

# CADMO

---

REVISTA DE HISTÓRIA ANTIGA  
JOURNAL FOR ANCIENT HISTORY

26



CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA DA UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA  
2017



**CADMO**

REVISTA DE HISTÓRIA ANTIGA  
JOURNAL FOR ANCIENT HISTORY





**CADMO**  
REVISTA DE HISTÓRIA ANTIGA  
JOURNAL FOR ANCIENT HISTORY

**26**

**Editor Principal | Editor-in-chief**  
Nuno Simões Rodrigues

**CH**  
CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA

Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa

2017



**CADMO**  
REVISTA DE HISTÓRIA ANTIGA  
JOURNAL FOR ANCIENT HISTORY

**Editor Principal | Editor-in-chief**  
Nuno Simões Rodrigues

**Editores Adjuntos | Co-editors**  
Amílcar Guerra, Luís Manuel de Araújo

**Assistentes de Edição | Editorial Assistants**  
Ana Catarina Almeida, Catarina Pinto, Daniela Dantas, Maria Fernandes, Martim Aires Horta

**Revisão Editorial | Copy-Editing**  
Daniela Dantas, Martim Aires Horta

**Revisão Ortográfica | Proofreading**  
Maria Fernandes, Martim Aires Horta

#### **Redacção | Redactional Committee**

Amílcar Guerra (Universidade de Lisboa), Ana Catarina Almeida (Universidade de Lisboa), António Ramos dos Santos (Universidade de Lisboa), Armando Norte (Universidade de Coimbra), Cláudia Teixeira (Universidade de Évora), Elisa de Sousa (Universidade de Lisboa), Francisco Borrego Gallardo (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), Francisco Gomes (Universidade de Lisboa), José das Candeias Soares (Universidade Aberta), Loïc Borgies (Université libre de Bruxelles), Luís Manuel de Araújo (Universidade de Lisboa), Maria Ana Valdez (Universidade de Évora), Nuno Simões Rodrigues (Universidade de Lisboa), Rogério Sousa (Universidade de Lisboa), Saana Svärđ (University of Helsinki), Susan Deacy (University of Roehampton), Suzana Schwartz (Universidade de São Paulo), Telo Ferreira Canhã, (Universidade de Lisboa)

#### **Comissão Científica | Editorial and Scientific Board**

Antonio Loprieno (Universität Basel), Delfim Leão (Universidade de Coimbra), Eva Cantarella (Università degli Studi di Milano), Giulia Sissa, (University of California, Los Angeles), John J. Collins (Yale University), Johan Kanings (Faculdade Jesuíta de Filosofia e Teologia de Belo Horizonte), José Augusto Ramos (Universidade de Lisboa), José Manuel Roldán Hervás (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), José Ribeiro Ferreira (Universidade de Coimbra), Josep Padró (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), Juan Pablo Vita (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas - Madrid), Judith P.Hallett (University of Maryland), Julia Treballe (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), Ken Dowden (University of Birmingham), Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (University of Edinburgh), Maria Cristina de Sousa Pimentel (Universidade de Lisboa), Maria de Fátima Sousa e Silva (Universidade de Coimbra), Marta González González (Universidad de Málaga), Monica Silveira Cyrino (University of New Mexico)

#### **Conselho de Arbitragem para o presente número | Peer reviewers for the current issue**

Amílcar Guerra (Universidade de Lisboa), Ana Margarida Arruda (Universidade de Lisboa), Antonio Loprieno (Universität Basel), Carlos Alcalde Martín (Universidad de Málaga), Christian Greco (Museo Egizio di Torino), Cristina Guidotti (Museo Egizio di Frieze), Daniel Justel (Universidad Eclesiástica San Dámaso), Elisa de Sousa (Universidade de Lisboa), Gustavo Vivas García (Universidad de La Laguna), José Augusto Ramos (Universidade de Lisboa), Luísa de Nazaré Ferreira (Universidade de Coimbra), João Manuel Nunes Torrão (Universidade de Aveiro), Martin Dinter (King's College London), Maria Cristina de Sousa Pimentel (Universidade de Lisboa), Marta González González, (Universidad de Málaga), Nathan Morello (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München), Paulo Simões Rodrigues (Universidade de Évora), Ricardo Duarte (Universidade de Lisboa), Rogério Sousa (Universidade de Lisboa)

**Editora | Publisher**  
Centro de História Press | 2017

**Concepção Gráfica | Graphic Design**  
Bruno Fernandes

**Periodicidade:** Anual  
**ISSN:** 0871-9527  
**eISSN:** 2183-7937  
**Depósito Legal:** 54539/92  
**Tiragem:** 150 exemplares  
**P.V.P.:** €10,00

#### **Cadmo - Revista de História Antiga | Journal for Ancient History**

Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa | Centre for History of the University of Lisbon  
Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa | School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon  
Cidade Universitária - Alameda da Universidade, 1600 - 214 LISBOA / PORTUGAL  
Tel.: (+351) 21 792 00 00 (Extension: 11610) | Fax: (+351) 21 796 00 63  
cadmo.journal@letras.ulisboa.pt  
www.centrodehistoria.flul.com/cadmo



This work is funded by national funds through FCT - Foundation for Science and Technology, under project UID/HIS/04311/2013 and project PEST-OE/SADG/UI0289/2014.

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

# SUMÁRIO

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### 09 EDITORIAL

### 13 AUTORES CONVIDADOS

*GUEST ESSAYS*

#### 15 SOTERIOLOGIA ÓRFICA

*ORPHIC SOTERIOLOGY*

Alberto Bernabé

#### 37 ALEXANDRE O EXPLORADOR DE UM MUNDO NOVO

*ALEXANDER, THE EXPLORER OF A NEW WORLD*

Maria de Fátima Sousa e Silva

### 55 ESTUDOS

*ARTICLES*

#### 57 EXAMINING THE DESIGN, STYLE AND LAYOUT OF THE INNER COFFIN FROM A.60 IN THE FLORENCE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

Rogério Sousa

#### 81 WHO IS COUNTING? APPRECIATING THE PEER, DESPISING THE OTHER. Social relationships in Homeric Communities from an alterity study

Barbara Alvarez Rodriguez

#### 119 AQUILES E ÁJAX: A 'Poiesis' da alteridade na Ânfora de Exéquias

*ACHILLES AND AJAX:*

*The 'poiesis' of Alterity in Exekias' Amphora*

Ana Rita Figueira

#### 141 XANTHIPPOS OF LAECEDEMONIA: A foreign commander in The army of Carthage

Daniela Dantas

161 SÉNECA E AS ARTES LIBERAIS

*SENECA AND THE LIBERAL ARTS*

Paulo Sérgio Ferreira

197 TRA OMBRE E LUCI, OVVERO DEL REGRESSO  
E DEL PROGRESSO IN ETÀ NERONIANA.

Prolegomena a uno studio interdisciplinare  
del principato di Nerone, alla luce del contributo filosofico senecano.

*REGRESS AND PROGRESS IN THE NERONIAN AGE.*

*Prolegomena to an interdisciplinary analysis  
of the Neronian Age, in light of Seneca's philosophical contribution.*

Carlotta Montagna

**211 NOTAS E COMENTÁRIOS**

*COMMENTS AND ESSAYS*

213 A BÍBLIA EM PORTUGAL

*THE BIBLE IN PORTUGAL*

José Augusto Ramos

**221 RECENSÕES**

*REVIEWS*

**259 IN MEMORIAM**

**287 POLÍTICAS EDITORIAIS E NORMAS DE SUBMISSÃO**

*JOURNAL POLICIES AND STYLE GUIDELINES*







**RECENSÕES**  
**REVIEWS**

la forman el capítulo de Emily Wilson, “Trends in Greek Literature in the Academy” (cap. 32), centrado en la situación actual de la literatura griega y los estudios clásicos especialmente, aunque no solo, en el mundo académico norteamericano, y Edith Hall, “Reception of Ancient Greek Literature and Western Identity” (cap. 33), que analiza el impacto de esa tradición al margen de la academia.

El *Companion to Greek Literature* editado por Blackwell es un manual de consulta imprescindible para cualquier estudioso interesado en la literatura griega. Como se señala en la introducción, no estamos ante una “Historia de la Literatura”, por lo que habrá datos concretos que no aparezcan y para los que los manuales tradicionales sigan siendo útiles y recomendables, sino ante un sugerente y sólido compañero con el que transitar nuevos caminos y contemplar los textos antiguos desde nuevas perspectivas.

**Marta González González**

*Universidad de Málaga*

**JAN N. BREMMER** (2014), *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*, Münchner Vorlesungen zu Antiken Welten – Herausgegeben vom Münchner Zentrum für Antike Welten (MZAW). Berlin, Walter De Gruyter, 256 pp. ISBN 978-3-11-029929-8 (Hardcover: €64.95; Open Access).

When one analyses the peculiarities of the Greek and Roman religious *phenomena*, it is almost impossible not to take in account the aspect of *initiation* and *mystery*. Jan N. Bremmer, since the very beginning of his work, makes clear the purpose of his study: to delineate the importance and the diffusion of the mysteries, especially for those cults in which the initiatory element is preponderant and, from a diachronic point of view, characterizes the impact the Greek religion had on the Roman empire, until the advent and the rise of Christianity.

The A. makes the reader feel like an adept participating in an initiatory ritual. Through a deductive method of proceeding, Bremmer first categorizes in the Preface the etymology of the word “mystery”, its characterization in the Greek and Roman worlds and a synthetic but exhaustive history of scholarship from the beginning of the studies on the topic (early XVIIth century, with the Eleusinian Mysteries and the debate led by Huguenot Isaac Casaubon) until the explosion of the study trend. With particular regard to the Eastern cults, the studies on the matter take a decisive step at the beginning of the XXth century, with the publication of *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* by Franz Cumont, arriving at one of the most important works on the topic in the modern era, Burkert’s *Ancient Mystery Cults* (1987). After this general overview, the A. focuses his attention on the specific characteristics of the main mystery religions.

In Chapter I, a “thin description” of the initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries serves the purpose of delineating the development of this cult all throughout Antiquity. He describes the different steps necessary to become an adept, including preparation, qualifications and a digression on the three stages of the initiation (*myésis*, *epopteia*, aftermath). The author collects Greek and Roman *loci*, reporting ancient *formulae* and rituals performed during the initiation, fees and obligations of the participants, dances and expectations, social context and afterlife.

Once analyzed the most known mysteries in Greece, Bremmer, in Chapter II, moves his focus

to the second most important, which are found in the island of Samothrace. With basis on the literary and archaeological evidence, the A. first makes a comparison with the Eleusinian Mysteries, then shows the characteristics of the cult, the recurrent presence of a divine triad (one female and two males) and the presence of the “enigmatic gods” called Kabeiroi. He tracks the Greek stories connected to the cult of the deities and their likely presence in the mysteries of Samothrace, the evidences connected to the Imbrian Mysteries, where the gods appear, and the study of the myths related to it, which leads to a comparison with the presence of the same worship also in Lemnos and Thebes. The last part is dedicated to the presence of the Korybantes and their role in public and private cults, especially in the islands of Rhodes and Kos and their diffusion to Ionia, Crete and Athens in the later fifth century BC. Bremmer gives a detailed explanation of the rituals and the sacrificial rites connected to the cult, which eventually becomes solely private, unlike in Samothrace, Lemnos and Pergamon, where the mysteries are part of the religion of State.

In the third chapter the origin and the development of the Orphism and Orphic-Bacchic Mysteries are deeply studied, first through the analysis of the figure of Orpheus, then by focusing on the evidence related to the Orphism in strict sense. Considering the Orphic poems (one of the oldest appears interesting, mentioning the Orphic *katabasis*, which Eduard Norden uses for the basis of Aeneid VI) and the Orphic *Theogony*, of which it is considered a remarkable example the Derveni Papyrus, exalting the pre-eminence of the role of Zeus (likely in contrast with the homonym Hesiod's opera). It is also taken into consideration the Orphic *lifestyle*, the purity and vegetarianism, and the Orphic eschatology. The last section is dedicated to the peculiarities of the Orphic-Bacchic Mysteries, their origins and the study of the archaeological evidence - in this specific case, plaques - which show an evident connection between Orpheus and Dionysus and provide hints of possible performed rites and pronounced formulas during the ritual. There is also a mention here of musical instruments and ritual objects used during the performance.

Chapter IV represents a journey from Greece to the Roman Empire. Through the account of Pausanias, the presence of the mysteries in Arcadia is discussed, in particular in Lycosura, where he visited Despoina's sanctuary, in Andania (Messenia) and Hecate's on Aegina. The second part of the chapter is entirely dedicated to the spreading of mysteries in the Roman Empire, starting with the Dionysiac Mysteries, in the words of the A. “the most complicated Mysteries”, and analyzing their characteristics and impact on the Roman society and religious life.

Chapter V deals with the study of the mysteries of Isis and Mithra, insisting on the peculiar elements of both and their development (with changes of features) through Late Antiquity. This discussion leads to the role, expressed in the last chapter of the book, of the mysteries' influence on Christianity, with a focus on the scholarship of the XXth century, the evidence of pagan mysteries and the subsequent Christian reaction. The A. asks the reader whether the mysteries affected Early Christianity and he appears to be cautious as to acknowledge a direct influence of Christianity. It is necessary to consider, especially during Late Antiquity, a firm religious syncretism, where the mysteries were considered quite “normal”, but at the same time were slowly disappearing, also because of the radicalism of the last emperors. Considering, unlike Franz Cumont, their Graeco-Roman, rather than Oriental, origins some of the mysteries' features eventually got incorporated into the new religious system.

At the end, two Appendixes focus on two specific cases of mysteries in Antiquity: the first

one witnesses the presence of the cult of Demeter and Eleusis in Megara, with a convergence on the presence of temples of Demeter, the description of the festival *Thesmophoria* and finally the presence of the cult of Demeter Malophoros, not only in Megara, but also in Selinus and Selinuntum. The last appendix provides us with a description of Virgil's Underworld in Aeneid VI, divided in six parts (268–416; 417–547; 548–627; 628–636; 637–678; 679–887), through the study of the concept of afterlife found in the Orphic texts, in Pindar and Plato and also tracing back to Hellenistic-Jewish sources, as Alexander Polyhistor.

Mysteries represent a fundamental part of the Graeco-Roman tradition; they help us to better understand the world of Antiquity and the evolution of thought to this day. Fortunately, literary and archaeological evidences make them, in the contemporary era, a little less “mysterious”. For those who deal with this topic as novices, reading this book could be a systematic and at the same time agile approach to this complex and intriguing matter.

**Marco Alampi**

*Universidade de Lisboa*

*University of Praha*

**JORGE DESERTO & SUSANA DA HORA MARQUES PEREIRA, introdução, tradução e notas** (2016), *Estrabão. Geografia Livro III*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 127 pp. ISBN 978-989-26-1225-6 (€21.20)

Uma vez mais, a Imprensa e o Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos da Universidade de Coimbra (CECH), através da Série Diáita: Scripta & Realia – Estudos Monográficos, surpreenderam o público e, em particular, a comunidade académica, com a publicação em Novembro de 2016, do Livro III da *Geografia* de Estrabão.

Composta por dezassete livros, a *Geografia* colige os conhecimentos geográficos do mundo Greco-Romano do primeiro século da nossa era e o Livro III, inteiramente consagrado à Península Ibérica, é de particular importância para historiadores e arqueólogos que estudam a História Antiga peninsular. Numa narrativa que evoca as *Histórias* de Heródoto, Estrabão, que nunca visitou este recanto do Império, mas consultou as obras de autores como Éforo, Piteas de Massília, Eratóstenes, Heródoto, Timóstenes, Asclepiades, Políbio, Artemidoro ou Possidónio, sem esquecer a exegese por si feita às obras de Homero, Estesícoro, Anacreonte, Píndaro ou Ferécides, que localizaram no Extremo Ocidente alguns mitos gregos, apresenta uma preciosa e ampla descrição geográfica e histórica do mundo peninsular do seu tempo e de séculos anteriores. As informações de teor geográfico e cartográfico (distâncias, fronteiras naturais, rios, montanhas, vias de comunicação) foram complementadas com a etnografia (costumes, práticas religiosas e alimentares) e economia (recursos naturais e exportações para Roma) dos diferentes povos locais que são nomeados e identificados. Estrabão, que é também uma fonte importante para o estudo da colonização fenícia e grega na Península, ao citar as fundações que a tradição atribuía a cada povo, deixou a sua narrativa desaguar na chegada das legiões de Roma, cujo papel pacificador e civilizador não se cansou de notar ao longo



**CADMO**

REVISTA DE HISTÓRIA ANTIGA  
JOURNAL FOR ANCIENT HISTORY

# OBJECTIVOS E ÂMBITO

## AIMS AND SCOPE

A *Cadmo – Revista de História Antiga* publica estudos originais e ensaios relevantes de «estado da arte» em História Antiga e de culturas da Antiguidade. Além disso, tem como objectivo promover debates e discussões sobre uma ampla variedade de temas relacionados com a História Antiga, e aceita propostas relacionadas com o mundo do Próximo-Oriente antigo (Egipto, Mesopotâmia, Pérsia, Espaço Siro-Palestinense, Mundo Bíblico e Anatólia) e com o Mundo Clássico (Grécia, Roma e Mediterrâneo Antigo, incluindo a Antiguidade Tardia). São ainda considerados estudos sobre a recepção da Antiguidade e dos seus legados, historiografia, e investigações com enfoque em outras sociedades antigas (como as culturas indianas, extremo-asiáticas e mesoamericanas). A *Cadmo – Revista de História Antiga* não considera o conceito de «Antiguidade» como exclusivo da civilização ocidental, mas uma construção historiográfica essencial para a compreensão da História Global. Recensões críticas de obras recentes serão também considerados para publicação.

*Cadmo – Journal for Ancient History* publishes original and peer-reviewed studies and findings, as well as relevant “state of the art” review essays, on Ancient History and the study of Ancient cultures. It aims to promote debate and discussion on a wide variety of subjects and welcomes contributions related to the Ancient Near-Eastern World (Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Syro-Palestine area and Anatolia) and to the Classical World (Greece, Rome and the Ancient Mediterranean, including Late Antiquity). Studies on the reception of Antiquity and its cultural productions, historiography of the Ancient World, as well as submissions focusing on other Ancient societies (such as the Indian, Asian or Mesoamerican cultures) are also accepted. This journal does not consider the concept of Antiquity to be a notion restricted to western civilisation and its heritage, but an essential historiographic construct for our understanding of Global History. Reviews of recently published on the aforementioned subjects are also published.

# CH

CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA

---