

HESPERIA, 37

STUDI SULLA GRECITÀ DI OCCIDENTE
Nuova serie periodica - 2/2020

Fondatore
LORENZO BRACCESI

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ALESSANDRA COPPOLA, MARIA CHIARA MONACO

«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

Università degli Studi di Padova
Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali:
archeologia, storia dell'arte, del cinema e della musica

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«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHEIDER

Roma – Bristol

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Via Marianna Dionigi, 57 70 Enterprise Drive, Suite 2
00193 Roma – Italia Bristol, CT 06010 – USA
www.lerma.it lerma@isdistribution.com

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Sistemi di garanzia della qualità
UNI EN ISO 9001:2015

Sistemi di gestione ambientale
ISO 14001:2015

Il Periodico adotta un sistema di Peer-Review

Hesperia: Roma: «L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER®, 2020 - 256 p.; 24 cm

Alcuni numeri della rivista hanno carattere monografico
e sono dotati di un titolo proprio

ISSN (Print) 1126-7658
ISSN (Online) 2283-7531

ISBN CARTACEO: 978-88-913-2099-5
ISBN DIGITALE: 978-88-913-2102-2

CDD 938

1. Grecia antica - Storia

*Stampato nel rispetto dell'ambiente su carta proveniente
da zone a deforestazione controllata.*

Autorizzazione Tribunale Roma n. 00567/98 del 30-11-1998

A Federico Muccioli,
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ σοφίας

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BRUNO CURRIE

SICILY AND ITALY IN THE *ODYSSEY**

INTRODUCTION

The *Odyssey* features a handful of references to Sicily and Italy. These include mentions of Sicilians, male (Σικελοί, XX 383) and female (Σικελή, XXIV 211); of a land Sikanie (XXIV 307), usually Sicily, here perhaps including Italy; and of two places that ancient and modern scholars have situated in Italy, Temese (I 184) and Alybas (XXIV 304). There is, besides, a notable way in which Sicily and Italy do not (at least, not explicitly) feature in the *Odyssey*: as a location for Odysseus' wanderings. Our concern will be to interpret all this. There is no reason why it should all be subsumable under a single, encompassing explanation. However, something approaching this will be tentatively proposed at the end of the discussion.

1. *OD.* I 184: ΤΕΜΕΣΑ OR ΤΑΜΑ(S)SOS?

The first possible mention of an Italian city in the *Odyssey* comes in the speech to Telemachos of Athene, disguised as the Taphian leader Mentès, I 182-4:

νῦν δ' ὦδε ξὺν νηὶ κατήλυθον ἠδ' ἐτάροισι,
πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον ἐπ' ἄλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους,
ἐς Τεμέσῃν μετὰ χαλκόν, ἄγω δ' αἴθωνα σίδηρον.

184 Τάμασιν (-σον Meineke, cf. Strab. p. 255) quidam apud Steph. Byz. 599¹.

Now I have come, as you see, with a ship and comrades,
sailing over the wine-dark sea to visit foreign men,
bound for Temese, in quest of copper; I am bringing dark iron with me.

At line 184, the manuscripts have Τεμέσῃν, which is the universal reading of editors². But Stephanus of Byzantium, the *Odyssey* scholia, and Strabo have been taken to attest an

* I am very grateful to Alessandra Coppola for the invitation to participate in the conference *I Greci in Occidente*, and to Flavia Frisone for useful bibliographical assistance. The article has also benefited from the comments of its referees.

¹ The textual note is from the apparatus of P. VON DER MÜHLL, *Homeri Odyssea*, Stuttgart 1962³, 8, which is representative of modern editions. In reality, the status of the supposed variant is unclear, as we will see.

² T.W. ALLEN (ed.), *Homeri opera. Tomus iii Odysseae libros I-XII continens*, Oxford 1917, 7; VON DER MÜHLL 1962³, 8; S. R. WEST, *Testo*, in A. Heubeck – G.A. Privitera, – S.R. West (eds.), *Omero Odissea*:

ancient variant Ταμάσην or Τάμασον. Following their lead, modern scholars have been divided whether to understand a reference to Tamassos, the city in Cyprus, or Temesa, the city in Bruttium, Italy³. We have two, not quite identical, choices before us: first, whether to understand a reference at *Od.* I 184 to the Cyprian city or to the Italian one; second, whether to read Τεμέσην or Τάμασον (or Τάμασιν) in the Odyssean text. This means trying to establish whether the form Τεμέση could also – in Homer, at least – refer to the Cyprian city known later as Tamassos or whether we are obliged to read Τάμασον (or Τάμασιν) if we wish to see a reference to the Cyprian city.

Here is Stephanus of Byzantium, τ 10⁴:

Τάμασος· πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν μεσογείᾳ, διάφορον ἔχουσα χαλκόν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ταμασίτης, καὶ Ταμάσιος ὡς Ἐφέσιος, Θάσιος. ἐντεῦθεν τινες γράφουσιν „ἐς Ταμάσην⁵ μετὰ χαλκόν“, ἀπιθάνως· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ταμέση πόλις τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ποταμός. Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῷ <ιγ> Τεμέσειαν τὴν πόλιν καλεῖ. τὸ ταύτης ἐθνικὸν Τεμεσαῖος.

Tamasos: a city in Cyprus, inland, with excellent copper; the ethnic adjective is Ταμασίτης and Ταμάσιος (like Ἐφέσιος, Θάσιος). Hence some read [*sc.* at *Od.* I 184]: ἐς Ταμάσην μετὰ χαλκόν, implausibly; for there is also Tamese, a city in Italy and a river. Polybius in book 13 calls the city Temeseia. The ethnic adjective of this city is Τεμεσαῖος.

This entry presents difficulties. Ταμάσην is a puzzling form for the Cyprian city, for which a first-declension form is otherwise unattested (and the variants Τάμασιν and Ταμέσην are at least as puzzling); the form Τάμασον would be normal⁶. Likewise, the form

Volume I (Libri I-IV), Milan 1981, 6-174, at 20; H. VAN THIEL (ed.), *Homeri Odyssea*, Hildesheim-Zurich-New York 1991, 6; M.L. WEST (ed.), *Homerus Odyssea*, Berlin-Boston 2017, 10; S. PULLEYN (ed.), *Homer Odyssey 1. Edited with an Introduction, Translation, Commentary – Glossary*, Oxford 2019, 72.

³ Of modern scholars, see e.g., favouring a reference to Cyprian Tamassos: S.R. WEST, *Books I-IV*, in A. Heubeck – S.R. West – J.B. Hainsworth (eds.), *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey, Volume I: Introduction and Books I-VIII*, Oxford 1988, 51-245, at 100; PULLEYN (ed.) 2019, 157-8; cf. H.W. NORDHEIDER, Τεμέση, in B. Snell – H.J. Mette (eds.), *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, XXII, Göttingen 2008, 394, 32: «wahrscheinlicher»; cf. W.B. STANFORD, *The Odyssey of Homer. Vol. II (Books XIII-XXIV)*, London 1958, 224: «the likeliest view»; N.J. RICHARDSON, *Homer and Cyprus*, in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The Civilizations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean 2000-600 BC*, Larnaca 1991, 125-8, at 126: «quite likely». Favouring a reference to Italian Temesa, e.g. T.W. ALLEN, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, «JHS» 30, 1910, 292-322, at 303; G. CAMASSA, *Dov'è la fonte dell'argento: una ricerca di protostoria mediterranea*, Palermo 1984, 13, 36; J.K. PAPADOPOULOS, *Temesa*, in M. Finkelberg (ed.), *Homer Encyclopedia*, III, Malden, Mass. 2011, 845; cf. J.P. CRIELAARD, *Homer, History and Archaeology*, in J.P. Crielaard (ed.), *Homeric Questions*, Amsterdam 1995, 201-88, at 233: «seems preferable»; H.L. LORIMER, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, 121: «the balance is decidedly in favour of Tempsa».

⁴ Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica* is cited throughout according to the editions of M. BILLERBECK (ed.), *Stephani Byzantini Ethnica: Volumen I: A-F*, Berlin-Boston 2006 – M. BILLERBECK – A. NEUMANN-HARTMANN (eds.), *Stephani Byzantini Ethnica: Volumen IV: Π-Y*, Berlin-Boston 2016.

⁵ The manuscripts attest: Ταμάσην, Τάμασιν, and Ταμέσην.

⁶ Cf. A. MEINEKE, *Stephani Byzantii ethnicorum quae supersunt*, Berlin 1849, 599: «malim Τάμασον».

Ταμέση is unparalleled for the Italian city (Τεμέση, Τέμψα). It is quite likely an error for Τεμέση (see below, p. 12)⁷.

The most important scholia on the Odyssean passage (schol. *Od.* I 184) read⁸:

Τε μέση ν · Τεμέση πόλις Κύπρου, κατὰ δέ τινας Ἰταλίας, ἦν νῦν Βρεντέσιον καλοῦσιν. HM¹TVY.

«Temese»: Temese is a city in Cyprus, but according to some, in Italy, one which they now call Brentesion. HM¹TVY.

ἐς Τε μέση ν · πόλις ἐν Οἰνωτροῖς ἢ νῦν Τέμψα καλουμένη, ἧ Βρεντέσιον. Ἡ κάλλιον δὲ πόλιν λέγειν Ἰταλίας τὸ νῦν καλούμενον Βρεντέσιον, ὅπου καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς γίνεται ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἐπαινετός. Η.

«To Temese»: a city among the Oenotri, which is now called Tempsa, or Brentesion. Η It is better to understand a city in Italy, present-day Brentesion, where indeed the fine and reputed copper comes from. Η.

The identification of Temese with Brentesion, i.e. Brundisium, in these scholia (and likewise Eustathius, *Commentary on the Odyssey*, Stallbaum I 46, 21 and 25-6) is hard to understand⁹, unless perhaps we assume a crude confusion between Bruttium (Βρεττία), the region in which Temese-Tempsa was situated, and Brundisium (Βρεντέσιον, perhaps via the erroneous form Βρενησία)¹⁰. At face value, the first scholion (Pontani's "a1") implies that the form Τεμέση could denote either the Cyprian or the Italian city. Yet we cannot rule out that we are dealing with a clumsy compression of a fuller version, which ran along the following lines: «the reference is either to a city in Cyprus [*sc.* Ταμασσός]; or, according to some, a city in Italy [*sc.* Τεμέση]»; we shall see (in section 2) a similar compression in the scholia to *Od.* XXIV 304.

Strabo writes the following, in the course of his treatment of Italy (VI 1, 5 C 255-6):

ταύτης δὲ τῆς Τεμέσης φασὶ μεμνήσθαι τὸν ποιητὴν, οὐ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Ταμασσοῦ·λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως [τὸ ἐς Τεμέσην μετὰ χαλκόν].

They say that it is this Temesa that Homer mentions, not Tamassos in Cyprus; for¹¹ it is called / claimed both ways [the verse ἐς Τεμέσην μετὰ χαλκόν].

⁷ Cf. MEINEKE 1849, 599: «*nonne Τεμέση?*». All forms of the place-names are corrupt in this entry (see the apparatus in BILLERBECK – NEUMANN-HARTMANN (eds.) 2016, 250).

⁸ See F. PONTANI (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Odysseam. I. Scholia ad libros α-β*, Rome 2007, 101-2. The scholia I reproduce are Pontani's scholia "a1" and "b". I omit his scholia "a2" and "a3" (which add nothing of significance); and also his "c" (which declares Temese to be a «city of Hispania»).

⁹ See A. MELE, *Per una rivisitazione di Temesa*, in G. F. La Torre (ed.), *Dall' Oliva al Savuto: Studi e ricerche sul territorio dell'antica Temesa*. Atti del convegno Campora San Giovanni (Amantea, CS), 15-16 Settembre 2007, Pisa-Rome 2009, 79-101, at 85-6.

¹⁰ On the form Βρενησία for Βρεντέσιον, see W. DINDORF (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* I-II, Oxford 1855, 35, note on lines 1-2.

¹¹ The γάρ-clause presupposes a mild ellipse of thought (see, in general, J.D. DENNISTON, *The Greek Particles*, Oxford 1950², 61-2): «(there is controversy,) for...».

Editors are divided whether to regard the last phrase, the quotation of *Od.* I 184a, as an intrusive gloss¹². I incline to view it as such, in the light of Strabo's habitual use of the phrase λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως¹³, although nothing in my argument will ultimately depend on it. Strabo's phrase λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως is itself ambiguous¹⁴. It can mean either (a) «for it [*sc.* the Cyprian Tamassos] is called both ways», i.e. we find both the forms Ταμασσός and Τεμέση for the Cyprian city; or (b) «for it is claimed both ways», i.e. there are advocates both of seeing a reference to Italian Temesa and of seeing a reference to Cyprian Tamassos (whether or not that involves reading Τάμασον in the Homeric text)¹⁵. But Strabo's sentence could also be taken to imply that the two cities are not homonymous, if he distinguishes advisedly between a first-declension form in Τεμεσ- for the Italian city (*sc.* Τεμέση) and a second-declension form in Ταμασσ- for the Cyprian one (*sc.* Ταμασσός). Stephanus of Byzantium may have meant to uphold a similar differentiation, intending Τάμασος, Ταμασίτης, and Ταμάσιος of the Cyprian city, and Τεμέση (if we emend the transmitted Ταμέση), Τεμέσεια, and Τεμεσαῖος of the Italian one. We need to see whether clarity can be gained over what form(s) were possible for the Cyprian and the Italian place names, and what form(s) were in the ancient manuscript tradition of the *Odyssey*.

An Assyrian inscription of 673/2 BCE lists a «king of Tamesos (*sic*)» (*šar Tamesi*) among kings of other Cyprian cities, which seems to confirm, if not the string «Tamas(s)-», then at least «Tam-», rather than «Tem-», as the first syllable of the name of the Cyprian city¹⁶. The oldest attested Greek form for the Cyprian city is apparently Ταμασσός (with double sigma, accented oxytone), later also Τάμασος (with single sigma, accented proparoxytone)¹⁷. Of these, metre requires that the latter form would have to have been used at *Od.* I 184.

¹² Deleted by A. MEINEKE (ed.), *Strabonis Geographica* I-III, Leipzig 1877, I 351, followed by F. SBORDONE (ed.), *Strabonis Geographica. Vol. secundum: Libri III-VI*, Rome 1970, 287. Retained by N. BIFFI, *L'Italia di Strabone. testo, traduzione e commento dei libri V e VI della Geographia*, Genoa 1988, 134; S. RADT (ed.), *Strabon Geographika*, Band 2, *Buch V-VIII: Text und Übersetzung*, Göttingen 2003, 136.

¹³ See A. MEINEKE, *Vindiciarum Strabonianarum liber*, Berlin 1852, 58.

¹⁴ If we read λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως τὸ ἐς Τεμέσην μετὰ χαλκόν, then we may understand: «the phrase ἐς Τεμέσην μετὰ χαλκόν is ambiguous» (cf. BIFFI 1988, 134-7).

¹⁵ For (a), see H. L. JONES (ed., trans.), *The Geography of Strabo*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967, 17, and cf. STR. VII 7, 11 C 328; VIII 3, 12 C 343; VIII 3, 29 C 353; IX 3, 16 C 424; IX 5, 8 C 433; IX 5, 22 C 443; XIII 4, 11 C 628; cf. XIII 1, 19 C 589; compare MEINEKE 1852, 58. For (b), see RADT (ed.) 2003, 137, and cf. STR. VI 3, 6 C 282; X 3, 11 C 468, 17, 1, 10 C 795, cf. I 2, 11 C 21. In general, on homonymy of place names in ancient scholarship, see F. SCHIRONI, *The Best of the Grammarians: Aristarchus of Samothrace on the Iliad*, Ann Arbor 2018, 298-9.

¹⁶ E. LEICHTY (ed.), *Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria* (680-669 BC), Winona Lake, Ind. 2011, 23 (= no. 1 column V, line 68): LUGAL URU.ta-me-si. See also A.M. BAGG, *Die Orts- und Gewässeramen der neuassyrischen Zeit. Teil I: Die Levante = Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*, vol. 7/1, Wiesbaden 2007, 247-8, with similar forms in other Assyrian inscriptions. I am grateful to Frances Reynolds for this reference and for discussion of the form.

¹⁷ For the forms Ταμασσός and Τάμασος, see E. OBERHUMMER, *s. v. Tamassos*, in *RE* IV A 2 1932, coll. 2095-2098, at 2095, 8-10. For forms alternating between single and double sigma in Homer, see P. CHANTRAINE, *Grammaire homérique* vol. I *Phonétique et morphologie*, Paris 1988⁶, I 179.

There does not seem to be any independent evidence (independent, that is, of the exegetical tradition of *Od.* I 184) for any first-declension form of the Cyprian city name or for any form of that name beginning with Τεμ- or Τεμεσ-¹⁸. The attested forms for the Italian city are Τεμέση and (later) Τέμψα; the form Ταμέση is only doubtfully attested by Stephanus of Byzantium (τ 10). Of course, it is hard to be fully confident about what form either place name might have been capable of taking in Homer¹⁹.

A degree of clarity can be attained as to what the transmitted reading(s) is (are) at *Od.* I 184. Stephanus' sentence ἐντεῦθεν τινες γράφουσιν “ἐς Ταμάσην (better: Τάμασον)²⁰ μετὰ χαλκόν”, ἀπιθάνως· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ταμέση πόλις τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ποταμός may be recognized as an example of what W. J. Slater has called the «learned proposal»²¹. On this scenario, an ancient scholar takes exception to an unfamiliar word in the text and proposes to replace it with a familiar one; other scholars react by rejecting the proposal and justifying the unfamiliar word²². Conservatism in matters of textual criticism would then be the motive for scholars' holding out for the transmitted reading, Τεμέσην²³. It is hard even to be sure that any ancient scholar ever put Ταμάσην (or Τάμασον) in the text of the *Odyssey*, given that the phrase τινὲς γράφουσιν is capable of referring just to the commentary tradition; the word γράφουσι can also be used for «understand a reference to x», without any alternative reading being implied²⁴. Accordingly, the following reconstruction is plausible: ancient readers found Τεμέσην in the text; it caused perplexity to some scholars, which they proposed to solve by supposing that a reference to Cyprian Tamas(s)os was intended; and they raised further the thought that Homer may in fact have written Τάμασον²⁵; to this, other scholars retorted that the transmitted text should stand, a reference to Italian Temesa being unproblematic. The whole ζήτημα presupposes that Cyprian Tamassos was much more familiar as source of copper ore than Italian Temesa. It is hard to see how the scholarly controversy could ever have arisen either if there had been

¹⁸ Compare EUSTATH. on *Od.* I 185, Stallbaum I 46, 33-4 τὴν μέντοι ἐν Κύπρῳ Τεμέσην, Τάμασον ἀξιούσι διὰ τοῦ α οἱ παλαιοὶ λέγεσθαι.

¹⁹ STR. XII 3, 20 C 549-50 discusses the lability of place names.

²⁰ See above, p. 10 and n. 6.

²¹ See W.J. SLATER, *Problems in Interpreting Scholia on Greek Texts*, in J.N. Grant (ed.), *Editing Greek and Latin Texts*, Papers given at the Twenty-Third Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 6-7 November 1987, New York 1989, 37-61, at 44-6, 51 (on the phrase τινὲς γράφουσιν). I am grateful to Enrico Prodi for this reference.

²² Note also SLATER 1989, 49-50: «The readiness with which some readings are dismissed by the ancients seems to me no small indication of their status [*sc.* as proposed conjectures]... It is not reasonable to believe that they took such answers [*sc.* to interpretative problems] for the most part in other than the spirit in which they were offered».

²³ For textual critical conservatism in ancient scholarship, compare STR. XII 3, 22 C 550; see R. PFEIFFER, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginning to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford 1968, 173-4; SLATER 1989, 51-2.

²⁴ SLATER 1989, 51.

²⁵ Taking the Ταμάσην / Τάμασιν / Ταμέσην in the mss. of STEPH. BYZ. τ 10 to be in error for Τάμασον.

a transmitted reading Τάμασον (which would then have been bound to prevail over the more obscure alternative Τεμέσην) or if there was a form of the place name (whether Τεμέση, Ταμέση, Ταμάση, or something else) that was truly ambiguous between the Italian and the Cyprian cities (in which case again the Cyprian alternative was surely bound to win out). We should therefore hesitate to call Τάμασον (or Ταμάσην, etc.) an «ancient variant» for Τεμέσην²⁶. It should be regarded as having (at best) the status of a conjecture, one both supported and rejected in ancient scholarship, but never, as far as we know, introduced into the text.

There is an illuminating parallel for the argument in Strabo XII 3, 20-4 C 549-52, discussing *Il.* II 856-7:

αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον
τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη

And the leaders of the *Halizōnes* / *Halizōnoi* were Hodios and Epistophos from afar, from Alybe, where silver has its origin.

Strabo, convinced that this contingent of Trojan allies, the Ἀλιζώνοι from Ἀλύβη, were to be identified with the Χάλυβες who lived south of the Black Sea, proposed two solutions: either to emend the transmitted ἐξ Ἀλύβης to ἐκ Χαλύβης or, without emending, to regard Ἀλύβη as an early form of Χαλύβη (XII 3, 20 C 549)²⁷, (comparably, with *Od.* I 184, there are the alternative options of emending the transmitted Τεμέσην to Τάμασον or, without emending, of seeing Τεμέση as an early form for Ταμασσός). Strabo deploys two further arguments relevant to ancient arguments for the identification of Τεμέση (XII 3, 22 C 551). First, the respect afforded to the transmitted text: Strabo objects to other scholars' interpretations that it involves their «tampering with the transmitted text» (τὴν ἀρχαίαν γραφήν... κινεῖν) (comparably, with *Od.* I 184, to take Τεμέσην as referring to Cyprian Tamassos would involve tampering with the text, in the sense either of emending it or of supposing that Homer meant Ταμασσόν when he said Τεμέσην). Second, the use of corroborative «archaeological» evidence: Strabo criticizes other scholars for not «indicating the silver mines» (οὔτε τὰ ἀργυρεῖα δεικνύουσιν) that the Homeric text presupposes (*Il.* II 857 ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη) at the places that they would identify with Alybe²⁸ (comparably, with *Od.* I 184, Strabo attaches positive weight to the fact that «mines are indicated in the vicinity» of Italian Temesa: δεικνυται χαλκουργεῖα πλησίον).

²⁶ Pace S.R. WEST 1988, 100; MELE 2009, 79-101, 85.

²⁷ If Strabo supported a Black Sea location for the *Halizōnes* / *Halizōnoi* out of local patriotism (CAMASSA 1984, 14; S. RADT (ed.), *Strabons Geographika* Band 7 *Buch IX-XIII: Kommentar*, Göttingen 2008, 371-2; A. TRACHSEL, *Strabo and the Homeric Commentators*, in D. DUECK (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Strabo*, London-New York 2017, 263-75, at 266), that motivation remains entirely implicit here.

²⁸ The mining could be historical rather than ongoing: the mines at Pharnakia that Strabo would identify with the silver mines of Alybe implied by *Il.* II 857 are only iron mines in Strabo's day (XII 3, 19 C 549). Likewise, the bronze/copper mines Strabo recognizes in the vicinity of Temesa are historical, «exhausted» in his own day.

Whichever city is referred to in *Od.* I 184, it must have been familiar in Homer's day as a source of copper ore, or it must at least have been credible as a source of copper ore for the heroic period. The island of Cyprus was synonymous with copper (*aes cuprium*), and Tamassos in particular was important in the early copper trade²⁹. By contrast, it is unclear whether Temesa in Italy was a source of copper ore³⁰. In general, Greek overseas interests in Italy in the 8th century BCE were motivated by the trade in metal ores³¹. However, the archaeological evidence of mining and the geological evidence of copper ore at Italian Temesa are contested³². The textual evidence, on the other hand, is abundant; but it must be sifted critically³³. Let us start with Strabo VI 1, 5 C 255-6 (already cited above, p. 11):

ταύτης δὲ τῆς Τεμέσης φασὶ μεμνησθαι τὸν ποιητὴν... καὶ δείκνυται χαλκουργεῖα πλησίον,
ἃ νῦν ἐκλέλειπται

They say that Homer mentions this Temesa... and mines are indicated nearby, which have now been abandoned.

Strabo evidently believes in the existence of these mines at Temesa, to which he returns at XII 3, 23 C 551. Who is the implied agent of the passive form δείκνυται? Probably, Homeric scholars, whom we may infer also to be the implied subject of the preceding φασί³⁴. The identification of Temesa was therefore disputed in Homeric scholarship before Strabo³⁵.

²⁹ STR. XIV 6, 5 C 684 μέταλλά τε χαλκοῦ ἔστιν ἄφθονα τὰ ἐν Ταμασσῶ. For the archaeological evidence, see V. KASSIANIDOU, «*And at Tamassos there are important mines of copper...*» (Strabo, *Geography*, 14.6.5), «*Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*» 34, 2004, 33-46.

³⁰ Temesa was colonized by (Aetolian) Greeks from the sixth century BCE: before that it was allegedly an Ausonian settlement (STR. VI 1, 5 C 255; see G. F. LA TORRE, *Temesa, Fondazione degli Ausoni* (Strabo VI, 1, 5), in *Studi di protostoria in onore di Renato Peroni*, Firenze 2006, 532-9); a non-Greek settlement at Temesa at the time of Odysseus' *nostos* is assumed in the legend of the 'Hero of Temesa' (PAUS. VI 6, 7-11, etc.). It follows that the name Temese used at *Od.* I 184 will have been that of the pre-Greek city (or rather Tempa: MELE 2009, 85), then taken over by the Greek colonists (as with Gela, Zankle, Taras, Metapontium: T.J. DUNBABIN, *The Western Greeks. The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 BC*, Oxford 1948, 189; E. RISCH, *Ein Gang durch die griechischen Ortsnamen*, «*MH*» 22, 4, 1965, 193-205, at 195).

³¹ E.g. J. BOARDMAN, *The Greeks Overseas*, Harmondsworth 1964, 210; W. BURKERT, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, Cambridge, Mass. 2012, 12, with 159 n. 14.

³² See M. GUARASCIO, *Un contributo di dati e metodi della ricerca geomineraria in archeologia: il caso di Temesa*, in G. Maddoli, (ed.), *Temesa e il suo territorio*, Atti del colloquio di Perugia e Trevi (30-31 maggio 1981), Taranto 1982, 125-42. In favour: e.g. P. ORSI, *Nocera Tirinese. Ricerche al Piano della Tirrena sede dell'antica Nuceria*, in *Notizie degli scavi* 1916, 335-62, at 359. Against, e.g. H. PHILIPP, *s. v. Temesa*, in *RE V A 1* 1934, coll. 459-60, at 459, 56-66. It has been proposed that Temesa was a *entrepôt* (LORIMER 1950, 121); that is not the position, however, taken by ancient authors (Strabo, etc.), who insist on historical mines in Temesa.

³³ Insufficiently critical is J. K. PAPADOPOULOS, *Temesa*, in M. Fingelberg (ed.), *Homer Encyclopedia*, Vols. I-III, Malden, Mass. 2011, 845.

³⁴ See, in general on Strabo and Homeric scholarship, TRACHSEL 2017.

³⁵ A.M. BIRASCHI *Aspetti e problemi della più antica storia di Temesa nella tradizione letteraria*, in G. Maddoli (ed.) 1982, 29-39, at 30: «La questione della identificazione di Temesa dunque si era posta

There is an excellent parallel for our use of δείκνυται at Strabo XII 3, 23 C 551 (on the question of the location of Alybe at *Il.* II 857): οὔτε τὰ ἀργυρεῖα δεικνύουσιν, «these scholars do not show the silver mines» (Strabo has specific, named scholars – Menekrates and Palaiphatos – in mind). It thus appears that our δείκνυται implies, not that Strabo was shown the depleted mines near Temesa by some local *cicerone*, but rather that scholars in Homeric commentaries adverted to the existence of historic mines near Temesa³⁶. Strabo, in other words, may not have seen these mines for himself³⁷.

More or less contemporaneously with Strabo, we have three references in Ovid to either «the mines of Temesa» or to «bronze / copper from Temesa.» At *Metamorphoses* XV 707 *Temeseque metalla*, the context leaves it in no doubt that the Italian city is meant. It is natural to suppose that the same Italian city is understood at *Metamorphoses* V 207-8 *Temesaea... aera* and *Fasti* V 441 *Temesaeaque... aera*. However, if Temesa was not actively producing copper in Strabo's time (VI 1, 5 C 256 ἄ νῦν ἐκλέλειπται), then it was not in Ovid's either. These Ovidian references appear to exploit the reader's knowledge either of the existence of defunct mines near Temesa or of a poetic or a critical tradition which spoke of mines at Temesa. What these references do not do in any straightforward way is attest a reality of mining or metal-working at Temesa.

We also find several references in Statius. At *Silvae* I 1, 41-2, in the description of Domitian's bronze statue, we read:

pectora, quae mundi ualeant euoluere curas
et quis se totis Temese dedit hausta metallis.

... a chest capable of turning over the cares of the world,
and for which Temese gave herself exhausted with all her mines.

These lines allude to the notion that there are exhausted mines at Temesa (as Strabo VI 1, 5 C 256); clearly Italian Temesa is intended. Domitian's statue is wittily made into an *aition* for the exhausted mines of Temesa. Once again, however, the conceit no more pertains to a metal-working reality than does the obviously fictionalized-mythologized hyperbole of lines 3-4 of the same poem: *Siculis an conformata caminis / effigies lassum Steropen Brontenque reliquit?*, «or did the effigy, moulded in Sicilian furnaces, leave Steropes and Brontes weary?» (translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey). Further references by Statius to «bronze / copper of Temesa» are *Silvae* I 5, 47-8 *nusquam Temesaea notabis / aera* («nowhere [*sc.* in the baths of Claudius Etruscus] will you notice Temesan copper») and *Achilleid* I 413 *aera domat Temese* («Temese tames [*i.e.* smithies] bronze», *sc.* for the Trojan War).

già nell'ambito della esegesi omerica». The dispute may predate Callimachus (*Aetia* 85, 10 Harder); see below, p. 17.

³⁶ Thus the discussion of *Od.* I 184 in Str. VI 1, 5 C 256 will not be an example of «local communities interpreting the [Homeric] text in their own way» (J.L. LIGHTFOOT, *Man of Many Voices and of Much Knowledge; or, In Search of Strabo's Homer*, in D. Dueck, (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Strabo*, London-New York 2017, 251-62, at 252).

³⁷ On Strabo's use of δείκνυται, see especially D. DUECK, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*, London 2000, 23.

Evidently we are by this time (Ovid, Statius) dealing with a topos in Latin poetry. Temesa has become quasi-formulaically associated with bronze / copper, the association having become a self-perpetuating idea, detached from any necessary reference to any known on-the-ground reality. In the hands of these Latin poets, moreover, what was perhaps a longstanding ζήτημα (geographical and textual) of Hellenistic Homeric scholarship presumably becomes infused with the additional zest of Italian patriotic sentiment.

An important precedent for the phrase *Temesaea... aera* in the Latin poets is Callimachus' possible use of the phrase *Τεμεσαίων... [χαλκό]ν* (*Aetia* 85, 10 Harder), though the supplement is far from certain. This Temesa is again very likely the Italian city: the verse belongs to the *aition* of Euthyklus' statue in Locri, so the narrative setting is a South Italian one³⁸. We might assume that Callimachus, savvy to the scholarly controversy over *Od.* I 184, wished to lend his support implicitly to the identification of Homer's *Τεμέση* with Italian Temesa.

Things may be otherwise with Lycophron's mention of a *Ταμάσσιον κρατήρα* (*Alexandra* 854), dedicated by Menelaos at the shrine of Athena Skyletria in South Italy: probably, «a bronze mixing-bowl», with *Ταμάσσιος* being used metonymically for «bronze, brazen»³⁹. Even though the form *Τεμεσαίος* with its two consecutive light syllables would have been less suited to Lycophron's trimeter, it is not plausible that Lycophron's use of the form *Ταμάσσιον* is just prosodically determined⁴⁰. If it is correct that the name of the Italian city was always *Τεμέση*, with derivations in *Τεμεσ-*, and that the name of the Cyprian city was always *Ταμασ(σ)ος*, with derivations in *Ταμασ-*, then Lycophron's phrase should imply that he (seemingly in opposition to Callimachus) wished to lend his support to the reading *ἐς Τάμασον μετὰ χαλκόν* at *Od.* I 184 or, at least, that he wished to see a reference to Cyprian Tamassos as being intended there⁴¹. The dedication of this «mixing-bowl of Tamassian bronze» in a temple in Southern Italy might be seen as a deliberate intertextual irony in a long tradition of scholarly and poetic exchanges on this question.

It is time to summarize a convoluted argument. There is no evidence that the Homeric text ever had any other form than *Τεμέσην* at *Od.* I 184, and no evidence that *Τεμέση* was ever a possible form of the Cyprian city Tamassos. That already constitutes a powerful argument in favour of seeing a reference to the Italian city. All things being equal (which, it seems, they are not) it would be natural to prefer a reference to a city that was famous

³⁸ See G.B. D'ALESSIO (ed.), *Callimaco: Aitia, Giambi e altri frammenti*, Milan 1996, 499 n. 102; A. HARDER, *Callimachus Aetia: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Vol. 2. *Commentary*, Oxford 2012, 75; cf. E. SISTAKOU, *Kallimachos als Homererklärer: Das Beispiel der geographischen Namen, «WS»* 115, 2002, 145-73, at 167.

³⁹ Differently, Lycophron's *Ταμάσσιον* is usually understood more literally and geographically: M.L. WEST, *The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics*, Oxford 2013, 272: «from Cyprus»; S.J. HORNBLLOWER, *Lycophron: Alexandra. Greek text, Translation, Commentary, and Introduction*, Oxford 2015, 329: «from Tamassos». Compare Euphorion fr. 10 Lightfoot *κελέβην Ἄλυβηίδα*, «silver cup» (literally, «cup from Alybe»), making a learned allusion to *Il.* II 857, where Alybe is «the origin of silver».

⁴⁰ On Lycophron and metrical resolution, see HORNBLLOWER 2015, 2 n. 7.

⁴¹ Compare EUSTATH. on *Od.* I 185, Stallbaum I 46, 33-4. Differently, SISTAKOU 2002, 167.

for copper mines over one that was not. Cyprian Tamassos was surely known for copper mining; both archaeology and literary texts testify to its importance as a source of copper ore. The fame of Italian Temesa for copper mining is more problematic. It rests, above all, on literary texts that allude to defunct historical (heroic-age) copper mines near Temesa (Strabo VI 1, 5 C 256; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV 707; Statius I 1, 42). Many of these texts are compromised by their evident desire to support and perpetuate a particular exegetical tradition of *Od.* I 184, probably reinforced, in the case of the Latin poets, by patriotic sentiment⁴². From Strabo VI 1, 5 C 256 we can at least infer that someone before the first century BCE observed what they felt able to claim as evidence of historical mining of metal ore near Temesa. But that second-hand claim, along with its refractions in Ovid and Statius, is the closest we get to evidence for the reality of mining in Temesa. The upshot appears to be that, while we can say categorically that Cyprian Tamassos was a source for copper ore trade in the relevant period, we cannot so easily say of Italian Temesa either that it was or that it was not⁴³.

There are, however, methodological problems with simply preferring to see a reference to the locality (most) famous for its copper mines. This approach assumes that *Od.* I 184 simply reflects the historical reality of the metal ore trade and proceeds to map the Homeric verse onto the best-attested historical reality. It does not take account of the fact that Mentès' Taphian homeland lies (probably)⁴⁴ to the west of the Greek mainland, very near Ithaca, whither "Mentès" detours – making a western trading route (to Italy) more natural than an eastern one (to Cyprus)⁴⁵. Nor does it take account of the possibility that the poet may have had poetic reasons for making reference to Italian Temesa as "Mentès'" destination (we shall consider such in section 6).

Two more minor considerations have been urged in favour of seeing a reference to Italian Temesa⁴⁶. First, the phrase ἐπ' ἄλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους (183): the inhabitants of

⁴² A desire to exalt Rome may not be absent from Strabo either: e.g. DUECK 2000, 85-96, 107-15, 159-60.

⁴³ Strabo's report of copper mines at Temesa is taken seriously by R.J. FORBES, *Metallurgy in Antiquity: A Notebook for Archaeologists and Technologists*, Leiden 1950, 304: «Italy had several copper mines» – which tended to be exhausted at different rates.

⁴⁴ The argument is complicated by the fact that the provenance of the Taphians is not securely known (S.R. WEST 1988: 88 supposes that it was «some distance away», *sc.* from Ithaca; A.M. BOWIE, *Homer Odyssey Books XIII and XIV*, Cambridge 2013, 222 that it was «not far away», compare H. THOMAS – F.H. STUBBINGS, *Lands and Peoples in Homer*, in A.J.B. WACE – F.H. STUBBINGS (eds.), *A Companion to Homer*, London 1962, 283-310, at 308). The most plausible ancient identification is with the island of 'Taphios' (i.e. Meganisi): STR. X 2, 12 C 20; compare *Barrington Atlas*, 54 C4. For the present argument, it would make no difference if it was identified with Cephallenia or with the Echinades.

⁴⁵ I. MALKIN, *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity*, Berkeley – London 1998, 72-3; compare EUSTATH. on *Od.* I 185, Stallbaum I 46, 21-2.

⁴⁶ M. MANFREDI GIGLIOTTI, *TEMΨΑ-TEMEΣΗ: Memorie storiche sull'antica città di Temesa, con particolare riguardo all'individuazione del suo sito*, Cosenza 1994, 13-16 argues in favour of a reference to Italian Temesa on the basis that the exchange envisaged by "Mentès" at *Od.* I 184 cannot be of one met-

Italy seem more likely to be described as «speaking differently» (that is, from Greeks)⁴⁷ than those of Cyprus⁴⁸. Second, the expression 183-4 πλέων... / ἐς Τεμέσῃν is argued to suit better a coastal city, such as Italian Temesa, than a landlocked one, such as Cyprian Tamassos⁴⁹. It is hard to know what weight to attach to these considerations. Probably neither deserves as much respect as the likelihood, first, that the only transmitted reading is Τεμέσῃν and, second, that this form is convincingly attested only for the Italian city.

The balance of probability tips towards seeing a reference to the Italian city precisely because the transmitted reading is Τεμέσῃν and because this form is convincingly attested only for the Italian city. The following tables summarize the different forms found in the texts discussed in this section (note: no attempt is made here to catalogue all mentions in Greek of Cyprian Tamas(s)os or of Italian Temesa / Tempsa).

Table 1: Forms of the name of the Cyprian city

Source	Form
Assyrian inscriptions	<i>Tamosos</i>
? Lyc. <i>Alex.</i> 854	Ταμάσσ- (reference to the Cyprian city is uncertain)
STR. VI 1, 5 C 255-6	Ταμασσός
STEPH. BYZ. τ 10	Ταμασ-: variants Ταμάσῃν, Τάμασιν, and Ταμέσῃν (an erroneous form?)
EUSTATH. I 46, 33-4 Stallbaum	Τάμασος
<i>Schol. Od.</i> I 184 (a1 Pontani)	Τεμέσῃ (the result of confused reporting in the scholion?)

al ore (iron) for another (copper), as would be the case at Cyprian Tamassos, but rather of iron ore for *worked* copper at Italian Temesa – which he argues was renowned for its *working*, rather than its *mining*, of copper. The texts, however, speak of (exhausted) *mines* at Temesa: STR. VI 1, 5 C 256 χαλκουργεῖα... ἃ νῦν ἐκλείπτται; STAT. *Silv.* I 1, 42: *Temese... hausta metallis*.

⁴⁷ It is debated whether the Taphian Mentēs is himself Greek or non-Greek (for the former, see e.g. M.L. WEST, *The Making of the Odyssey*, Oxford 2014, 244; for the latter, e.g. S.R. WEST 1988, 88). If he is non-Greek, then ἄλλοθρόους will be understood from perspective of the (Greek) narratee, not that of the (non-Greek) speaking character (cf. VERG. *Aen.* II 504 *barbarico*, with R.G. AUSTIN (ed.), *P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos liber secundus*, Oxford 1964, 195).

⁴⁸ It is true that languages other than Greek were spoken on Cyprus (PULLEYN (ed.) 2019, 157; cf. also H.W. NORDHEIDER, Τεμέσῃ, in B. Snell *et al.* (eds.), *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, XXII, Göttingen 2008, 394, 40-43). However, “Mentes” stress on this point presents Temesa as a more ‘foreign’ location than Cyprus is likely to have been perceived as being: see CRIELAARD 1995, 233; G. F. LA TORRE, *Venticinque anni dopo Temesa ed il suo territorio: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca*, in G.F. La Torre (ed.) 2009, 9-37, at 15 n. 11.

⁴⁹ Cf. STEPH. BYZ. τ 10 (*sc.* Τάμασος) πόλις Κύπρου, ἐν μεσογαίᾳ. MALKIN 1998, 73 «Cypriot Tamassos... is not a port»; MELE 2009, 85. Differently, S.R. WEST 1988, 100. Note that those maritime