuries earlier to Poseidonia and several other cities – Croton would no longer be a community of Greeks. Part of the problem was evidently the proposal that Bruttians become citizens. The few remaining Crotoniates firmly believed that it was not possible for a Bruttian to become a Crotoniate; rather, the Crotoniates would slowly become Bruttians. Greek identity and civic identity were inextricably intertwined here, since part of what it meant to be a Crotoniate was that one had to be Greek.

However, there is a further element. More than two centuries earlier, Herodotus reported a speech of the Athenians to the Spartans, explaining why Athens would never give in to Persia: "Then, there is the Greek nation – the community of blood and language, temples and ritual, and our common customs."[145] This famous statement is a *locus classicus* for the factors that go into Greek identity, and while it was never universally agreed upon, it remained one possible interpretation of Greek identity, a mentality of Greekness that remained available over the *longue durée*. It is remarkably similar to the factors cited by the Crotoniates in 215: language, customs, rituals, and (perhaps) blood. Since the Crotoniates believe they would change all of these factors

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[145] Hdt. 8.144.2: αὖτις δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα.

"when mixed with the Bruttians," this implies that they would no longer be Greek, clearly to them an unacceptable situation. Their willingness to fight for their Greek identity is remarkable. Aristoxenus (F124, quoted above, p. 248) had a similar view of what constituted Greek identity: it was the change of language and customs (τήν τε φωνὴν μεταβεβληκέναι τά τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων) that signaled the barbarization of Poseidonia. The Crotoniates were clearly concerned that the same thing not happen to them. Although this version of Greek identity was clearly not salient at all times and in all situations between 480 and 215, nonetheless it remained latent in a remarkably stable form. Greek identity at Croton thus forms a clear example of both the stability and mutability of identity.

Conclusion

The third century offers a variety of materials for the study of Greek identity. Of course, changes in the construction of Greek identity are not limited to the West. In the Hellenistic East, as is well known, Greek identity came to be constructed less through notions of descent and more through cultural considerations. We see this already in Isocrates, for whom one does not have to be born Greek: rather, one's Greekness arises from participating in Greek culture.[146] With the spread of Greek rule after Alexander, this came to be a dominant means of constructing Greek identity throughout the Hellenistic period and on into the Roman empire. In the west, a similar phenomenon occurs,

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[146] *Panegyricus* 50: "The name of the Hellenes no longer seems to indicate an ethnic affiliation but a disposition. Indeed, those who are called "Hellenes" are those who share our culture rather than a common biological inheritance." Cf. Hall 2002a, 209, 220-26.

although, as always, this version of Hellenic identity was contested and not always salient.

An especially interesting factor in Sicily is the slow erosion of the distinction between the Greek cities of the coast and the non-Greek communities of the interior. By the time of Polybius, and even more so in Livy and Diodorus, hardly any distinction is made between, for example, the Greek city of Akragas and the Sikel city of Enna, and both can be referred to as Sikeliotai or Siculi. As the various ethnic communities mixed, grew together and were interspersed with others, such as Campanians, their shared opposition to the barbarian Carthaginians became more and more salient, resulting in a shared Hellenic identity that was exploited with great success by a number of figures, especially Pyrrhus and Hieron II.

Even this Hellenic identity, however, was not always salient. While Romans were sometimes considered barbarians, especially by Taras, other groups chose to ignore them. We have seen numerous examples of identities that were contested between two groups in similar situations, and also of swift changes in identity over among the same group. These variations and changes are the result of local factors affecting local understandings of Hellenic identity, as conflated with other tiers of identity, especially civic. Leadership and autonomy were crucial issues for many Greek states, especially Taras and Syracuse, and these came to affect political events. All of this, however, developed over a long period of time from preexisting conditions, and ultimately conditioned future responses to the arrival of Rome.

CONCLUSION

Advances and New Directions

The preceding case studies have shown that my approach to the study of collective identity in Greek Sicily and southern Italy has proved productive. The analysis of multiple types of identity together has offered a much fuller appreciation of the intricacy of the functioning of identity, since it was the interactions between the different tiers, even more than the simple existence of separate tiers, that produced much of the complexity. These interactions comprised a variety of different types that can structure the first part of my conclusions here.

Communities generally laid claim to a variety of identities at the same time, a fact that allowed them to pivot quickly from one tier of identity to another as conditions changed. Camarina, for instance, made important political decisions on the basis of no fewer than three separate tiers of identity in less than fifteen years, because different conditions made different criteria salient. Taras, too, invited Pyrrhus to Italy on the basis of Hellenic identity, but then quickly found that his actions suddenly made their civic identity more important to them. Since these different identities led to radically different political outcomes, it is important to recognize that they were different and operated differently. These swift changes, based on peoples' choices among several pre-existing

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options, operate primarily in the short-term *histoire événementielle* of the Annaliste paradigm.

In the medium term, however, changing identities operate rather differently. In the aftermath of the Carthaginian invasions of Sicily at the end of the fifth century and similar events in Italy during the fourth century, for instance, ethnicity ceased to be relevant as all Greeks, regardless of their intra-Hellenic ethnic divisions, banded together to protect themselves from the barbarians. Ethnic groups such as the Dorians, Chalcidians, and Achaeans simply faded away. Whereas in the fifth century, ethnicity was not always considered salient but could be revived whenever it was needed, by the third century it existed only as a memory for antiquarians. Thus, in the medium term, the options of identities that are available for people to choose between can actually change.

An important finding, however, involves the relationship between these two timescales. In Sicily, in particular, it was a very specific set of events – the Carthaginian invasions of 409 and 406-5 – that triggered the dissolution of ethnic identities. Although this process then took some time, the fact remains that short-term, historically contingent events and individuals – which Braudel initially denied could have any effect on longer-term trends – did indeed create a change in mentalities. Not only did intra-Hellenic ethnicity disappear from the set of options, but these specific events rearranged the Sicilian Greeks' opinions of Carthage, creating a mentality of permanent hostility that had not existed before and that, though not always salient, remained a dominant mode of thought regarding Carthage for at least two centuries.

Different tiers of identity interact in other ways as well, even in their initial construction. The Achaean ethnic group was a community composed of smaller

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communities, *poleis*, and as such the civic and ethnic tiers of identity were deeply intertwined from the beginning. Each *polis* constructed its own identity as a community of Achaeans. Many of the methods that they used to reinforce their ethnic identity – such as the cult system I have described as "Achaean Hera" – also had civic components. Thus, the idea with which I started – that separate tiers must be kept separate – is actually deeply problematic.

The idea of separate tiers of identity can be problematized even further, since multiple tiers were often combined and conflated, a phenomenon that occurs throughout the chronological scope of my project. Beside the example of the Achaeans just above, I argued that Syracuse's Dorian ethnicity was a major component of its civic identity. On the level of political actions, the Tarantines by the early third century had arrived at a complex set of identities in which their civic identity was predicated on their leadership of the Italian Greeks in the struggle against the Lucanians – in other words, civic identity and Greek identity were inextricably interwoven. Nonetheless, teasing out the different components of these identities is an important object of analysis.

I have just mentioned the content of identities – the various criteria on which they are based – and the salience of these, too, changed over time. Civic identities, in particular, changed over time, as new elements were added to old. The development of the concepts of liberty and leadership were important additions to the civic identities of Taras and Syracuse. The exact ways in which Greek identity was constructed changed as well: in the time of Gelon, for instance, it was based on the past glory of the battle of Himera, while in the fourth and third centuries present and (near-) future fighting against Carthage became much more important. These identities were extremely flexible, as well:

especially in the third century, different opinions about the nature of Greek identity proliferated, as some conceived of it as requiring a vast panhellenic crusade against the barbarians, while others focused on the small-scale defense of their own communities. These different opinions led to remarkable situations in which Greeks could use the rhetoric of Greek identity to legitimate an alliance with one non-Greek group in order to fight another, more threatening group of barbarians.

The manipulation of identities for political purposes – situations in which a leader convinces a population either to consider one tier of identity more salient than another or to reassess which criteria are the most important for an existing identity – has often been dismissed as mere rhetorical tricks or propaganda that shed no light on the actual identities held by the populations in question. But as we have seen, manipulation by tyrants, kings, and politicians is actually one of the primary ways in which identity plays a role in politics. In some cases, such as the speeches of Hermocrates in Thucydides, the goal is a specific, near-term political action. Since the discourse of identity employed in these speeches successfully instigated the desired response, we should conclude that Hermocrates' audiences took his advice on which tier of identity to find salient. In other cases, the goal of identity manipulation was the legitimation of political power, a tactic that involves a dialectic between ruler and subjects – not to mention substantial risk of failure. Hieron I, facing the problem of legitimating the rule of a non-Syracusan tyrant over Syracuse, successfully connected himself to pre-existing aspects of Syracusan civic identity. Dionysius, on the other hand, attempted to convince the Syracusans to maintain their Greek identity against the Sikels and failed. It is this dialectic, in which the pre-existing set of identities available to the population limit the tactics of legitimation that

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may be used, that distinguishes the concepts of manipulation of identity and legitimation from the realm of mere propaganda.

In the Introduction, I posed the question of how we can know that considerations of identity governed any given action or event. This is indeed a thorny question of paramount importance. Since identity is a mentality – a subjective construct that governs attitudes and behavior – then short of interviews (which sociologists, but not classicists, can conduct, though some emic sources offer similar data), the only way we can see it is through the ways such mentalities condition behavior. This is especially true in the political sphere, where the impact of a speech on identity can be seen by observing whether or not the action advocated through the discourse of identity ends up occurring. This focus on political behavior as a source for identity is precisely a major feature of my approach, but it applies as well to my approach to archaeological evidence: we can see evidence of identity in a certain type of behavior – the creation and use of material objects – that is conditioned by the type of attitudes and opinions known as identity.

However, the real contribution here is the concept of analyzing multiple tiers of identity together, an approach which has not been attempted before and which therefore leaves vast scope for further research. I have limited myself to four case studies in Greek Sicily and Italy: many more remain. I have spoken little of Campania, for instance, a major area of Greek settlement (including Chalcidian, Phocaean, and Achaean colonists) and of contact between Greeks and non-Greeks; in fact, the region's name was created by non-Greeks. This region might provide new insights into the relationship between several different tiers of identity. Moreover, a major episode of fifth-century Sicilian history, the

career of the Sikel leader Ducetius as described in Book 11 of Diodorus, might offer

insights into the relationship between civic and Greek identity: at first he enjoyed great

success by playing Syracuse and Akragas off against each other in order to carve out a

space for the Sikels in east-central Sicily, but later those two *poleis* joined forces to attack

him. The rich history of Sicily and Italy offer a wide range of possible subjects for further

research.

Both of those examples suggested a theme which I have addressed in a rather one-

sided way, namely, relations between Greeks and non-Greeks. I focused on hostilities

between these groups as a means of constructing Greek identity, but many scholars in

recent decades have emphasized the high degree of peaceful cross-cultural interaction

and co-existence that seem to have characterized many periods of Greek history. A

deeper understanding of the construction of Hellenic identity in these regions will require

a detailed consideration of these processes of acculturation and assimilation.

I have offered a detailed study of the construction of the Achaean ethnic group,

but a similar approach to the Dorians and Chalcidians in Sicily would yield important

results. Here the colonial context – an issue of which I have made little, in an effort to

suggest that communities like Syracuse or Croton were not so much self-conscious

colonies at all periods but rather full-fledged Greek *poleis* on a level with Athens or

Corinth – will be crucial. The colonial origin of the Chalcidians, who take their name and

ancestry from the city of Chalcis in Euboea, suggests that they were originally separate

from the Ionians and were connected with that group later. Meanwhile, the Dorian cities

were founded by different mother-cities, such as Corinth, Rhodes, and Megara, and

therefore do not share ancestry on that level; how they came to be considered a single

ethnic group – together with many Peloponnesians – is a question that should be investigated. At the other end of the spectrum, the dissolution or deconstruction of identities is an issue that has rarely been addressed, and would add an important counterpoint to the widespread emphasis on ethnogenesis.

I have made only a start at assessing the vast amount of numismatic evidence available to us. Since numerous cities minted coins, a thorough treatment of coin-types would yield much more information about the differences between and changes in civic identities across the region. Epinician poetry, too, along with the works of other Archaic poets such as Stesichorus of Himera, can serve as a starting-point for a deeper investigation of this tier of identity, and its relationship to others.

It should also be possible to extend my approach to other tiers of identity than the four I discuss here. Treating the g*enos* as a tier of identity, for example, might provide a useful analysis of a unit smaller than the city. Regarding the Greek West, we have little information about *genē*. For instance, we know only the name of the Phalanthiadai, a leading *genos* at Taras, named after the city's founder, Phalanthus, but evidence pertaining to other regions of the Greek world might offer a firmer foundation. Another potential tier is class identity. A divide between elites and masses was common to most communities, and at Syracuse the elites even had a name, the Gamoroi: evidently, their identity was founded on their possession of land. Both of these tiers of identity, interestingly, cut across civic identity: the elites of one city might identify more strongly with elites of another city than with their own commons.

Finally, I expect that this method of analyzing multiple tiers of identity can be applied to many other regions of the Greek world. As a closing example, I offer a few

remarks about the island of Rhodes. The *polis* of Rhodes was only founded in 408/7

BCE, when amid civil strife a synoicism occurred between the island's three pre-existing

cities of Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus. Prior to this time, there was no city of Rhodes, but

there were Rhodians. One of Pindar's most famous odes, *Olympian* 7, dated to 464, was

written for Diagoras of Rhodes. Even earlier, in 688, the city of Gela was founded by

Cretans and Rhodians, and the cult of Athena Lindia (notably, named after one of the

three cities) seems to have served as a unifying force for the whole island from an early

date. After 408/7, the original three cities maintained a sort of subordinate existence in

the new *polis*, indicating that their separate identities still existed. Thus, this island seems

a prime candidate for analysis as an example of geographic identity and as a showcase of

the interaction between geographic and civic identities.

I therefore hope to have established an approach that will bear fruit in a variety of

future analyses of both these and other regions. This is a beginning, not an end, since I

have untangled only a little of the intricate tapestry of identities that the Greeks created

for themselves Sicily and southern Italy. Nearly limitless permutations remain.

List of Abbreviations

Argive Heraeum	Waldstein, Charles. 1905. *The Argive Heraeum*. Vol. 2. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company
Atti Taranto III	*Metropoli e colonie di Magna Grecia*. 1963. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
Atti Taranto XXI	*Megale Hellas: nome e immagine*. 1981. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
Atti Taranto XXIII	*Crotone*. 1983. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
Atti Taranto XXVII	*Poseidonia-Paestum*. 1987. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
Atti Taranto XXXVII	*Confini e Frontiera nella Grecita d'Occidente*. 1997. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*. 1970-present. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Foce del Sele I	Zancani Montuoro, Paola, and Umberto Zanotti-Bianco. 1951. *Heraion alla Foce del Sele*. Vol. 1. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato
HCT	Gomme, A. W., A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover. 1945-81. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Hornblower, *Comm.*	Hornblower, Simon. 1990-2008. *A Commentary on Thucydides*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
IACP	Hansen, Mogens Herman, and Thomas Heine Nielsen. 2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Clasical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
IvO	*Olympia: die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung* V. *Inschriften von Olympia*. 1896. Berlin: A. Asher and Co.
ML	Meiggs, R., and D. Lewis, eds. 1988. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC.* Rev. edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Perachora I	Payne, Humphrey. 1940. *Perachora: The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press
Syll.	Dittenberger, W. 1915-24. *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*. 4 vols. 3rd edn. Leipzig: S. Herzel.
Walbank, *Comm.*	Walbank, F. W. 1957-1979. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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