TSO
TEIRESIAS SUPPLEMENTS ONLINE

Chapter 12

FRANCO DE ANGELIS – University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia
Franco.de_angelis@ubc.ca

Between Localism and Diaspora: The Sicilian Perspective on Megara's World

My 'Megarian moment' began exactly twenty-five years ago at McGill University, with a master's thesis on Boioita, which opened the door to my interest in this region of central Greece and its Archaic migrations.[1] So much has changed in the last quarter-century in regard to our approaches to ancient history that this paper affords me the opportunity to revisit old topics and to include newer ones that have emerged in the meantime. I divide my paper into two parts. The first part is devoted to some historiographical remarks regarding approaches, mainly modern but ancient too, and picks up on some developments from this twenty-five-year-long window that I believe require highlighting. The second part brings to bear my work on the Megarians of Sicily and how this perspective permits me to address the nexus between localism and diaspora in the Megarian world.

1 De Angelis 1991.

Hans Beck and Philip J. Smith (editors). Megarian Moments. The Local World of an Ancient Greek City-State. Teiresias Supplements Online, Volume 1. 2018: 257-271. © Franco De Angelis 2018. License Agreement: CC-BY-NC (permission to use, distribute, and reproduce in any medium, provided the original work is properly attributed and not used for commercial purposes).

Part I. Approaches: Ancient and Modern

Two new modern approaches in particular stand out to me over the past twenty-five years: the questioning of the "colonial" model derived from modern historical parallels in framing discussions of Archaic Greek migrations, and the rise of Mediterranean microregionalism with its underlying themes of mobility, connectivity, and decentring.

When I completed my master's thesis in 1991, hardly any scholars were questioning the modern colonial paralleling of the so-called Greek "colonization" of the Archaic period. But that changed before the 1990s were over, in, for instance, my work and that of my former thesis supervisor Robin Osborne, with a more discerning, if not iconoclastic view in Osborne's case, taken to the problematic modern labels of "colonies" and "colonization" in speaking about the ancient Megarians and other Archaic Greek migrants.[2] Osborne's view, while salutary for shaking up the ground, would not go so far as to deny Adrian Robu's recent application of network thinking to the Megarians at home and abroad.[3]

At the same time, however, I would argue that we seem still to be framing Megarian history in subtle, probably unknowing ways ultimately informed by modern colonialism. The problem runs deep in Megarian studies, with, of course, the foundational 1934 work of Krister Hanell, *Megarische Studien*. As Robu observes, Hanell was writing at the time when modern colonial parallels were being used to understand the image of Miletus and Megara, as part of which one spoke as well of blockades by Thracians. Hanell, like others before and after him, also never seriously entertained the possibility of local, non-Greek populations and conditions having played a role at all in the historical development of the Megarian and other Greek communities established on their shores. All the same, Hanell 2.0, with its postcolonial and other tinkering, is still regarded as a research model by Robu and others who work in this scholarly tradition.[4]

The quest for finding commonality is only one side of the story, one that modern colonialism with its traditional metropolitan focus has ultimately caused us to follow. Hanell's study was also conceived at a time when a larger German-inspired tradition

---

2 De Angelis 1998; Osborne 1998. Osborne (2016) has recently revisited his paper, remaining firm on the basic thesis.
3 Robu 2014: 3-5, 208.
4 Robu 2014: 8, 259.

focusing on the civic institutions of so-called "colony" and mother city was in vogue.[5] The result has too often been pictures that are too cohesive, in which relationships are too quickly viewed as the norm. Thus, this nexus between colony and mother city is deeply engrained across a wide spectrum of scholarship. Built into the structure of this academic approach is an overwhelming focus on finding commonalities and similarities between Point A and B, or, put another way, the reproduction of the metropolis away from home, whereas differences were played down or suppressed as colonialism itself was wont to do. Osborne has recently reminded us of the misleading consequences of such a colonialist framework, with specific reference to Megara:

> What study of migration – and indeed of diaspora – shows us, is the amount of cultural baggage carried by migrants. Chinatowns all over the world are not the result of colonisation but of migration. When Hanell in *Megarische Studien* 75 years ago showed that Megara's 'colonies' shared a calendar, he was surely right to conclude that the calendar that they shared had much in common with the (otherwise unknown) calendar of Megara itself. But he was in my view wrong to think that that meant that these communities had been set up by Megarian design on Megarian lines. Life as the Greeks knew it required account to be taken of the passage of time, and few communities can have worked directly from the stars, in Hesiodic fashion. The calendar with which people had been brought up was the default calendar of their adult life, whether they stayed where they was [*sic*] born or migrated elsewhere. The calendar of the person who led the settlers, or of the religious expert among the settlers, would naturally impose itself, and future migrants might well prefer to join a city whose calendar (and other similar institutions) were familiar rather than one where cults and months bore strange names. Sharing a calendar and sharing a cult were part of sharing a history; but they did not require any on-going political bond.[6]

---

5 Bernstein, forthcoming.
6 Osborne 2016: 25.

Let me illustrate this with an example from Megarian history. When we ask "what could the metropolis have exported to the colonies?,"[7] the answer can also include replies like "not necessarily anything at all," or at least "not necessarily anything on any kind of regular basis." My response derives by looking from the so-called "colonial" periphery back to the supposed center and does not assume the regular traffic between Point A and Point B that the colonial framework ultimately posits. That is in part because we know quite a lot about the merchants who frequented Sicily's shores. Exchange between Sicily and Greece in Archaic and Classical times seems to have been predominately in the hands of non-Megarian merchants, most notably Corinthians, Samians, and Phokaians.[8] Exchange and distribution also allow us to see from another, less negative perspective the apparently enduring hostile relationship between Megara and Corinth at home.[9] When I myself posited that Megara Hyblaia in Sicily may have been established, on the basis of several large underground silos, for the purpose of exploiting ideal grain lands, I observed that this did not entail any kind of colonial relationship with direct export to the homeland, but rather the establishment of this settlement in Sicily belonged to the actions of enterprising elites *tout court*.[10] Their grain exports seem to have been taken off their hands on Sicily's shores and transported to wherever these merchants found the greatest demand and best price. The grain may or may not have necessarily ended up in the mouths of consumers in Megara at home. If we agree with Robu that the foundation of Megara Hyblaia may have come about by disgruntled elites hostile and hospitable in equal measure to Megara of their homeland,[11] then a direct, one-to-one exchange correlation also becomes even less likely.

We often note the absences of evidence in such comparative exercises, but we question not whether such comparative evidence, beyond the well-known vagaries of the sources, actually existed in the first place to the degree that is presumed by colonial paralleling.

---

7 As our colleague Phil Smith (2006) has.

8 De Angelis 2016: 258-259, 312-313.

9 Nevertheless, the hostility could still be carried overseas, as with the foundation of Megara Hyblaia on the doorstep of Syracuse, a Corinthian establishment. See below for further discussion.

10 De Angelis 2002: 303-304. Compare how Robu (2014: 146-147) revealingly glosses this conclusion, to fit his colony-metropolis framework.

11 Robu 2014: 54.

"Diaspora" is a term that has been more used in recent years, for good reason, as an alternative framework. It allows for enduring links between homeland and outer world that can accommodate comparative exercises like Hanell 2.0, but at the same time it also allows for a multipolar, not unidirectional, world in which the homeland need not be the dominant pole and shaping force.[12] It is interesting to observe in this connection how my original title for my workshop paper "Between Localism and Diaspora in the Megarian World: A Sicilian Perspective" was translated onto the program as "Between Localism and Diaspora: The Sicilian Perspective on Megara's World."

I am not the first person to wonder about the supposed historical and cultural unity of Megara and its so-called colonies. Claudia Antonetti (1997) questioned this close relationship by concentrating on mythology and religion across the Megarian world, drawing attention to local variants and absences, such as the cult of Herakles, which is entirely unknown in the homeland. Antonetti was certainly moving in the right direction, but the argument of local and regional cultural variations and absences can be developed further thanks to the paradigm-shifting book *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell (2000). At the base of their work are micro-historical and environmental approaches, which have challenged perhaps the biggest of the traditional Grand Narratives of ancient Mediterranean history, the Mediterranean itself as an ecological entity. While the term Mediterranean is usually associated with a set of distinctive environmental, cultural, and historical images that create a unified body, this Mediterranean unity has been labelled "Mediterraneanism" (connected with Orientalism, another better known polarizing discourse) and regarded as a politically motivated archaism that helps to create facts and values, rather than merely recording them. Mediterranean unity, therefore, is constructed and more apparent than real. Horden and Purcell have also challenged Mediterranean unity, but they do not discard altogether the notion of Mediterranean unity. They make the crucial distinction between history "in" the Mediterranean and history "of" the Mediterranean; the latter is their focus. For them the history of the ancient and medieval Mediterranean must be viewed in terms of its microecologies and the ease of communication offered by the Mediterranean Sea. Mobility, connectivity, and decentering are the dominant themes of this historical

12 Cohen 2008: 17-18; Kenny 2013: 1-15.

paradigm. These factors created unity through diversity and continuity through time. Their paradigm has reinvigorated large-scale and global perspectives on the ancient past, and how the larger whole was founded on microregions and the interactions amongst them.

This microregional approach, which, to the best of my knowledge, has never been systematically applied to the study of ancient Megarian history,[13] will do much to give us insights which, because of such things as the universalizing poetry of Theognis, tends to cause us to think in terms first of similarities and then later, if at all, of differences. In addition, Theognis and the epigraphic approaches to Megarian institutions condition us into viewing Megarian history from perspectives that are largely tinted into favour of civic governance and sociopolitical tensions. While civic governance and sociopolitics are related to the economy and culture, and will not be overlooked altogether, a focus on especially economy and culture more strictly speaking has never been adopted. In doing so, we are better equipped to address the relationship between localism and diaspora in the Megarian world.

As I close this first part of my paper, let me make it very clear that I am not denying that no similarities could exist between Megara and the overseas settlements some of its inhabitants created or helped to create or that no Megarian network existed. However, we must be careful of the unwitting emphases we have often placed on ethnic cohesion and unity. Where I part ways is in thinking that the Megarians were relegated to only one network. Multiple networks with other than Megarians can be demonstrated. As the editors of this volume rightly observed in the program of the original workshop, Megara is often overlooked in favour of other nearby neighbouring states like Corinth, Athens, and Thebes. When we bring in the Sicilian perspective to Megarian history in the second part of my paper, we start to obtain perspectives which both challenge and help us understand why this secondary nature in modern minds may have come about, and how we might change that in future.

---

13 It is notably absent in the most recent big book by Robu (2014), although he does on occasion speak of regionalism (410-411).

Part II. Sicilian Perspectives on Megara's World

In speaking about the Sicilian perspective on Megara's world, we are speaking of the island's two city-states, Megara Hyblaia and Selinous. While it is often remarked that these two cities are the best documented cities in the entire Megarian world,[14] little more is made of their data-sets, especially the archaeological ones, which can provide another valuable comparative perspective to reveal Megarian localism. These Sicilian data and the theoretical considerations that they raise can also be deployed to find what appears to be Sicilian localism elsewhere in the larger Megarian world and to suggest some possible answers, or at the very least some food for thought, for the many gaps that exist in our understanding of Megarian activities in the Propontis and Black Sea.[15]

Localism is always grounded in a particular place and space, and it is here that I would like to begin. Similarities and differences can be noted between Megara in the homeland and the Megarian cities of Sicily. Megara Hyblaia, like Megara, also had aggressive neighbours who curbed its territorial expansion. As I have discussed elsewhere in detail, this occurred in a kind of pincer movement through the efforts of Syracuse and Leontinoi, cities that later tradition maintained were founded by Corinth and Euboia.[16] Tensions from the homeland were carried over onto the frontier, and the result was that the two Megaras were comparable in overall territory size – 470 square kilometers in Greece and 400 square kilometers in Sicily at their greatest extent.[17] But territory size alone is only part of the picture. When we turn to overall agricultural resources within these territories, based on estimates derived from modern climate statistics and traditional land use from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which are the best we have to go on, Megara Hyblaia comes out with having about four times more arable land and double the annual rainfall than its homeland counterpart. Rainfall levels suggest that the degree of inter-annual variability was not enormous. The yearly average could have supplied more than enough water for a good crop. Megara Hyblaia was a microregion much more conducive to grain production than its homeland could ever have been, possibly even surplus production.[18]

14 Robu 2014: 13 n. 28.

15 See especially the numerous question marks encountered in Robu 2014.

16 De Angelis 2003: 72-79.

17 De Angelis 2003: 300.

18 De Angelis 2002.

Megara Hyblaia's local configuration was a response to the global demand for a staple crop required to support a rapidly growing population in Greece and elsewhere in the ancient world.

Turning further west in Sicily to Selinous, the other Megarian city, we encounter a localism that is related to Megara Hyblaia's but of a completely different order from this city and other Megarian ones across the entire Mediterranean. The territory of Selinous appears to have measured up to 1,500 square kilometers in size: an area something to the order of 60 kilometers in width by 25 kilometers in depth, or up to 6 percent of Sicily's total land surface of 25,708 square kilometers. The written and archaeological sources suggest that the territory took on this basic shape by the end of the sixth century, to within 150 years at most from the city's foundation.[19] Land use data for this territory from the last century suggest that landforms were such as to render between 70 and 96 percent arable land. The amount of rain that falls per annum varied in a territory of this size: it averages under 500 mm. on the coast, and between 500 and 750 mm. inland. Again, rainfall levels suggest that the degree of inter-annual variability was not enormous; the yearly average could have supplied more than enough water for a good crop. It is no surprise that Selinous became known from the fifth century BCE, to when our earliest evidence dates, for a strain of wheat.[20] Again, Selinous's local configuration was a response to the global demand for a staple crop required to support a rapidly growing population in Greece and elsewhere in the ancient world.

While the territories of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous were better endowed agriculturally both qualitatively and quantitatively than homeland Megara, all three cities can be classified as agrarian cities on the basis of their physical and demographic size, as well as political history. The sixth-century city walls of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous enclose, respectively, 61 and 110 hectares, and Megara's fourth-century city walls (if that dating is correct) enclose 140 hectares.[21] The population of these three cities have been estimated in round terms at, respectively, 10,000, 20,000, and 40,000 people.[22] Describing a city as

19 De Angelis 2003: 173-180.

20 De Angelis 2003: 186; 2016: 288.

21 Legon 2004: 464; De Angelis 2016: 96 Table 1. The Archaic size of Megara was probably smaller.

22 Legon 2004: 463; De Angelis 2016: 143 Table 5.

agrarian does not by any means preclude a role for trade and exchange – a false dichotomy in any case[23] - but simply a statement of the nature of urbanism and society in the context of city-state culture, including the absence of imperialistic ambitions. The elite leadership of all three cities is also presupposed by the existence of "founder" burials *intra muros*.[24] Ports of some kind for ships are only to be expected for maritime cultures like that of the Megarians, representing another common denominator in the spatial organization of the Megarians both at home and abroad.[25] The broad similarities between Megarian and other Greek city-states cannot be doubted and ought to be explained in similar terms, namely the mosaic created out of the tesserae of Mediterranean microregionalism, with its engine driven by the presence/absence of resources, the relative ease of communication by sea, and the connectivity that they engendered. The dynamics that condition demographic and urban growth and development transcended any one ethnic or cultural group, however defined. In all three cases, the placement and size of these Megarian cities owe something to the local and the global at one and the same time.

However, when we compare the outward appearance of these three Megarian cities, insofar as we can, Selinous in southwest Sicily looks drastically different. What makes Selinous stand out is its monumentality, particularly the seven peripteral temples that were constructed in a period of at most ninety years (550-460 BCE).[26] Altogether Selinous' seven peripteral temples embody just over 50,000 cubic meters (or 113,000 tons) of extracted, moved, and finished stone, which cost between at least 1,200 and 1,600 talents. All these seven temples imply a minimum of 7.3 million man-hours invested in them, a figure which excludes roofing and other things (like cult statues) about which we are very poorly informed.

The wealth earned from Selinous' economy expressed itself in the need for identity on literally one of the edges of the ancient Greek world, which mattered very much here and which lie at the heart of the dynamic, if not turbulent, sociopolitical history of the city.[27] It

---

23 See recently Robu 2014: 111, 237; cf. also De Angelis 2002.

24 De Angelis 2003: 140; 2016: 150-151.

25 See Klaus Freitag's contribution in this collection.

26 De Angelis 2003: 163-169.

27 De Angelis 2003: 154.

is no surprise that Selinous' monumental temples all faced onto the eastern facade of the city, precisely the most common direction in which Greeks would have approached the city by land and, more likely, by sea. The cult sites on the western side of the city were distinctly non-monumental and devoted to divinities like Demeter and Herakles known for their cross-boundary nature and the possibility they raised for the integration of other social groups from inside and outside Selinous. In this regard, localism mattered more at Selinous than, say, at Megara or Megara Hyblaia, given that local life existed at a nodal point, in which multiple cultures, including other Greeks, interacted. The economic success of Selinous was based on multiple exchange relationships, both Greek and non-Greek, which are now becoming well documented (more on which in a moment). Of these, homeland Megara was at best but one outlet and perhaps not even the most significant one. Selinous' monumentality, while belonging to a larger pattern of monument building in the ancient world at this time, is a local response to this wider world and can be appropriately described as glocalism, or the local and the global combined. Byzantion was no doubt another such city in the Megarian diaspora (to which I will also return in a moment).

When we talk about how Megara and its world are little mentioned in our modern historical narratives of ancient Greece, we should be trumpeting the outstanding success of Selinous.[28] This is a fact that should be well established on its own, but it is one amply reinforced by taking a comparative perspective of the ancient Greek city-state, today facilitated by, but not restricted to, the work of The Copenhagen Polis Centre.

One of the ways in which Selinous could carve out such a large territory in southwest Sicily is because it appears to have been sparsely settled, by at best small villages, located mostly away from the coast. Localism is always in the eye of the beholder, both ancient and modern. What may seem local can turn out in fact to be global in nature. Underpopulation and inland settlement patterns, things which I have recently emphasized for Early Iron Sicily,[29] were more widespread across the Mediterranean at this time. Thucydides thought as much in his "Archaeology" in Book I, Chapter 7, when speaking

---

28 The site is now part of an official attempt to acquire UNESCO World Heritage status. For full details, see www.facebook.com/Club-Unesco-Castelvetrano-Selinunte-147414833558/. Accessed on October 15, 2016.
29 De Angelis 2010; 2016: 44-45.

about the development of Greece following the Trojan War. Interregional exchange helped to draw people, Greeks and non-Greeks alike, back to the coast, with piracy and other disincentives gradually eliminated, as the larger prize of gain and wealth took the spotlight. Coastlines everywhere became zones of encounters between interiors and outside worlds; intercultural mixing ensued thanks to the emergence of these greater economic opportunities.

Uninhabited or sparsely inhabited sites, like Megara Hyblaia and Selinous in Sicily, may have also been met by Megarian settlers at Byzantion in Thrace.[30] A mixed population made up of Greeks of other than Megarian origins and non-Greeks is certainly attested in this later city, just as it is at Megara Hyblaia and Selinous. The uninhabited or sparsely inhabited nature of early Byzantion might be established in another way, by considering its territory size. While it is true to say that the rarity of information precludes any in-depth discussion of the territory sizes of the Megarian cities in the Propontis in the Archaic and Classical periods,[31] this is a problem encountered in determining the territory sizes of most ancient Greek cities. The absence of relevant literary and epigraphic evidence for Megarian Sicily teaches us that waiting for a smoking gun to be found in the form of, say, a boundary inscription that gives clues about a city's territory, while possible, is just as likely to remain unfulfilled. A territory can only fall within a particular theoretical range at the end of the day; arguing with that basic point is only to dig in deeper one's hyper-empirical heels in a way that cannot take some questions beyond the scholarly impasse in which they find themselves. This is all to say that educated guesses of the sizes of the territories of Byzantion, Chalkedon, and Herakleia Pontike already exist, derived from the kind of approach I have employed for Megarian Sicily, in the inventory of the Copenhagen Polis Centre. Each of these Megarian cities had a territory estimated to have been category 5, or a minimum of 500 square kilometers.[32] These clues suggest that Byzantion may have had a basic spatial and cultural configuration similar to that of Megara Hyblaia and Selinous in Sicily, even in terms of local toponymic inspiration. Elite burial *intra muros* at Herakleia Pontike, known only from literary evidence, is also something else

30 Robu 2014: 285.
31 Robu 2014: 285.
32 Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 915, 955, 979. The entry for Astakos (977) has a question mark for its territory size (for the categories, see p. 70).

that has been tangibly identified, via archaeological evidence, at Megara Hyblaia and Selinous, as discussed earlier.[33] It is very likely that what made for a successful Megarian city-state was shared along the Megarian network.[34]

Weights, measures, coinage, and the usage of metals in general are other areas for which the Megarians in Sicily provide further evidence of localism. While Megara Hyblaia never minted its own coins or used those of others, it certainly was not exempt from possible local influences in these areas. In a mid-sixth century inscription, the fines that the priest could levy for sacrificing in contravention of the law are measured in *litrai*, the native Sicilian system of weights and measures.[35] The first Archaic Megarian city ever to mint coins was Selinous.[36] Minting began around 540 BCE.[37] At first, the metrological system adopted was the Corinthian type, with the stater (at between 9.1 and 9.4 grams) heavier than the Corinthian standard and the head of Athena substituted with a leaf of Selinous' wild parsley. This basic decoration remained in Selinous' second series of coins, but the Corinthian orientation of the earlier coins was replaced with the Euboeic-Attic metrological system, with didrachms of about 8 grams. This system remained in place until Selinous' destruction in 409 BCE. These coinages can also be best described as 'glocal'.

What we know about the trade in metals at Selinous, Megara Hyblaia, and other Sicilian Greek cities continues to grow thanks to a series of meticulous studies.[38] Some lingots of silver from Selinous have been found in hoards inside and outside the city's territory. Scientific analyses have pointed to Spain as one of the sources of this silver, probably obtained via Carthiginian and more generally Phoenician channels. Selinous' earliest

---

33 See Robu 2014: 297; Daniel Tober in this collection.
34 For related discussion, see recently Porciani 2015.
35 Macaluso 2008: 67; De Angelis 2016: 264.
36 Cutroni Tusa 2010: 159.
37 De Angelis 2003: 185-186; De Angelis 2016: 252. As with other Greek cities, coinage facilitated internal transactions for an increasingly complex society. Population growth and economic diversification were occurring at the same time as the appearance of coinage, which simplified, for instance, the payment of goods and services connected with the monumental temple building and the administration of justice.
38 De Angelis 2016: 252.

coinage may have required up to eight tons of silver to mint, a figure which helps us understand something of the economic networks to which this city once belonged.

The usage of metals in ways unknown in homeland Megara can also be illustrated by the extensive use of lead curse tablets at Selinous.[39] The Selinountine material stands out for containing the oldest specimens from the ancient Greek world and for providing indications of standardisation and the presence of professional scribes. About one-half of Sicily's entire corpus of curse tablets comes from Selinous alone. No curse tablets have so far been found at Megara Hyblaia,[40] a matter which can be explained in terms of localism. Once again, Carthage's close relationship with Selinous can be envisaged as the network through which the Near Eastern origin of the curse tablet flowed.[41]

All these developments, from silver coins, through *litrai*, to lead tablets, do raise the more general point of Megarians coming into contact with local traditions of other cultures and creating their own local traditions in these areas as a result of having greater access to exchange networks for metals. Diaspora with the homeland existed here too, but with other Greeks who were leading on the coinage front, who happened not to be fellow Megarians, as well as with several non-Greek intermediaries and regions.

What I hoped to have shown in this second part of this paper is how localism did much to shape the Megarian world of Sicily, in a way that Megarians at home and elsewhere were probably not at all part of. Commonalities did exist too and could be owed to the Megarian diaspora, but at the same time I want to stress that some of the dynamics that shaped the Archaic Megarian world were also part of global phenomena like underpopulation, settlement patterns away from the coast, coinage, and microregional interaction that were not confined only to the Megarians, but to other Greeks and non-Greeks. The Megarians could nevertheless put their own unique imprint on these phenomena too.

---

39 Willi 2008: 317-319; Crippa and De Simon 2009; Bremmer 2010: 16-18; Robu 2014: 14, 117; Ianucci, Muccioli, and Zaccarini 2015.

40 Willi 2008: 317-318.

41 Willi 2008: 317-318; Bremmer 2010: 18.

Conclusion

While I have no doubt that similarities could exist between Megara and the overseas settlements some inhabitants of Megara created or helped to create, and that some kind of a Megarian network existed, I hope to have demonstrated that relegating the Megarians to only one network is much too simple and a legacy of our original intellectual frameworks, some of whose tenets we have otherwise come to question. This becomes abundantly clear when we bring in the Sicilian perspective to Megarian history, especially the economic and cultural dimensions. In doing so, while we do not deny the validity and usefulness of Theognis and inscriptions, we can use archaeological sources more consistently and draw also more fully on comparative perspectives in ways only superficially done until now. Moreover, we start to obtain perspectives which allow us to gauge better the respective roles played both by localism and diaspora in shaping the Megarian world. It is not one or the other perspective that should predominate in our discussions, but the interplay of both in tandem.

Bibliography

Antonetti, C. 1997. "Megara e le sue colonie" In: C. Antonetti (ed.), *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca, atti della tavola rotunda 'Espansione e colonizzazione greca di età arcaica: metodologie e problema confronto'*. Naples: 83–94.

Bernstein, F. Forthcoming. "Relations with Homelands. Apoikia and Metropol(e)is." In: F. De Angelis (ed.), *A Companion to Greeks Across the Ancient World*. Malden, MA.

Bremmer, J. 2010. "Manteis, Magic, Mysteries and Mythography. Messy Margins of Polis Religion?" *Kernos* 23: 13–35.

Cohen, R. 2008. *Global Diasporas. An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Abingdon.

Crippa, S. and M. De Simon. 2009. "Sulla valenza pubblica dei rituali defissori a Selinunte." In: C. Antonetti and S. De Vido (eds.), *Temi selinuntini*. Pisa: 93–104.

Cutroni Tusa, A. 2010. "La monetazione di Selinunte." In: S. Tusa (ed.), *Selinunte*. Rome: 157–165.

De Angelis, F. 1991. *Boiotia in the Geometric and Archaic Periods. Population, Settlement, and Colonisation*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University.

1998. "Ancient Past, Imperial Present. The British Empire in T.J. Dunbabin's The Western Greeks." *Antiquity* 72: 539–549.

2002. "Trade and Agriculture at Megara Hyblaia." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21: 299–310.

2003. *Megara Hyblaia and Selinous. The Development of Two Greek City-states in Archaic Sicily*. Oxford.

2010. "Re-assessing the Earliest Social and Economic Developments in Greek Sicily." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 116: 21–53.

2016. *Archaic and Classical Greek Sicily. A Social and Economic History. Greeks Overseas series*. New York and Oxford.

Hanell, K. 1934. *Megarische Studien*. Lund.

Hansen, M.H. and T.H. Nielsen. (eds.) 2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis.* Oxford and New York.

Horden, P. and N. Purcell. 2000. *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford.

Ianucci, A., F. Muccioli, and M. Zaccarini. (eds.) 2015. *La città inquieta. Selinunte tra Lex sacra e defixiones*. Milan.

Kenny, K. 2013. *Diaspora. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford.

Legon, R.P. 2004. "Megaris, Korinthia, Sikyonia." In: Hansen and Nielsen: 462–471.

Macaluso, R. 2008. *La Sicilia e la moneta. Dai mezzi di scambio premonetari alla coniazione in argento dell'unità ponderale indigena. Kokalos Suppl. Vol. 20*. Pisa.

Osborne, R. 1998. "Early Greek Colonization? The Nature of Greek Settlement in the West." In: N. Fisher and H. Van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece. New Approaches and New Evidence*. London: 251–269.

2016. "Greek 'colonisation': what was, and what is, at stake?" In: L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, and G.-J. Burgers (eds.), *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*. Brussels and Rome: 21–26.

Porciani, L. 2015. "Early Greek Colonies and Greek Cultural Identity. Megara Hyblaia and the Phaeacians." *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 41.2: 9–18.

Robu, A. 2014. *Mégare et les établissements mégariens de Sicile, de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin.* Bern.

Smith, P.J. 2006. "Megara and her Colonies. What could the metropolis have exported to the colonies?" *The Ancient World* 37: 76–80.

Willi, A. 2008. *Sikelismos. Sprache, Literatur und Gesellschaft im griechischen Sizilien (8. – 5. Jh. v. Chr.).* Basel.