People on the Move across the Greek World

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PEOPLE ON THE MOVE ACROSS THE GREEK WORLD

Introducción de Chiara Maria Mauro, Diego Chapinal-Heras, Miriam Valdés Guía

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ABBREVIATIONS AND (MAIN) LATIN EXPRESSIONS USED IN THIS WORK

AA.VV. = various authors
ad loc. = *ad locum*, at the specified location
c. = *circa*
cat. = catalogue
cent. = century
cf. = compare
chap. = chapter
cm = centimetre/s
contra = against
coord. = coordinated by
ed./eds. = editor/s
e.g. = *exempli gratia,* for example
esp. = especially
f., ff. = and following
Fig. = figure
Fr. = fragment
ibid. = *ibidem*, in the same place
id. = *idem*, in the same work
i.e. = *id est*, that is
infra = see below
km = kilometre/s
m = metre/s
n./nn. = note, notes
no. = number
passim = information that can be found in various places within the text
supra = see above
s.v./ *ss. vv.* = *sub voce* (under the word), *sub vocibus* (under the words)
tab. = table
v./vv. = verse, verses
vid. = see

The abbreviations used in citing journal titles, epigraphic corpora, standard works of reference and ancient authors and their works follow those in the fourth edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), edited by Hornblower and Spawforth (2012: XXIX–LIII).

INTRODUCTION

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'movement' can be understood as 'the action or process of moving; change of position; passage from place to place, or from one situation to another'. Narrowly linked to this meaning, the locution 'on the move' specifically refers to the 'process of moving from one place to another, travelling, moving about'. Even if these definitions tighten the field of action, reducing the essence of these concepts to a change in the location of a certain body, the study of 'movement' encompasses a wide range of cases connected with these ideas.

Movement, of course, has always been part of daily life and, as such, it has taken on different forms. A movement can vary in duration, from brief to quite lengthy; be done in different ways, using a variety of means of transportation; take place in diverse circumstances, as part of a community, a specific group or individually; be voluntary or imposed; and be recurrent or occur only once. Moreover, the reasons for changing one's position are infinite. Additionally, every movement, every 'change of position', even the smallest, has implications for the actors who perform that movement, the places that they leave behind and, above all, the destinations of their movements. In other words, the study of 'movement' cannot disregard the spread of ideas and knowledge closely linked to the process of moving; the exchange of goods that movements may generate; and the effects of movement on the configuration of societies, their identities and the myths and stories that might even have their origin in those very movements.

From these first lines–as well as from the definitions cited above–the complexity behind the expression 'on the move' clearly emerges and, consequently, one of the first questions that arises is: 'how can past movements best be approached?' There is no simple answer to this query nor a single reply. The only, certain reality is the chronological and factual gap that exists between scholars and the period under investigation. We live in a technological era where communication with almost all parts of the planet is possible. Distance no longer equals time, and everything is apparently within reach. This situation was dramatically different in the past, even when that 'past' corresponds to scarcely a few decades ago. In the case of the period analysed in this book, the ancient Greek world, this distance is even greater, as it involves the study of movements of individuals and groups that took place more than two millennia ago. As such, it is especially critical to be aware of what being 'on the move' might actually have meant at that time, and what mobility entailed for people who decided to travel for whatever

reason. The investment of time and resources–and, of course, the greater the distance, the more considerable the expense–made every movement a paramount decision and must have involved, at least in cases where the movement was not externally imposed, contemplations about whether the trip was really worth the effort.

Despite the problems relating to the scope of this topic, in the past centuries various attempts have been made to assess 'movements' in the ancient Greek world. The first studies can be traced back to the Renaissance, when a number of scholars (e.g. Lorenzo Valla) began to show an interest in the phenomenon of Greek foundations outside Greece per se. Tracing an uncritical correspondence, sixteenth-century intellectuals started to draw parallels between Greek *apoikiai* and the contemporary 'colonisations' that they were currently witnessing. The establishment of such a correlation prompted a long-lasting equivalence that would have an influence on scholarship up until the nineteenth century, being frequently at the root of a misleading idea (i.e. the image of an unequal relationship between those people involved in the founding of settlements–the 'colonists'–and those suffering the consequences–the 'colonised')[1].

Since the second half of the twentieth century, the adoption of a postcolonial approach made a huge contribution to the re-evaluation of the establishment of Greek colonies overseas through the espousal of a more critical and objective point of view[2]. As of the same period, moreover, scientific interest in the study of 'movements' acquired a new dimension, with scholars starting to consider forms of displacement other than the establishment of permanent settlements. Since then, the study of movement in the ancient Greek world has gone from strength to strength, while being continuously re-defined, to the point that it would be currently difficult to establish a comprehensive state of the art[3]. So as to offer just an idea of the different ways in which people's movements have been analysed, it is useful to recall some of the stimulating fields of research connected with the notion of human mobility. An up-to-date re-evaluation of the Greek foundation movement can be found in the recent companion edited by F. De Angelis[4]. Almost as a response to the studies of 'colonisation' as a mass mobility phenomenon, scholars have also started to consider the movements of either individuals or specific

1. De Wever & Van Compernolle 1967; Virgilio 1971-1972; Casevitz 1985; Boardman 2000; Finley & Lepore 2000; Tsetskhladze 2006; De Angelis 2009; Costanzi 2010; Tsetskhladze & Hargrave 2011; Cardete 2018: 665-666; Mauro 2020: 7-9.

2. E.g. Ruschenbusch 1985. For a summary of postcolonial studies, see Cardete 2018 with bibliography.

3. An excellent up-to-date attempt can be found in the recent companion edited by De Angelis 2020 (see esp. the contribution by Costanzi 2020: 13-36).

4. De Angelis 2020.

categories of professionals[5]. Displacements justified by religious reasons have been examined by Perlman[6] and Dillon[7], among others, as well as through the project entitled *The Emergence of Sacred Travel* led by T. M. Kristensen–resulting in the publication of a monograph that enquires into the phenomenon of pilgrimage in the Mediterranean sphere[8]. Furthermore, the analysis of connectivity and the influence that the geographical medium has on it is receiving increasing more attention from the specialised public, following the publication–in 2000–of the pioneering book by Horden & Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*[9].

In light of the wide range of possibilities offered by this topic, the aim of this book is not to conduct an exhaustive enquiry into 'movement around the ancient Greek world', but rather to be representative, offering readers the opportunity to become acquainted with the variety of activities that prompted ancient Greeks to move from one place to another. It also offers a set of considerations regarding the purposes, causes and consequences of these movements. In other words, this book provides a selection of approaches, themes and contexts that reflect the importance of being on the move in ancient Greece.

To meet this objective, the editors have decided to present different cases, united by a common factor: 'people on the move'. Chronologically speaking, the focus is on the whole of Greek Antiquity[10], from the Late Bronze Age to the period of the Roman conquest. The geographical scope of the book is not limited to the Greek peninsula, but also includes the territories outside the mainland that attracted the Greeks, resulting in their presence in those regions.

The book is composed of 22 chapters divided into four thematic sections: Society, economy and knowledge; Travellers and borders; 'Colonisation' and politics; and Religion and mythology.

The first section–Society, economy and knowledge–includes a selection of studies that focus on the mobility of individuals, either as 'wanderers' in general or as part of a particular category. It is, therefore, devoted to those people who shared the

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5. E.g. the mobility of merchants (Pébarthe 1997), mercenaries (Tagliamonte 1994), poets (Hunter & Rutherford) and explorers (Dueck, forthcoming), among others (Philips 1981; Natali 1996; Jockey 2009). On wandering, see Montiglio 2005.

6. E.g. Perlman 2000.

7. Dillon 1997.

8. Kristensen & Friese 2017.

9. Horden & Purcell 2000. On connectivity, see also Malkin 2011. For more bibliography on specific topics, see the list of references at the end of each contribution.

10. By 'Greek Antiquity' we mean Antiquity in the Greek and Aegean world in general, since one of the papers deals with the Minoans, a pre-Greek civilisation.

status of ἄλητης/ἀλάεσθαι ('vagrant'), whether by necessity (Fernández Prieto), by choice (Plácido Suárez; Terceiro Sanmartín; Ottone; Giudice & Giudice) or for both reasons (Serino). This section highlights the variety of causes that led individuals to move. For some, movement was a matter of survival, the possibility of obtaining access to basic resources. For others, their professional activity required continuous displacement. This was the case, for example, with commercial activities, which left different types of traces of this movement. Intellectual occupations also offer several examples of mobility, since professionals performed their services wherever they were needed, writing their works while moving from place to place and expanding their knowledge.

The second section–Travellers and borders–contains five papers within a wide chronological frame: the Minoan period (Querci), the Geometric (Mauro) and Archaic (Iriarte) eras and the ages when Greece was under Roman control (Cardete del Olmo; Dimopoulou). Links to other regions and cultures, themes related to the role of sailing, territorial motion as part of gaining power and the challenges of studying a specific area in Antiquity are all taken up in these papers. Through these pages, the authors offer insights that cast light on the phenomena in this sphere.

The five papers in the following section–'Colonisation' and politics–examine either the 'colonisation' movement itself (Duce Pastor; Savino & Novello) or geographical areas that attracted a Greek presence (Santagati; Phiphia; De Mitri). The founding of *emporia* and *apoikiai* on the Mediterranean shores led to the expansion of Greek culture and the intensification of regional contacts. Accordingly, this section looks at motion within the 'colonial' sphere, considering this phenomenon in both the context of relationships between the metropolis and the colonies and specific issues related to colonial settlements, analysing the construction of new communities and the development of mixed identities.

Finally, the fourth and last section in the book–Religion and mythology–includes six chapters that address aspects related to the mobility generated by religion. For instance, shrines were a destination for social performances that contributed to the construction and consolidation of hierarchies, as well as gender distinction (Valdés Guía). The function of each sanctuary also determined the reason for visiting it (Patay-Horvath; Stratiki) whether, for example, the pursuit of healing (Chapinal-Heras) or oracular consultations (Jara & Fornis). In mythology, movement undoubtedly had a strong influence on the construction of the meaning of episodes that aimed to explain the development of certain communities, usually as a way to justify the foundation of new political entities or ruling dynasties (Luz Villafranca).

As a whole, *People on the Move across the Greek World* offers a selection of papers where movement plays a significant role and, in turn, produced a plethora of situations whose analysis requires the combination of different sources and approaches. This collaboration, which brought together scholars from a variety of institutions in different countries, was made possible by Project PR108/20-29, funded by the UCM-Santander 2020 grant programme.

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SECTION 1

SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND KNOWLEDGE

'[...] AND TELL NO MAN OF THEM ALL NOR ANY WOMAN THAT THOU HAST COME BACK FROM THY WANDERINGS' (HOM. *OD*. 13.309-310). BEGGARY AND VAGABONDAGE IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD

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Introduction

> What made vagabonds so terrifying was their apparent free to move and so to escape the net of heretofore locally based control. Worse than that still, the movements of the vagabond are unpredictable [...]. You do not know where he will move to next, because he himself does not know nor care much. Vagabondage has no advance itinerary – its trajectory is patched together bit by bit, one bit a time. Each place is for the vagabond a stopover, but he never knows how long he will stay in any of them [...]. Wherever the vagabond goes, he is a stranger (Bauman 2003 [1996]: 28).

Within the wide range of individuals who moved from place to place in the ancient Greek world, there were those who the Classics describe as 'wanderers' or 'vagabonds'[1]. In this respect, it is convenient to dwell on the words of M. M. Fabre who very rightly notes, 'The notion of "wanderer" is employed very often as a catch-all term to refer to circumstances that are considered to be similar, but which, in reality, are distinguishable'[2]. In other words, 'wanderers' do not comprise a homogeneous socio-economic group–neither now, nor in ancient Greece[3]–but a sort of 'human cluster' encompassing

* This work was supported by the Marie Curie grant [ref. 101031550- PVF-AG].

1. For the Greek terminology relating to vagabondage, see the following section.
2. Fabre 2000: 73 (English translation of the original Spanish text).
3. As a matter of fact, there is currently a preference for words and formulas with an even broader meaning, including 'homelessness' and 'the homeless', but which do not have the negative connotations of the terms 'wandering' or 'vagabondage', cf. Cabrera & Rubio 2003: 8; Sánchez Morales 2017.

different socio-economic situations and realities that are not always necessarily perceived or represented in the same way.

Despite the heterogeneous nature of the realities of vagabondage, certain aspects allow for recognising the phenomenon. Indeed, 'movement' (understood in terms of 'itinerancy' or 'wandering' and the absence of a fixed abode), the lack of a regular income (an aspect that connects directly with the issue of 'poverty') and social marginalisation or exclusion (which is linked, in turn, to the idea of 'vagrancy' or 'unproductive poverty')[4], are all key aspects when characterising the modus vivendi of wanderers or vagabonds[5].

These three aspects, namely, poverty, exclusion and the lack of a fixed abode, converge, as will be seen, in the–literary–image of the Greek beggar who, more often than not, is represented as a drifter who moves from place to place seeking a livelihood. The beggar and, specifically, the 'wandering beggar', thus becomes one of the main exponents, if not the only one, of the phenomenon of vagabondage in ancient Greece[6].

The terminology of beggary and vagabondage

As already observed in the introduction to this chapter, approaching the phenomenon of wandering and/or vagabondage in the ancient Greek world involves batting on a rather sticky wicket. Indeed, to the obscure origins of wanderers and/or vagabonds should be added the use of an often ambiguous language, which, under a veneer of apparent uniformity, conceals a variety of socio-economic situations and realities. This problem is compounded when considering other similar phenomena which, like beggary, are often mistaken for vagabondage[7].

Without performing a detailed sociological analysis, it warrants noting that beggary and vagabondage are different, albeit similar, expressions of extreme or absolute poverty,

---

4. More on this notion further on.

5. Fabre 2000: 73-76. These characteristics also appear in the definition found in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española (DLE)*, whose 23rd version includes the term '*vagabundo*' (vagabond). For a detailed analysis of the phenomenon and the characteristics attributed to it, with special attention being paid to the dimension of mobility, see, for instance: Rolshoven & Maierhoffer 2012.

6. The distinction between a 'beggar' and a 'vagabond' is rather hazy, with both terms frequently being employed indistinctly to refer to a certain expression of extreme poverty relating to the practice of beggary (Fabre 2000: 82). The problems with this distinction will be further addressed in the following section.

7. For a detailed discussion on these and other similar phenomena, see, for example, Fabre 2000: 64-87 (with bibliography).

also known as severe poverty or destitution[8]. From a sociological perspective, the main differences between 'vagabondage' and 'beggary' lie in the degree of mobility (the wandering of the former versus the sedentariness of the latter) and in the role that the practice of beggary plays in the lives of wanderers and beggars (secondary in those of the former and primary in those of the latter)[9]. Be that as it may, the line separating these individuals is not always clear cut and, as a rule, both terms are employed indistinctly, above all in everyday discourse and in the non-specialist literature.

As to the ancient Greek world, it should be noted that, from the Homeric poems to at least the post-Classical period, the eminently Athenian literary sources resort to the term *ptocheia* (πτωχεία) and its derivatives[10] to refer to extreme poverty, in contrast to that other category of 'moderate' or 'relative' poverty[11], designated with the word *penia* (πενία) and its derivatives[12]. However, although the Greek (or, at least, Athenian) notion of *ptocheia* evoked a situation of extreme poverty, it did not always involve the practice of beggary; in any event, not in a 'direct' or 'evident' manner[13]. The noun *ptochos* can, therefore, signify both a beggar, in the strict sense of the word, and a wretched pauper who tries to survive without resorting to beggary[14]. Having said that, when talking about beggary it is also essential to consider other practices of what is known as 'covert' or 'disguised' beggary[15], such as requesting 'alms' as if it were a job. This would have possibly

8. Versus 'moderate' or 'relative' poverty. As regards these notions, as well as the main difficulties in attempting to conceptualise poverty, see: Spicker 1999; Ruggeri-Laderchi et al. 2003; cf. Fernández Prieto 2020: 60-67 (with a synopsis and bibliography).

9. Fabre 2000: 76, 82 and 86-87.

10. Πτωχεύω ('to beg'), πτωχός/ή ('beggar'), πτωχικός ('of or fit for a beggar, beggarly'): Chantraine 1968-1980: 948-949; *LSJ* 1550; cf. Nieto 2010: 127-129; Fernández Prieto 2020: 90-91.

11. This distinction has been chiefly based on a passage from Aristophanes' *Plutus*, in which Poverty (*Penia*) attempts to differentiate herself from her sister Beggary (*Ptocheia*): Ar. *Plut*. 535 ff. At least in classical Athens, the antagonism between these two 'types' of poverty was not only a quantitative, but also qualitative, issue, insofar as *penia* and *ptocheia*–especially the latter–were associated with different moral qualities. For a more detailed analysis: Fernández Prieto 2020: 74-86 (esp. 81-86).

12. Πένης, πενιχρός/πενιχρότης ('poor', 'needy', 'who works to earn a living').

13. Also called 'overt' beggary, practiced by those who openly and directly ask passers-by for alms. Cf. Fabre 2000: 323.

14. Roubineau 2013: 16, and 2015: 367.

15. 'Covert' or 'disguised beggary' is associated with certain 'street activities', such as musical or artistic performances that appeal to the 'volition' of spectators and/or involve the exchange of small services or objects for an also small payment (like cleaning the windows of cars waiting at the traffic lights and selling tissues in the underground, to offer just two modern-day examples). Cf. Fabre 2000: 323; Pérez García 2003: 166.

been the case of the 'unemployed' (*agoraioi*)[16] *thetes* or *misthotoi* who, in the 4th century BC, roamed the area of the *Kolonos agoraios*, in the vicinity of the agora of Athens, with the hope of being hired as day labourers[17].

As with modern-day beggars, the Greek *ptochos*–in the restricted sense of mendicant–was represented as a mainly urban, but not necessarily sedentary, character[18]. So, although there were certainly 'local' or, at least, 'habitual beggars', who lived or settled in a community more or less permanently (the epithet 'πτωχὸς πανδήμιος' with which the beggar Arnaeus in the *Odyssey*[19] is designated and Isocrates' comment in the *Areopagiticus*, *c.* 357-354 BC, that the citizens of Athens were obliged to beg from passers-by owing to their poverty, could be interpreted from this perspective)[20], the *ptochos* not only tended to be portrayed as a 'foreigner' (*xenos*)[21], but above all as a wanderer or vagabond[22].

The Greek terms employed to describe the wandering or vagabondage of the *ptochos* include the word family containing, among others, the noun *aleteia* (ἀλητεία), which can be translated as 'vagrancy' or 'errantry'[23], plus the adjectives *aletes* and *alemon*, both signifying 'wandering' or 'roaming'[24]. These words already appear in relation to the figure of the *ptochos*–with which they are in fact practically interchangeable–in clear reference

16. For *agoraioi* as 'unemployed', see: Nenci 1981: 336-338 and 341.

17. Harp. *s.v.* 'κολωνέτας'; sch. Aeschin.1.125; Poll. 7.132; cf. Croix 1981: 186; Nenci 1981: 336-337; Plácido 1989: 70; Valdés Guía 2015: 191. Another possible indication of the presence of these 'unemployed' can be found in a passage from the Platonic utopia (*Leg.* 11.936c), in which it is suggested that beggars be banned from the agora of the ideal city.

18. Hom. *Od.* 15.308-9 and 18.1-2. This does not mean to say that, in a rural context, there were no individuals who, due to their poverty, might have been considered as *ptochoi* (see, for example, the two brothers in Men. *Her.* 20-21), but that 'overt' beggary was a prominently urban phenomenon.

19. Hom. *Od.* 18.1-3; cf. Cecchet 2015: 59. This might have been the lot of the *agoraioi* who roamed the *Kolonos agoraios* when no nobody wished to hire them.

20. Isoc. 7.83: 'τότε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐνδεὴς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐδὲ προσαιτῶν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τὴν πόλιν κατῄσχυνε'. Regardless of whether Isocrates should be believed or not, the interesting question here is the practice of beggary by citizens without means in their own communities.

21. Hom. *Od.* 6.208, 14.58, 17.11, 106, 501 and 21.292. Cf. Ndoye 1993: 261-263; Coin-Longeray 2014:184-187; Garland 2014: 128-129. For the link between *ptochoi* and *xenoi*, as individuals who 'come from abroad', see Hom. *Od.* 18.105-107: 'lord of strangers and beggars [ξείνων καὶ πτωχῶν]'; cf. Ndoye 1993: 261-262 *vs* Coin-Longeray 2014: 186 (in the poem, the epithet *xenos* underscores the particular status–as a 'supplicant' or 'guest'–of the beggar Odysseus).

22. Giammellaro (2019: 46-52) refers to the Greek beggar as a 'forced wanderer'.

23. Chantraine 1968-80: 618; *LSJ* 64. Cf. Nieto 2010: 55.

24. Chantraine 1968-80: 618; *LSJ* 64. Cf. Nieto 2010: 56.

to his roving lifestyle[25]. The classical literature of the period provides further evidence of the use of the noun *aleteia* and its derivatives, in connection with individuals whose situation was, either explicitly or in a more veiled way, *ptocheia* (to which reference is also made with the term *endeia*–ἐνδεία/ίη–and its derivatives)[26].

Another word family alluding to the phenomenon of vagabondage is that of the verb πλανάω ('to wander', 'to drift', 'to roam'), which includes, among others, the nouns πλάνημα andπλάνη ('wanderer', 'roamer') and the adjectives πλάνης and πλανήτης ('wandering', 'roaming')[27]. These terms are generally linked to situations of not only downright, but also potential–as a result, for instance, of exile or flight–poverty and/or destitution[28]. Therefore, the verb πλανάω and its derivatives simultaneously designate the situation and/or status of the wanderer (understood in the broadest and sociological sense of the word) and that of the beggar per se, the *ptochos*; two figures that were confused in ancient Greece, where beggary, wandering and foreignness combined in that figure.

Foreign vagabonds, wandering beggars and … a lot more

As already noted in the previous section, there are three word families that appear to have particularly strong links to the phenomena of beggary and vagabondage in the Greek literary sources: *ptocheia*, *aleteia* and *planema*, to which could also be added the noun *endeia*.

The main problem when approaching the figure of the wanderer lies, however, in the fact that the previous terms and their derivatives are very frequently employed

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25. Hom. *Od.* 14.124 and 17.576. These two word families would specifically designate the movement of those individuals who, in spite of their best efforts, were forced to abandon their own homes, families and social milieus (Montiglio 2005: 2-3; cf. Giammellaro 2019: 46-47).

26. *Aleteia* and derivatives: Aesch. *PV* 900; Eur. *Io*. 577; *Hel.* 523 and 934; Soph. *OC.* 444 and 1363; Isoc. 11.39, 14.46. *Endeia* and derivatives: Xen. *Mem*. 4.2.38; Pl. *Symp*. 203d; Isoc. 4.168, 7.83, 8.46, 8.128 and 14.46; Dem. 18.258. In Isoc. 14.46, *ptocheia*, *aleteia* and *endeia* are connected (*vid. infra* n. 62).

27. Chantraine 1968-80: 909; *LSJ* 1220.

28. See, for instance, the case of Oedipus in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, whose status as an outcast converts him into a destitute wanderer: 'πλανήτην Οἰδίπουν' (vv. 3-4); 'πλανάτας πλανάτας τις ὁ πρέσβυς' (v. 124); 'δυστήνου πλάνου' (v. 1115), as well as specifying that he is 'not a dweller in the land' (vv. 124-125: 'οὐδ' ἔγχωρος'). For Oedipus as a 'beggar': Helmer 2015: 61-80; Fernández Prieto 2020: 270, 274, 393-396, 420-423 and 433; Assán Libé 2020: 91-118. Regarding the connection between poverty, exile and wandering (employing the previous word family), see, among others: Eur. *Hel.* 1676; Isoc. 5. 20-121, 8.24.4 and 9.28; Lys. 12.97.

indistinctly to refer to situations that, albeit similar, are not identical, but correspond to diverse socio-economic realities. Thus, the beggar (*ptochos*) can fall into the general category of 'wanderer', as an 'inactive' and 'wandering (*aletes*) pauper', as with other individuals whose situation, whether temporary or permanent, is marked by poverty, inactivity and wandering. These potential or de facto wanderers included the following: discharged and, therefore, 'unemployed' mercenaries (*misthophoroi*, *xenoi*, *stratiotai*)[29], mendicant soothsayers and priests (*manteis*, *agyrtai*)[30], escaped slaves (*drapetai*), criminals and other exiles (*atimoi*, *phygades*)[31], who, in search of protection, could be equated with supplicants (*hiketai*)[32].

This problem is further compounded when taking into account that the line separating the aforementioned categories is not always clear cut; for example, the same individual could be simultaneously labelled as a 'wandering beggar' (his destitution has led him to beg and wander from place to place), as an exile or outcast (which might be the reason behind the misery in which he has been plunged and which has obliged him to drift from place to place) and/or as a supplicant (a status from which he can benefit in order to obtain a certain degree of protection in his precarious situation as a 'foreign' vagabond in the community in which he arrives).

This is the case, for instance, with the hero Philoctetes in Sophocles' eponymous play. Even though Philoctetes cannot really be classified as a 'wanderer', because of his extreme poverty (in turn, the cause of his forced exile, after being abandoned to his fate on a desert island), he resembles a *ptochos* and supplicant or *hiketes*, who asks Neoptolemus for protection[33].

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29. Trundle 1998; Garland 2014: 174. On the threat posed by these roving bands of mercenaries and the references to the problem in Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, see also Richmond 1995: esp. 82, 90 and 145.

30. For these two figures and their differences and similarities, as well as the close connections between magic, soothsaying and beggary in the ancient Greek world: Fernández Prieto 2020: 264-267 (with a synopsis and bibliography).

31. As regards the difference between *phygas* and *atimos*: Poddighe 1993; Youni 1998: 49-58. As to exiles/outcasts, with a discussion on the terminology of exile and its problems and, in particular, the term *phygas* ('a criminal who escapes from justice', 'escaped slave', 'voluntary exile', 'forced exile': Seibert 1979: 371-407; Gartner 2007; Garland 2014 (esp. Appendix A, with bibliography).

32. The *Theseion* became, at least as of the Classical Age, a place of refuge for escaped slaves and other individuals excluded from the community who came as supplicants: Christensen 1984; Valdés Guía 2000: 41 with nn. 1, 47, 49, 53-54 and bibliography.

33. Soph. *Phil.* 33 ff., 273-275, 470, 484, 495, 773, 930 and 1181. 'Exiled': Jameson 1956: esp. 219; Leder 1990; Karamanou 2013: 37-39 (in Euripides' eponymous work). 'Supplicant': Belfiore 1993: 120 ff.; Sandridge 2008: 442-444. 'Marginalised' and 'destitute' Debidour 2007: 38; Nieto 2010: 196-208; Fernández Prieto 2020: 274 and 396-398.

Oedipus, the legendary king of Thebes and the main character of the eponymous play *Oedipus at Colonus*, is perhaps the clearest exponent of the vagueness of the line separating the aforementioned characters. Indeed, Oedipus the wanderer combines the facets of a beggar, vagabond, exiled/outcast criminal and supplicant.

Although the case of Oedipus has given rise to a certain amount of controversy (since he is not only a mythical figure, but also a highborn person), unlike other characters who use beggary as a temporary disguise, such as Odysseus in the *Odyssey*[34], he ends his days in a situation of 'abject' poverty, in which the reflection of real experiences can be glimpsed. As a matter of fact, at a certain moment of his life a similar fate apparently befalls the archaic aristocrat and poet Theognis of Megara who, as a result of his banishment, is cast into extreme poverty (a theme that, on the other hand, monopolises most of his poetic reflections)[35].

Returning to Oedipus and placing the spotlight first on his facet as a beggar, it should be stressed that the term *ptochos* is only employed to refer to this character twice in the tragedy[36], as with the adjective *planetes*[37], while, conversely, the use of the term *aletes*, plus other derivatives of this word family, predominate[38]. As seen above, both *aletes* and *planetes* underscore the *ptochos*' status as a wanderer and are often employed indistinctly as synonyms of this last term. Oedipus' status as a 'wanderer' and, linked to this, as a 'foreigner' (*xenos*) –an epithet, as already observed, used to refer to the beggar in the *Odyssey*[39]–reinforce that literary image of the Greek beggar as a wanderer and/or foreigner, detached from the community, while connecting with the characterisation of the Theban as an exile and supplicant[40].

Together with the use of a vocabulary that explicitly refers to the status of Oepidus as a wandering beggar, certain aspects of the description of this character allow the erstwhile king of Thebes to be swiftly identified as such. As the archetypical image of the beggar in Greek literature has already been dealt with elsewhere[41], only a general overview is offered here. Starting with his physical appearance, there are principally two

34. Fernández Prieto 2017a, and 2020: 388 ff.
35. Bowie 2007: esp. 42 ff. For poverty in Theognis, see: Cavallero 2001; Nieto 2010: 290 ff.
36. Soph. *OC*. 444 and 751.
37. Soph. *OC*. 3 and 124.
38. Soph. *OC*. 50, 165, 949, 1095 and 1363.
39. On this issue and its problems, see n. 21.
40. For a detailed analysis of Oedipus the beggar as a supplicant and guest, see: Assán Libé 2020: 91-117.
41. Fernández Prieto 2017a, and 2020 (esp. chap. 6) (both with sources and bibliography).

traits defining Oedipus as a beggar: his filthy, tattered clothing[42] and his old, weak and severely malnourished body, rendered more ugly by his mutilated eyes[43]. From a behavioural point of view, the aspect that allows for identifying Oedipus as a beggar is his need to resort to others to ensure his livelihood; to wit, his need to beg, as Oepidus himself reminds his son, '[…] because of you I wander, begging my daily bread from strangers [ἐκ σέθεν δ'ἀλώμενος ἄλλους ἐπαιτῶ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον]'[44]. Nevertheless, the Theban does not display certain recurring attitudes in the representations of the Greek beggar and similar figures, such as greediness, flattery and impudence[45].

Oedipus' destitution is the direct result of the events that Sophocles recounts in *Oedipus the King*: the involuntary murder of his father and his marriage to his mother, with whom he has sired four sons. These crimes, and especially that of parricide, make Oedipus 'impure' and a criminal, whose situation resembles that of the *atimos*, deprived of his estate and forced to abandon his homeland forever[46]. In effect, the fact that the former king of Thebes has been reduced to beggary is directly related in *Oedipus at Colonus* to his status as an exile or outcast (to which reference is made employing derivatives of the nouns φυγάς and ἄπολις and the verb ἐκβάλλω)[47] and indirectly to what that status entails: the loss of one's estate and rootlessness[48].

42. Soph. *OC*. 1258-1259 and 1597.

43. Soph. *OC*. 1 ff., 123 ff.,143, 176, 238, 286, 292, 299 ff., 395, 551 ff., 576 ff., 744 ff. and 1255 ff. As to the connection between old age and poverty, see the recent communications: Fernández Prieto 2021; Valdés Guía & Fernández Prieto 2021.

44. Soph. *OC*. 1363-1364. Although in this case, it is perhaps his daughter Antigone who begs for him: '[…] old man […] I see you, unhappy as you are, a stranger and a wanderer evermore, roaming in beggary, with one handmaid for your support. […] I had not thought that she could fall to such a depth of misery […] she tends forever your dark life amid poverty [ἀεί σε κηδεύουσα καὶ τὸ σὸν κάραπτωχῷ διαίτῃ]' (Soph. *OC*. 745 ff.).

45. Although at a given moment, Polyneices claims, 'I am a beggar and a stranger, as you are yourself; by paying court to others both you and I have a home [πτωχοὶ μὲν ἡμεῖς καὶ ξένοι, ξένος δὲ σύ. ἄλλους δὲ θωπεύοντες οἰκοῦμεν σύ τε κἀγώ]' (vv. 1335-1336). For the moral representation of the beggar, see Fernández Prieto 2020: esp. section 6.2, chap. 6.

46. In the Classical period, the punishment of *atimia* was reserved for certain types of criminals, including murderers, which, at least in the 4th century BC, could involve exile, the loss or confiscation of property and the deprivation of citizenship rights (Hansen 1976: 79; McDowell 1978: 73-75; Gernet 1984; Purcell 1990: 58-59; Humphreys 1991: 33 ff.; Modrzejewski 1991: 5-9; Dmitriev 2015). McDowell (1978:74) contends that, in the Classical period, the *atimos* could conserve certain rights, such as owning land in Attica; while for Bendlin (2007: 185) the *atimos* was not always condemned to exile.

47. Soph. *OC*. 429 ff., 440 ff., 599 ff., 646, 765 ff., 1256 ff. and 1356 ff.

48. For the exile's loss or not of his estate, see *supra* n. 46. On the rootlessness of beggars: Roubineau 2013: 36, and 2015: 303-306; Giammellaro 2013: 30-38 (the beggar represented in spaces characterised

The rootlessness of Oedipus the beggar, as a banished criminal driven to a life of wandering, makes him, in the words of J.M. Roubineau, 'an *aoikos* in the dual sense of the word'[49]. So, his status as a wanderer (*ptochos*, *aletes*, *planetes*) and foreigner (*xenos*)[50] stresses his situation of exclusion and not belonging to the community, even his vulnerability and lack of protection against certain threats and outrages[51]. At the same time, as a *xenos* (in its dual meaning of 'foreigner' and 'guest' with whom relations of *xenia* were maintained, for it should not be forgotten that Oedipus is a king), the Theban wanderer arrives in Athens as a supplicant in search of protection[52]. Initially, Oedipus places himself under the aegis of the *Semnai Theai* (Infernal Goddesses or Erinyes), divinities who, not by chance, are linked to purifying processes associated with crime and the *miasma* deriving from it, such as that faced by the impure parricide Oedipus[53]. As a supplicant, Oedipus soon presents himself to Theseus, king of Athens, to request his protection, a development that can have a dual interpretation: on the one hand, it could be interpreted within the relations of *xenia* uniting these characters[54]; on the other, albeit not exclusively, it might have to do with the nexus established between the hero Theseus and a series of all but marginalised individuals. In effect, Theseus, although still being a key character in the myth of Athenian autochthony, also tends to be identified as a foreigner (due to the fact that he was raised in Troezen) and an *ephebe*[55], as well as *prostates tou demou*, establishing himself as the guarantor of the citizenship of the poorest[56]. Indeed, the temple dedicated to Theseus in the city of Athens (the *Theseion*) would become, at least as of the Classical Age, a refuge for escaped slaves and other marginalised individuals, whose social exclusion and status as supplicants brought to mind precisely (wandering) beggars or *ptochoi*[57].

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by their liminality which underscore his liminal nature); Helmer 2015 (esp. chap. 2: the beggar as a 'homeless' person).

49. See *supra*. Although this author does not explicitly refer to Oedipus, but to Greek beggars in general.

50. For example: Soph. *OC*. 63, 75 ff., 161, 184, 215 and 492.

51. Regarding the lack of protection of the *ptochos* and the violence to which he was subjected: Fernández Prieto 2019, and 2020 (esp. section 7.3 of chap. 7) (both with sources).

52. See *supra* n. 21. On the relations of *xenia* that Oedipus maintains with Theseus, the king of Athens: Assán Libé 2020 (esp. 111 ff.). This same link can be observed between the poverty-stricken Philoctetes and the hero Neoptolemus: Belfiore 1993.

53. Soph. *OC*. 38ff. Cf. Parker 1996 [1983]: 106-107 and 126; Valdés Guía et al. 2007: 108 and 111.

54. See *supra* n. 52.

55. Plut. *Vit. Thes*. 12; Paus. 1.19.1; cf. Walker 1995: 83-112; Valdés Guía 2000: 42.

56. Plut. *Vit. Thes*. 24.1-2 and 25. 1-2; cf. Valdés Guía 2000: 42.

57. Christensen 1984; Valdés Guía 2000: 41 with nn. 1, 47, 49, 53-54 and bibliography.

Although the character of Oedipus in *Oedipus at Colonus* cannot be taken as an example of a 'real' wanderer, this highlights the fact that the Greek wanderer and, more specifically, the wandering beggar, is a complex figure, in which different social and/or economic situations and realities, which all share the same destitution and not belonging to the community, can become blurred or converge. These last characteristics, to which should be added the particular modus vivendi of the wandering beggar, end up converting him, as already observed and as will be seen in greater detail in the following section, into a marginalised figure.

The wanderer and the practice of beggary: a 'self-protection' or 'drastic' survival strategy or simply 'laziness'?

In his book entitled, *Sobre la pobreza en España*, D. Casado claims that

> Beggary is a self-protection strategy to which the poor resort whenever the mechanisms of social integration of the primary support network (family and friends), the market, private social intervention and public social policy all fail[58].

Allowing for the differences to which such a definition gives rise when attempting to understand this phenomenon in an ancient society, certain elements present in it can be applied, with nuances, to the notion of beggary in ancient Greece. These include the conception of beggary as a 'self-protection' strategy, on the one hand, and the idea of beggary as a last resort when all the other strategies that may be implemented for coping with destitution fail and, more specifically, when it is that 'primary support network' that breaks down.

In my PhD thesis, I suggested the importance of such a 'network', composed of kin, friends and neighbours (for instance, when there is a need to offer one or more female relatives, especially orphans or widows, a roof over their heads)[59]. However, the wandering beggar has none of this support. He lacks a family that can or wants to help him (for different reasons, like, for example, for being childless[60], for not being on good

58. Casado 1990: 263-266 (English translation of the original Spanish text).

59. Fernández Prieto 2020: esp. chap. 5.

60. Athenian law obliged children to look after their aged parents: Eu. *Alc.* 662-668; Isae. 8.32; Ar. *Au.* 1353-1357; Aeschin. 1.13 and 28; Dem. 24.106-107; Arist. *Ath.* 56.6; Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 22.1 and 22.4; Diog.

terms with his next of kin[61] or owing to circumstances resulting from war, like pillage, destruction and deportation, which can leave an entire household destitute)[62], without neighbours or 'friends' (for ties of this kind imply a gift and reciprocal gift relationship which, as a rootless and wretched[63] *aoikos*, he is unable to assume), that person has no other choice but to rely on his own wits to survive. It is here that beggary, understood as a 'last means of self-protection' makes sense, particularly when other possible solutions, like, for example, sporadic employment as a day labourer, are unavailable for whatever reason (for instance, when nobody wishes to hire the individual in question).

To the absence of social ties and destitution characterising the life of the wandering beggar and which force him to adopt this lifestyle, should be added a series of moral traits that contribute, together with the aforementioned aspects, to the predominantly negative picture that the Greek literature, from the Homeric poems to the Classical Age, paints of this character: greediness, flattery, charlatanism and 'vagrancy' or 'idleness' (*argia*)[64]. All these 'qualities' attributed to the beggar and, specifically, the last one, are closely linked to the mendicant activity and lack of employment characterising him. Thus, beggary connects with the idea of 'inactivity' and, consequently, of 'unproductive poverty'; an aspect that, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, plays a central role in the sociological classification of the beggar's modus vivendi. At the same time, this 'inactivity', which, as already observed, is linked to a negative moral attribute, viz. 'vagrancy' or 'idleness', converts the wandering beggar into a sort of 'social burden', insofar as he is an unemployed 'good-for-nothing' who prefers scrounging of others to working. This vision of the wandering beggar (possibly also applicable to the 'local' beggar) can be found in the *Odyssey*, as evidenced by the following passage, among others:

Laert. 1.55; Ael. *NA* 9.1. For a recent discussion on this law and its ascription, see, among others: Cantarella 2016; Leão 2016.

61. Regarding the possible generational conflict between parents and children and its exacerbation at the time of the Peloponnesian War, see: Strauss 2002 [1993]; Cantarella 2016: 64. An example of children neglecting their obligation to look after their parents would be the sons of Oedipus, who abandon their aged father to his fate.

62. See, for example: Isoc. 14.46: 'For who could be found to be more unhappy than we are who, in one day deprived of our city, our lands, and our possessions, and being destitute of all necessities alike, have become wanderers and beggars [πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὁμοίως ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες ἀλῆται καὶ πτωχοὶ καθέσταμεν] [...]?'

63. See *supra* n. 48.

64. For the negative image of the *ptochos* and an in-depth analysis of these attributes, see: Fernández Prieto 2017a, and 2020: 81-82 (with n. 114) and section 6.2 (chap. 6), with sources and bibliography.

> Whither, pray, art thou leading this filthy wretch [μολοβρὸν], thou miserable swineherd, this nuisance of a beggar to mar our feasts? […] If thou wouldest give me this fellow to keep my farmstead, to sweep out the pens and to carry young shoots to the kids, then by drinking whey he might get himself a sturdy thigh. But since he has learned only deeds of evil, he will not care to busy himself with work [οὐκ ἐθελήσει ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι], but is minded rather to go skulking through the land, that by begging he may feed his insatiate belly [ἀλλὰ πτώσσων κατὰ δῆμον βούλεται αἰτίζων βόσκειν ἣν γαστέρ' ἄναλτον] […][65].

This critique of 'unproductive poverty' can also be found in Hesiod, who defends the need to work so as to avoid hunger and poverty ('[…] work […] Perses, […] for Hunger is altogether a meet comrade for the sluggard [λιμὸς γάρ τοι πάμπαν ἀεργῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρί]')[66]; an idea that was repeated, a few centuries later, in Xenophon ('[it is] a disadvantage and an evil to be an idler [τὸ δὲ ἀργὸν βλαβερόν τε καὶ κακόν]–that work, in fact, is a blessing, idleness an evil […]')[67], as well as in Isocrates ('[…] knowing that poverty comes about through idleness, and evil-doing through poverty [εἰδότες τὰς ἀπορίας μὲν διὰ τὰς ἀργίας γιγνομένας]')[68]. In the same vein, Plutarch declares that one of the main objectives of the public works programmes promoted by Pericles in the 5th century BC would have been to employ the greatest number of people in order that they should participate 'actively', instead of abandoning themselves to 'laziness and idleness', so that they 'might have a pretext for getting a beneficial share of the public wealth'[69].

Returning to Hesiod, the Boeotian, in addition to defending work as a way of avoiding poverty, he clearly censures idleness and inactivity: 'Both gods and men are angry with a man who lives idle [ἀεργὸς ζώῃ], for in nature he is like the stingless drones who waste the labor of the bees, eating without working.'[70] This parallel drawn between the pauper or, more specifically, the 'lazy' beggar and the 'stingless drone' appears yet again in the Classical period in a passage from Plato's *Republic*: 'And has not God, Adeimantus, left the drones […] stingless one and all […]? […] And from the stingless [drones] finally issue beggars in old age [καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀκέντρων πτωχοὶ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας τελευτῶσιν] […]?'[71]

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65. Hom. *Od*. 17.219-228. In the same vein: 18.357-364 and 20.376-379. With respect to the beggar as a 'wretch' or 'idler', see also: 18.26-27.
66. Hes. *Op*. 299-302. Cf. *ibid*. 413.
67. Xen. *Mem*. 1.2.57.
68. Isoc. 7.44. Cf. 8.75.
69. Plut. *Vit. Per*. 12.5.
70. Hes. *Op*. 303-306.
71. Pl. *Resp*. 552c-d.

'Idleness' or *argia* was indeed classified as a crime in ancient Athens, at least since the time of Solon, who is credited with reducing the penalty previously established by Draco[72]. It is conceivable, however, that this *Nomos argias* originally only punished land-owners who left their land fallow[73], before being converted into a measure against 'ne'er-do-wells' and 'idlers', including wanderers and/or 'the unemployed', namely, potential or de facto *ptochoi*[74].

Conclusions

In sum, we have seen that, from a sociological perspective, wandering and beggary in ancient Greece were two different, albeit closely related, phenomena (to the point that it is not always possible to draw a clear distinction between the two, irrespective of the fact that sedentariness and beggary theoretically allow for differentiating the beggar from the wanderer).

Such a distinction was even more complex in the ancient Greek world, where the term *ptochos* referred to both the situation of the destitute and the beggar per se. Moreover, the latter was usually portrayed as a 'foreigner' (*xenos*), 'wanderer' or 'vagabond' (*aletes, planetes*), which makes the line separating the wanderer and the beggar–two figures that tended to be confused in ancient Greece–even more hazy.

The waters are further muddied by the fact that the word families described above were also employed to describe other 'wanderers' who, due to their poverty, could be equated–although not necessarily so–with wandering beggars: unemployed mercenaries, escaped slaves, mendicant soothsayers and priests, exiles and outcasts and so forth. The case of Philoctetes and above all that of Oedipus, in the work of Sophocles, certainly stress that the line separating the previous categories was not always well defined and that an individual might have found himself in several of these situations at the same time.

Although from a sociological point of view it could be considered as a 'self-protection strategy' for coping with destitution and social rootlessness (without family or friends in moments of need), the practice of beggary characterising the modus vivendi of the wandering beggar tended, in a sense, to exacerbate his 'marginality'. Accordingly, since

72. Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 17.2; Dioeg. Laert. 1.55.

73. G. Nenci (1981: 335) considers the *argia* more a moral than economic concept.

74. Hdt. 2.177; Poll. 8.42; *Lex. Rhet. Cantab., s.v. 'nomos argias'.* Cf. Nenci 1981: 335 (*argia* was more a moral than economic concept). For a more detailed discussion on this punishment, its origin and its application, see: Cecchet 2015: 185 ff.; and 2016.

the Homeric poems the 'inactivity' of the *ptochos*, who lived off–or, rather, scraped by with–the alms that he managed to beg, was understood in terms of 'idleness' (*argia*).

The wandering beggar was thus represented as a 'wandering foreigner', whose rootlessness, destitution and mendicant lifestyle were often viewed with suspicion and aversion. This unflattering idea of wanderers and beggars as 'idle' and 'ne'er-do-wells', certainly has not been limited to the ancient Greek world.

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PROFESSIONAL TRAVEL, BETWEEN ARCHAISM AND CLASSICISM

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The first professional travellers, or rather travelling professionals, included *aoidoi* who had been journeying to palaces and cities to sing epic poetry about the deeds of mythical heroes or legends since the Bronze Age. The first expressions of this phenomenon were characterised by orality, given that *aoidoi*–whose profession was initially linked to this reliance on spoken language for communication–recited traditional accounts into which they typically introduced their own variations on the theme. The orality predominating in these contexts was a historical phenomenon which, appearing in prehistory, coexisted to a large extent with the development of writing, thus explaining the context in which the poems were ultimately framed.

For their part, rhapsodes 'knitted together' many passages, which certainly had their own independent essence, to form units that were arranged over a period that is difficult to determine. Traditions spread through the Troad and the island of Lesbos, such as that recorded by Sappho in her epithalamium for Hector and Andromache (44LP = 56Reinach)[1]. During the Classical Age, *aoidoi* continued to be very active as inspired creators, under the effect of 'enthusiasm' (ἐνθουσιαμός) or divine inspiration, as reflected in the main character of Plato's *Ion*, who, after attending the Epidaurian Asclepieia, then participated in the Panathenaea.

Still in the 5th century BC there were the Homerids of Chios, who reproduced poems in different places in Greece and assumedly participated in the agonistic contests that were held in cities and sanctuaries. They pursued their profession until at least the end of the 6th century BC, according to a scholium on Pindar's *Olympian* 69, which mentions the Homerid Cynaethus of Chios as having been the first to recite the saga in Syracuse. The Homerids might have played a role in the Peisistratid recension, as with Cynaethus himself, who composed in writing the *Hymn to Apollo*, which was sung at the festivals of Delos, promoted by Polycrates of Samos in 523 BC, together with an earlier hymn

1. Aloni 1986.

attributed to Homer himself. In light of the foregoing, *aoidoi* can be defined as creators and reciters, both complementary facets of their profession.

It is important to stress that additions and variations were constantly being introduced into epic poetry, while those of individuals and cities, or of rhapsodes, even though they were not regarded as creators, but reciters, were being added to or modified up until at least 150 BC, when one sole version imposed itself. Beforehand, their task had not been radically different from that of poet-singers, until the written versions gained the upper hand. Even then, rhapsodes composed and ordered songs. This is the reason why the topics are always intertwined, thus painting a complex picture in which it is not always easy to identify the original work of the poet and the modifications introduced by *aoidoi*. Hitherto, orality had still carried weight in the construction and transmission of poems and had continued to influence language itself, as well as storylines and constant references between scenes and situations which bear witness to unified trends.

In the different invocations of poets, the Muses symbolised the synthesis between memory and poetic inspiration. For this reason, Gentili differentiates orality from composition (i.e. oral composition), on the one hand, and from communication and transmission (including improvisation, recitation and the role of rhapsodes), on the other, although he explains the reality of epic poetry and practices of the historical age as the integrated formation of different elements[2]. These leveraged the legacy of memory and techniques for applying it, which included the gift for improvisation based on a sort of mental gymnastics practiced among professional groups. Indeed, epic poetry mentions several myths, referring to events before and after the Trojan War, which must have been circulating in the age of writing. Such stories were the building blocks with which *aoidoi* constructed longer narratives.

Together with short recitations, the *Odyssey* includes the long account from Cantos IX to XIII. One of the problems that the historical nature of epic poetry poses is the transition from short stories to monumental works. The recitation of the former was apparently much easier to grasp. It has been generally assumed that the full recitation of a work would have taken three or four days. While it has also been proposed that, on other occasions, groups of four cantos would have been recited in six days, in daily four-hour sessions, or in three days, in double sessions, by a group of four *aoidoi*. However, it is also plausible that recitations were less formal, involving the recitation of loose cantos of a poem which was thus gradually revealed, such as the partial recitations present in the *Odyssey*. In this way, the same recitation mechanics would have ended up establishing

2. Gentili 1984.

the composition as a whole. As a matter of fact, the examples of poetic interventions in epic poetry are always shorter, regardless of whether or not they focus on a sole theme.

This is why there are different theories about the history of epic poetry, such as that which defends the existence of anonymous short poems up until the Peisistratid recension, in relation to the origins of writing. This interpretation is supported by Plato's *Hipparchus* (228 BC), in which it is noted that rhapsodes had the obligation to recite poems uninterruptedly at the Panathenaea, a process in which they surely continued to mutate. This Platonic information is generally accepted, at least with respect to the introduction of epic poetry in Athens, where epic themes began to be portrayed more often on Attic pottery as of the end of the 6th century BC, the period of the tyranny (528-514 BC), in parallel to the proliferation of inscribed stelas in Attica, according to the aforementioned Platonic dialogue. It was also the first time that Homer as a poet was credited with the poems. It is likely that these poems were standardised, perhaps as a result of the practices of the Homerids[3], a professional clan that claimed descent from the Greek author, thus allowing for their complete recitation at festivals. This would coincide with the cultural policy implemented by the Peisistratids, set on assuming the legacy of Ionian culture by holding sway over those peoples who identified themselves as its heirs, in their migration to and colonisation of Asia Minor, a territory that was thenceforth identified as 'Ionian'. It would have also coincided with the dissemination of the Ionian alphabet and literary creations relating to the lyric arts, such as the work of Simonides, and to rituals like those associated with the dithyramb and orphic practices, which paved the way for the publication of the works of Orpheus which the Pythagoreans would have promoted.

In the *Odyssey* (17.381-386), Eumaeus includes an *aedo* among the foreigners who are welcomed as professionals, along with demiurges, soothsayers and physicians[4], in a context in which his audience is not only formed by aristocrats, but also includes the *demos*. During their performances, *aoidoi* introduced constant changes, which were reflected in the life of the *polis*, at dramatic festivals–such as the Panathenaea and the Dionysia–where tragedies were performed or epic poems were sung, which were complementary genres in archaic and classical Athens. *Aoidoi* were creators who sung verses to different melodies in each case, accompanied by the lyre, meaning that these works were not only of a narrative but also musical character, with each recitation giving rise to a new work. The themes that were covered included the journeys of Odysseus, among others.

3. Shapiro 1989.
4. Finley 1954.

According to Victor Bérard, epic poetry might have served as a guide for Phoenician travellers[5]. By and large, it dealt with *nostoi*, namely, 'returns', while also highlighting the creation of cults as a sign of Hellenisation. In this way, the memory of foundational voyages was thus recorded and the role played by the Phaeacians and the construction of the *polis* were presented. The Phaeacians lived in a place 'hard by the Cyclopes' (*Od.* 6.5), until they were settled in Scheria, a place of refuge for lost seafarers. The general backdrop was, therefore, that of the colonisations. The Phaeacians were 'ἔσχατοι' (*Od.* 6.205), the furthermost of men who lived in an almost fantasy world, 'Ὑπερείῃ' (*Od.* 6.4), *Hypereia*, a 'faraway land'. It was Nausithous–a name deriving from ναῦς[6]–who moved them and, once in Scheria, they built temples and divided the ploughlands (*Od.* 6.10). In effect, they marked the transition from orality to the formation of the *polis*.

Phaeacia appears as a symbol of liminality, an aspect which, in historical terms, is also attributed to Ithaca in its relationship with Korkyra, Thesprotia, Italy and Sicily, the departure point for crossing the Strait of Otranto. This is reflected in Odysseus' journey in the *Odyssey*, in the invented journeys and in the epigonous narratives of the adventures of Odysseus and Telemachus. Both the colonists of Korkyra and those of Pithekoussai dedicated inscriptions to Odysseus on the island of Ithaca, as the place from where he had departed on his journeys to the West. For this reason, it was only natural that the Greeks should identify Korkyra with the mythical Scheria, where the foundation of a colony is described in the *Odyssey*.

From a similar ideological perspective, the Sirens and the Trojan War (*Od.* 12.184-192) are also connected. The Sirens offered men knowledge, 'we know all things'. Scylla and Charybdis (*Od.* 12.234-259) gave rise to the same ritual impressions, while the ways of assimilating real and symbolic spaces interfered with the recollections transmitted by real travellers when the expeditions to the West got underway, thus resulting in the painting of an ambiguous picture halfway between reality and imagination stimulated by the journeys themselves, notwithstanding the fact that many impressions stemmed from contacts with the Phoenicians and, therefore, indirectly made their way into Greek epic poetry. Either way, the *Odyssey*'s interest in the West was a new development with respect to the *Iliad*. In Canto V of the *Odyssey*, Hermes is tasked with freeing Odysseus from the clutches of Calypso, who has offered him immortality, at the world's end. As a nymph, she is an ambiguous character, an attractive

5. Bérard 1933.
6. Hainsworth 1982: *ad loc*.

and dangerous woman. Yet, the poem's adventures as a whole apparently supplement the main theme, which is the internal conflict in Ithaca[7].

In Aetos, to the west of the island of Ithaca, at the bottom of the Molos Gulf, there appeared an inscription celebrating the virtue of *xenia* in the Archaic period, which would surely define the island's main role as a place of refuge and transit for travellers. In the *Odyssey*, Ithaca marks the limit or the threshold between the imaginary world and that of the real voyages made by colonists, a place of transit for everyone, from Corinthians to Euboeans, who began to leave their mark on the island as of the 8th century BC, a moment when pottery of this provenance replaced the hitherto predominant type, commonplace in the regions of western mainland Greece, between Messenia and Epirus. The region was the destination of Odysseus' second journey from Ithaca, by way of Aetolia, Ilia and Arcadia where he came into contact with their inhabitants, far removed from the fantastic nature of the journeys described in the *Odyssey*, above all the accounts of Alcinous, the king of the Phaeacians. The places mentioned in the account of this second journey are now the seats of royal houses or inhabited by peoples descending from Odysseus, in circumstances prophesied by Teiresias in Canto XI. The region's royal houses, both Greek and non-Greek, seemingly serve as a way of connecting with the merchants of Ithaca and the Ionian islands. The Greeks conceived their travelling heroes as founders with the ability to establish links between Greeks and non-Greeks, the model of the *oikistai*, and to cross the boundaries of the world and between life and death.

Odysseus' *nostos* would only be completed at the end of the *Odyssey*. The relationship with the continent is omnipresent in the poem's more realistic narratives, as in the hero's journey following the death of the suitors and after having performed a sacrifice to the Nymphs and before performing those prescribed by Teiresias. The hero's role as a way of connecting with peripheral peoples through his *nostos* is thus completed. Accordingly, the Hellenisation of those peoples and the heroising of the recently deceased among their rulers were both fostered[8]. Identified as possessing heroic lineages, the ruling classes would then organise their subjects on the basis of an ethnic entity shaped in the transition to archaism.

This is why spatial designations based on heroic journeys are frequent[9]. This poses serious problems when attempting to establish a Homeric geography after the fashion of Strabo, which includes references to the Ocean, conceived as an element surrounding

7. Powell 1997: 129.
8. Malkin 1998: 136.
9. *Ibid.*

the land and from whom all rivers flow and every sea wells (*Il.* 21.196-197), particularly when the geographer himself (1.2.18) alludes to the concept of *exokeanismos*, as a procedure consisting in transferring imaginary events to the Ocean. Mythical and colonial geography combine as one. In that world, the figure of the Cyclops, protected by Poseidon, who embodies the sea as an enemy of Odysseus and who is to blame for all his ills, is introduced. Odysseus suffers hardships as sea, in which there is an island on which he must pass seven years and, according to the goddess Athena in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 1.50), 'where is the navel of the sea'. That confrontation is behind the storm sent against Odysseus, who is protected from Poseidon's wrath by Ino Leucothea. It is this cruel god who demands bloody sacrifices and who represents the most deplorable aspects of sea voyages, as in the case of Idomeneus, the grandson of Minos, whose archaic features associate him with the Minoan tradition. A watery grave would not bring him *kleos*, as would have happened if he had died before Troy (*Od.* 5.308-311). Ino accompanies him to his rebirth in Scheria, as the return from the untamed land of the West.

The storyline of Cantos IX to XII is interpreted[10] as an interval between the Trojan War and life in the kingdom of Ithaca. The episode featuring the Cyclops, regardless of whether or not it was originally an independent narrative, is considered as a key point in the account of the journeys of Odysseus, the start of a wild existence, thus fleshing out his new adventures following his damnation and persecution by Poseidon[11]. It is an adventure closer to the experiences of colonial voyages, with its considerations of the civilisation and primitive existence typical of peoples who are powerful but lack the resources to which those living in cities have access. The travelling hero crosses the threshold of civilisation from the world of the *oikos* and the *polis* intrinsic to 'bread eaters' towards the wild world of the Cyclops and the Laestrygonians, the former being characterised by their lack of agorae and laws (*Od.* 9.112-115). Following this (*Od.* 10.1-76) there is the episode featuring Aeolus, a floating island like the Symplegades and the Planctae, considered as representing the limits of reality in a mentality shaped by colonial ventures. Odysseus' comrades associate the episode of the Cyclops with the actions of the Laestrygonians (*Od.* 10.199-200), who would be the prototype of barbarians. This episode seems to combine Eastern and Western elements, coinciding in their location on the margins, as appears to be the case with the island of Circe and other episodes featuring far-flung places.

10. Segal 1993.
11. Haubold 1993: 106.

The island then seems to have become a 'port of trade', like Pithekoussai, Thasos and Gades. Having said that, it apparently maintained its character as a port of call for travellers, with whom it had diverse contacts, while its own pottery influenced by those multiple contacts circulated in Southern Italy. Ithaca tends to be identified with the modern-day island going by the same name, insofar as archaeologists have discovered many references that could be understood as being consistent with the current landscape[12], like, for example, in the *Odyssey* (4.600-608) when Telemachus considers that there are no pastures fit for horses, and the references to the many Mycenaean remains (9.21-27 and 13.242-7). Eumaeus' hut and the cave of the Nymphs, with its offerings to Odysseus, in the bay of Polis, continually in use since the 2nd millennium BC, in the Late Helladic IIIC, a place popular with those sailing through from the north, have also been pinpointed. The port of Phorkys has been identified with that of Vathi, on the east coast, the main port for the islanders, while the island of Same would correspond to modern-day Cephalonia[13]. The cave of the port of Vathi would have been that of the Nymphs. Another cave close to Stravros yielded several bronze tripods dating from the end of the 9th century, which have subsequently been associated with the *Odyssey* (13.368), in which there is reference to the gifts of the Phaeacians. This corresponds to the same period during which the myth of the adventures of Odysseus was forged. It could plausibly be a votive sanctuary of that age, which might point to the existence of the *Odyssey* at the time or, at least, the dissemination of accounts featuring the king of Ithaca[14]. Such benchmarks underpin what can be considered as the historical foundations of the *Odyssey*.

The general framework of the *Odyssey* were the real voyages of the proto-colonial age and the mythical geography of the Mediterranean. In the narratives of the poet and the main characters, in a sort of fantastic adventure genre, the action takes place in many places, in addition to Troy and Ithaca. Particularly noteworthy are those of Odysseus himself in the palace of Alcinous, which coincides with the moment when he reveals his identity, after weeping at the memories that the story sung by Demodocus has made him recall. Alcinous praises Odysseus' departure after the fall of Troy (*Od*. 11.363-9). However, the king of Ithaca combines truth and falsehood (*Od*. 13.291-302), in the same way as he disguises himself and goes by the name of 'Nobody'. He often appears as a unheroic character, like, for instance, as the suitor of Helen in Hesiod (Fr. 198MW).

12. Stanford & Luce 1974.
13. Powell 1997: 137.
14. Malkin 1998: 45.

As an epic character, he possesses certain peculiarities, such as the fact that he built his own marriage bed, as in the story of Palamedes, who also appeared in *The Cypria* and received the attention of archaic pottery painters. Odysseus then tries to avoid the war, which has been caused by Zeus as a way of resolving the demographic problem (Fr. 1 Bernabé). In the main, he is portrayed as being more realistic than the other heroes who, although they admire him, sometimes see him as a stranger.

A similar, albeit more secondary, role is played by Diomedes and, as to non-Greek settlements, Aeneas. Nevertheless, Diomedes is present in many Western colonial traditions, above all on the coasts of the Adriatic, as the hero of the Daunians, the Veneti of Venice and the Illyrians, in relation to the traditions linking him to Aetolia. On the other hand, Pseudo-Scymnus (442-443) refers to the Greek city of Oricus, facing Otranto across the sea, as a Euboean colony founded after the Trojan War, a place in which large quantities of Greek pottery from the Middle Geometric II period have been discovered[15]. The Bylliones, who lived in the vicinity, claimed descent from Achilles' son Neoptolemus, as with the Molossians, notwithstanding the fact that in the *Odyssey* (*Od*. 3.189) his fate appears to be awaiting him in the house of his father. But it was thus possible to assert the heroic lineage of the kings of Epirus, of Pyrrhus, called by Neoptolemus' other name.

The world of the gift and reciprocal gift and the relevance of a particular *xenia* versus tribal alliances is to be found in the story of Glaucus and Diomedes (*Il.* 6.119-236), with the poet's comments, which seems to point to the existence of forms of trade and price evaluation, to closer forms of reciprocity than those inherent to the market. The lineage of Diomedes is presented as a mark of heroic identity. Each one recounts a myth, that of Lycurgus and Dionysus and that of Bellerophon, who gave Aeneus the cup that Diomedes conserved, a symbol of the aforementioned lineage. Hospitality, *xenia*, was above warring parties.

In the *Odyssey* (*Od*. 14.274-285 and 21.35) there is an exchange of gifts between Odysseus and Iphitus, who gives him the bow that he received from Eurytus, a symbol of their long-standing relationship. This theory is clearly expressed in Canto I (*Od*. 1.311-18), when Telemachus welcomes Athena in disguise. Thus, Odysseus becomes the heir to the heroic tradition of the superior men of the past, such a Achilles, as the heir to the lance of the Aeacids (*Il.* 16.141-144).

15. *Id.*: 78-79.

Diomedes continues his adventures in Italy. Nagy[16] believes that the simile that the Homeric poet applies to Penelope in the *Odyssey*, who he considers to be a nightingale that sings by means of variations, which for the Harvard professor are similar to those of minstrels or to the art of variation as employed in music, is also applicable to himself (*Od*. 19.518-523). During their performances at dramatic festivals like the Panathenaea and the Dionysia, where tragedies were performed or epic poems were recited–which were complementary genres in archaic and classical Athens–*aoidoi* introduced constant changes which were reflected in the life of the *polis*. According to Nagy, both genres are based on mimesis or the capacity for imitation, such as that addressed by Aristotle (*Poet.* 23-24= 1459a17-1460b5), who stresses the similarities between them through mimesis.

On the other hand, the flipside of the reality defining the origins of archaism, together with the transition from heroic wars to the formation of *poleis*, the founding of colonies and the constitution of new ethnic entities in contact with indigenous peoples, takes as a benchmark the contacts between Odysseus and the Mediterranean peoples, based on the accounts of *nostoi*, in a similar way to those of other heroes, like Diomedes, which pottery painters employed as a theme. Myths of travellers are a departure point for defining the ethnicity of those peoples in relation to the Greeks, elements of identity building and otherness, in which they are defined in relation to the others and vice versa[17]. Philoctetes is a very clear example of how the colonists who had already settled in Italy helped newcomers to integrate with the local populations.

In the Archaic Age, a period of considerable colonial activity, the figure of Odysseus and those of other heroes were reflected in the identification of the Mediterranean territories[18], a proto-colonisation model employed by the colonists themselves, who focused on returns in general, principally that of Odysseus himself. This marked the beginning of ancient geographical speculations[19]. Many of the Homeric heroes received oracular worship on points along the coast, such as Menestheus (Str. 3.1.9, 140), while others, as in the case of Odysseus, were worshiped since the pre-Homeric Age.

The places of encounter between the Greeks and the Phoenicians, known as *phoinikes*, frequently appear in epic poems, above all in the *Odyssey*, although it is striking that only Sidon is mentioned as a Phoenician city, since in the period when they were composed Tyre was the most important. This would have been when they were written down,

16. Nagy 2004.
17. Malkin 1998: 5.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Carlier 2005: 135.

which coincided with the Greek renaissance, a phenomenon emerging in Asia Minor and in some cities in the process of formation, like those on the island of Euboea, which played a leading role in the colonial movement. Hence the importance of the finds on the island of Ischia, where Nestor's Cup was discovered in a mixed archaeological site characterising the first colonial movements, based on the contacts with the Phoenicians. It was retrieved from the tomb of a young man from a very wealthy family, replete with Greek and Eastern objects, who was promised the favours of Aphrodite. In epic poetry, gold and silver appear in the shape of objects or with their weight given in talents, as an aristocratic instrument of exchange and spoils of war. The veil that Hecuba offers Athena (*Il.* 6.287-295) also came from Sidon, as with the peplos that Paris would have given to Helen on their voyage from Sparta and which, according to Diomedes in the *Iliad* (6.289-292), was the handiwork of Sidonian women. Herodotus (2.113-115) seizes the opportunity to claim that Homer was acquainted with Paris' voyage to Troy by way of Egypt, the redistribution centre of Phoenician trade at the time. In the *Odyssey* (4.228-229), Helen places a drug, given to her by the Egyptian Polydamna, in the wine of Telemachus and Peisistratos to make them forget their ills.

The free *demos*, as clients, figured among those living in palaces and on their lands, where they performed tasks as dependents and received in exchange protection, security and a livelihood; foreigners, including *aoidoi*, also rendered services. Therefore, the profession of the latter was more similar to that of artisans, namely, people who plied a trade, than to that of creative individuals, however much memory was regarded as a gift of the Muses. It has been hypothesised that such foreigners might have been responsible for transmitting the orientalising aspects that were disseminated in Greek culture during the development of archaism. The leading role would, of course, have been played by the Phoenicians. For this reason, as myths were transmitted versions of them emerged, thanks to the skills of *aoidoi* and owing to the need to adapt them to different circumstances and audiences. *Aoidoi* were creators who sung verses with a different melody in each case, accompanied by the lyre, which signifies that they were not only narrative, but also musical, works. Each recitation produced a new work.

In the historical age, physicians were some of the most frequent professional travellers: according to Pliny (*HN* 29.12-13), Casius Hemina asserts that Archagathus, the son of Lysanias, was the first physician to come to Rome from the Peloponnese in 219 BC, where he obtained citizenship, but was nicknamed *carnificem*. Physicians then travelled to the four corners of the Roman world. This led to the spread of the terminology of epidemics, employed by Hippocrates in this sense, although it had been used before to designate the stay of professionals, including physicians, in a specific locality.

Herodotus talks about travellers as being as curious as sophists (Hdt. 1.29.1). *The Histories* itself is presented as a journey whose purpose is to gain scientific knowledge. According to the Greek historian and geographer (1.29.1), to see the world 'all the sages [σοφισταί] from Hellas [...] came to Sardis', including Solon who went abroad in an action expressed with the verbal form ἀπεδήμησε, combined, as a predicate of ἐπιδημέω, with κατά θεωρίης πρόφασιν, with observation as the motive, through the term relating to the action of watching and to spectacle (*theatron*). The author also employs the verb that served to designate the activity of sophists as intellectual travellers.

It would be a meeting point between logographers and geographers, with the use of the verbs ἀποδημέω and ἐπιδημέω. As can be observed in his knowledge of Italy and the Adriatic, Herodotus travelled to Thurii, although it is less certain that this was the case with other places. He came to Sudan by way of Egypt; he also passed through Cyrene and Libya in North Africa, and Phoenicia. Furthermore, he professed to know by autopsy, while referring to travellers like Coleus.

Herodotus visited Cyzicus and Proconnesus (Hdt. 4.14.1), going beyond the current conception of travel: the mythical journeys that were shaped according to the needs of colonists, then gave way to 'scientific' journeys, albeit still replete with mythical aspects.

An example of this was the practice of measuring spaces, as Scylax of Caryanda does in the *Periplus* (6th century BC) when travelling down the river Indus to the Persian Gulf. He provides knowledge of colonial voyages, although idealised. In *Periplus I* (THA IIB61a), he arrives at the Pillars of Heracles. In 111 (=THA IIB61d), he mentions an excellent voyage from Carthage to Gadira. Subsequent tradition credits him with a voyage across the Mediterranean. Those journeys with the aim of acquiring knowledge formed the basis of geography, to a great extent inseparable from the *Historiê*.

Hecataeus, who is presented as a precursor to Herodotus, seems to have measured areas of the Bosphorus, the Pontus (F196, see Hdt. 4.86). He refers to Asian *poleis*, as recorded by Stephen of Byzantium (F200-216). He even mentions the Scythians, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (22.8.9.; F197). Hecataeus addresses Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia (F255-268), Asia Minor (269-270), southwest Asia (271-280) and the Pontus (281-288), Hyrcania, the Parthians, the Indus (289-299) and Egypt (F300 in Hdt. 2.143; F301= Arr. *Anab.* 5.6.5; F302a). In Diodorus (Diod. Sic. 1.37.1-7), he describes the Nile and its floods and sources; in F302b (Hdt. 2.19-23), he also refers to the Ocean river (F302c= sch. Ap. Rhod. 4.259= F18a *supra*). His work is characterised by the concatenation of time and space[20], the union between history and geography.

20. Rodríguez Hornillo 2012: 81.

In the history of Greek literature, Herodotus stands out for several key concepts in the transition to what is normally classified as 'classical'. Heir to the logographers, it is he who gave rise to historiography, but, in the same vein, he was also the heir to the geographers. For the purpose of defining historiography as a product of classicism, understood as an intellectual attitude, his approach aimed to differentiate his journeys from those of explorers and *peripli* by understanding their intellectual ambitions. Through them, attempts have been made to study those journeys deriving from curiosity and with scientific purposes[21]. Their specificity versus the rest is their essence. Herodotus was interested in all those aspects of what he saw or what he could glean from them.

A model of cultural travel could be the journeys that were made to Olympia, like Herodotus' to Egypt (2.7), characteristic of the *Historiê* and the ὄψις (2.99). Or those who travelled along the sacred way to Delphi (6.34.2). These journeys also had certain initiatory aspects (2.49-50). There is also the case of Solon who embarked on a journey (Pl. *Ti*. 22b) in the quest for wisdom (Hdt. 2.4.13), as did Plato (Str. 17.1.29). Strabo applies the term *logos* to geographical descriptions (5.2.1). While, in *Parmenides* (126b) and *Theaetetus* (143a), Plato sets out for the purpose of acquainting himself with the dialogues of Socrates.

In *Herodotus* (1-3), Lucian praises this author for his technique for winning a reputation by travelling the length and breadth of Greece, above all to the Olympics; he participated not as a spectator, but as an agonist, thus making him better known than the *Olympionikai*, the victors of the games. At one sole gathering, he won the approval of all and sundry. Lucian claims that it was a lesson that Hippias, among others, learned. There, he showed himself to be an admirable historian of the Greeks (7).

According to Plato (*Prt*. 313d), it was the disciples of the sophists who took their knowledge to the cities. He then goes on to mention (315a) the presence of disciples, by and large foreigners, like Antimoerus of Mende. They were marginalised characters who practiced their profession as sophists by means of 'epidemics', viz. by travelling from city to city.

Protagoras travelled throughout Hellas, according to Plato (*Meno* 91e): 'ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα'. For his part, Cicero (*Nat. D.* 1.24.63) asserts that he was expelled from Athens: '*Atheniensium iussu urbe atque agro est exterminatu*' (DK80A23). While Hippias encountered him in Sicily: 'Πρωταγόρου αὐτόθι ἐπιδημοῦντος καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦντος' (Pl. *Hp. Mai.* 282de). According to Athenaeus (218B), in his *The Flatterers* Eupolis 'τὸν Πρωταγόραν ὡς ἐπιδημοῦντα εἰσάγει ... ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον ἐπεδήμησε ταῖς Ἀθήναις' (DK80A11). To Hippias'

21. Striano 2000.

(DK86C1= Pl. *Prt.* 337C) mind, all competitors came from Greece to the same prytaneum of wisdom. Philochorus (fr. 168 FHG I 412= *FGrH* 328F217) recounts how he was shipwrecked on his way to Sicily (Euripides in the *Ixion* N^2 p. 490=DK80A1=Diog.Laert. 9.55). The small vessel in which he was travelling sunk, according to Philostratus. He died after being shipwrecked en route to Sicily (DK80A3= sch. Pl. *Resp*. 600c).

Philostratus (*V S* 1.16) declares that Critias was in Thessaly: it is held that, despite being a descendant of Solon and his contacts with Socrates, he was perverted during his stay in Thessaly where he learned tyrannical practices. He also travelled to Leontini. Xenophon (*Mem*. 1.2.24) contends that he journeyed to Thessaly where he made the acquaintance of men who were more inclined to anomy than to justice; while Anacreon, Critias' lover, emigrated to Attica (DJ88A2 = scholium to Aesch. *P V* 130). Plato (*Chrm*. 157E) also mentions Anacreon, who he identifies as one of Critias' eulogisers. According to Athaeneus (Ath. 13.600D, 88B1), he came to Teos. He participated in Lacedaemonian symposia (Ath. 10.432D= DK88B6) to praise their eating and drinking customs. Critias credits Chilon with the μηδὲν ἄγαν, according to a scholium to Euripides' *Hippolytus* 264 (DK 88B7). In Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, Critias refers to the πολυτελεία and the drinking customs of the Lacedaemonians (DK88B33 = Ath. 11.463E), contrasting them with those of Chios, Thasos, Attica and Thessaly. And there is yet a further reference to the customs of the Lacedaemonians in Athenaeus[22].

The *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* also mentions the construction of cities and ethnic groups, and the Milesian-made couch, 'κλίνη Μιλησιουργής' (DK88B35 = Ath. 11.486E, Harp. *s.v.* 'Λυκιουργεῖς'). It also comments on the situation of the Helots because of the fear that they arouse (DK88B37= Lib. Or. 25.63=II, 567 Forster). And, for his part, Critias participates in the *agon* of the Pythian Games (DK88B51= Planudes, *Rhetoric of Hermogenes*, 5.484 Walz).

In the Δισσοὶ λόγοι 2, distinctions are drawn between the customs of different peoples: what for some is beautiful, for others is shameful. This forms the basis of the idea that nothing is completely one or the other (2.19), 'τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσχρὸν καὶ καλόν ἐστι' (2.21). It describes a variety of peoples: Egyptians, Massageteans, Macedonians, Thracians, Thessalonians and so forth. They also differ in what is thought to be fair and unfair (3), thereby it would be necessary to know all the laws (8.10).

From the *aedo* to the sophist, the history of professionals who pursued their intellectual activities in Greece unfolded during the transition from archaism to classicism, from epic poetry to sophistry, through medicine, regardless of their political leanings.

22. Ath. 11.463= DK88B34. Also in Ath. 483B = DK88B34; Plut. *Vit. Lyc.* 9.7; Poll. 6.97.

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INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY AND CIRCULATION OF KNOWLEDGE: THE 'ITINERANT' HISTORIAN IN THE 4TH CENTURY BC

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As we know, investigating the phenomenon of mobility in the Greek world in relation to its individual dimension poses both challenges and objective limits, stemming not only from the scarcity and peculiarity of sources but also from the inevitable degree of partiality and subjectivity potentially underlying the very representation of the reality of the journey, even when the information is mediated from a perspective extraneous to the traveller himself, i.e. it reflects the point of view of someone who has observed from the outside the dynamics of the mobility of a specific individual or has suffered its effects. If, however, we focus our attention on individual mobility as a voluntary activity–thus excluding phenomena conditioned by compulsory extrinsic factors such as emigration or exile–we can see how the vision of the journey as it appears in the oldest literary records generally tends to avoid the more strictly autobiographical aspects and the evaluation of the experience itself as a source of value enrichment, to focus rather on its instrumental function as an activity connected with specific practical needs.

More specifically, particular attention should be paid to that peculiar 'category' of individuals who deliberately moved away from home driven by cultural needs related to their 'professional' activity:[1] among them, historians in particular are a special case study,

1. While, on the whole, studies devoted to the theme of mobility in the Greek world have mainly focused on collective social phenomena (see for example the essays recently collected in De Angelis [2020]; a differentiated examination of the causes is provided by Costanzi and Ulf, *ibid.*), as far as individual mobility is concerned, the attention paid to the voluntary movements of individuals identified in various ways as 'cultural professionals' was undoubtedly more episodic and mostly concentrated, partly because of the documentation available, on the Hellenistic Age and the Roman Imperial Period, with particular attention to poets and artists (in addition to the canonical overview by Guarducci 1929, see in particular Hunter & Rutherford 2009) and sophists and philosophers (see especially Montiglio 2005: 9-117 and 147-220; Pretzler 2007 and, more recently, Bearzot 2019, which also considers the case of the 'migration' of logographers to Athens in the 5th century BC, albeit motivated by personal contingencies, as in the case of Lysias and Dinarchus). For a general examination of the phenomenon of travel in relation to Greek historians, see Schepens 2006.

especially if we want to investigate the nature of the conceptual approach to mobility by Greek intellectuals 'on the move' in relation to actual awareness of its cognitive and cultural function.

Contrary to expectations, however, the *Histories* of Herodotus do not offer anything that can be assessed in this respect, even though this work constitutes in the common imagination the product in which mobility and historiographical practice are synthesised. Similarly, no contribution is given by the meagre remains of earlier or contemporary historiographical production, in which the very essence of the periegetic activity and the *historie* of the Ionian tradition must have been condensed through multiple travel experiences. Moreover, it is no coincidence that the 'forefather' of this tradition, Hecataeus of Miletus, was defined by Agathemerus as 'πολυπλανής', a qualification that is not redundant, and not even evocative of sapiential suggestions of Odyssean memory, but strictly functional to substantiate the information according to which he made corrections to the first cartographic representation of the ecumene, drawn by his 'predecessor' Anaximander:[2] an operation that Hecataeus could only have accomplished through the experience of his many travels. It is not known whether and what authorial indications regarding the journeys made were present in Hecataeus' production, but it is clear that through the description of Agathemerus one can understand the close correlation between mobility and the concrete possibility of achieving a certain pragmatic result.

This basic view, essentially instrumental and pragmatic, of the function of travel is effectively reflected in the geo-ethnographical sections of Herodotus' *Histories*, in which not only the critical attitude towards previous cartographic representations and the intention to remedy them are explicitly stated[3], but also the lack of attention to travel as an experience in itself is clearly evident; this latter aspect can be easily deduced from the scarcity of logistical references to the itineraries, as well as from the total absence of an overall –even embryonic–plan of his travels, so as to make it impossible to effectively reconstruct them[4]. The very purposes of his movements, when stated, are usually limited to

2. Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio* 1.1:12 A6 Diels-Kranz = Ar 47 Wöhrle; *FGrHist* 1 T12a.

3. Hdt. 4.36.2. For passages that concretely testify to Herodotus' attempt to overcome, even on a conceptual level, the limitations identified in the previous representations of the *oikoumene*, see recently Bichler 2018: 139-142; see also, on the aspect of problematising conventional geographical delimitations, Harrison 2007: 44-52.

4. There has been no shortage of those, starting with Fehling (1971), who have cast doubt on even the historical reality of his travels: for a rebuttal of the arguments underlying this 'denialist' position, see Scheppens 2006: 85-86 and nn. 17-18.

concrete, circumscribed and targeted information needs[5]. In essence: although travelling has an objective relevance in Herodotus' historiographical practice[6], since it constitutes not only the only means of gathering information, but also the only means of verifying it–and the use of the *hodos* metaphor to indicate different or alternative versions of a *logos* is highly emblematic in this sense[7]–the historian's subjective perception of it seems to be rather limited, as the *Histories* lack any authorial reflection on autobiographical aspects[8] and on the value of this kind of experience, as well as on the related cognitive enrichment and its methodological significance.

Instead, we need to look at the following century to see some signs of a conceptual evolution in this regard, although this 'pragmatic perspective' is still particularly present in the creation of historiographical products deliberately related to travel experiences: one thinks in particular about Xenophon's *Anabasis*, so close to Herodotus' approach in the parts where the description ventures into presenting the geographical and ethnographical information gathered along the itinerary during the march of the Ten Thousand[9]. Unlike Herodotus, however, Xenophon pays more attention to the actual details of the movements (the measurement of the entire route in parasangs is a good example)[10], in an autobiographical projection of the experience that seems to bring his account closer to the modern concept of the 'travel diary'[11], albeit in a perspective–that of military memory and self-celebration–undoubtedly *sui generis* and in any case, even in this case, devoid of conceptual reflections on the actual cognitive, cultural and methodological enrichment deducible from the experience itself.

Signs of a more conscious 'value-based' approach, however, seem to be discernible from information about one of his contemporaries: Theopompus of Chios. In spite of

5. See Schepens 1980: 52-53; Dorati 2011: 274-275.

6. It is a fact that, from the perspective of geographical description and ethnographical enquiry, Herodotus' historical writing reflects the experience of travel in the synthesis between autopsy and collection of local oral traditions: on these aspects see Schepens 2006: 83-86.

7. See Hdt. 1.95.1, 1.117.2 and 2.20.1. Herodotus' 'hodological' approach is manifested first and foremost in the perception of physical space, in the representation of distances, in the narrative structural composition and in the semantic choices themselves: see Rood 2012a: 135-137; Barker 2021: 95, 108, 117, while always coexisting with a 'synoptic' and cartographic approach to the geographical reality: Purves 2010: 120-126 and 144-150; Barker 2021: 97-102.

8. For the essentially non-autobiographical connotation of the Herodotean narrative, see in particular Dewald 2002. On the evident gap between narrative routes on the one hand and the experience and subjective perspective of the traveller on the other hand, see Purves 2010: 122 and 145.

9. For analogies with the Herodotean model, see Nicolai 2020: 116-124.

10. See Rood 2012b: 169-178.

11. See Roy 2007.

the complete loss of his production, the 'autobiographical' consistency of the useful information in this regard is guaranteed–*inter alia*–by the fact that it is transmitted by authoritative sources, who knew the proem of the Chian historian's most famous work due to having read it directly. From this very section of the *Philippica*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus deduced that Theopompus had incurred considerable expenses ('μεγίσται δαπάναι') in his activity of collecting material[12], had had direct contact ('ὁμιλία') with the most prominent exponents of contemporary society and, above all, had made himself 'αὐτόπτης' of many realities:[13] all aspects that clearly refer to intensive mobility of the historian, in which the 'φιλοπονία' that Dionysius himself evoked as one of the most praiseworthy features of Theopompus' historical writing was concretely manifested[14].

The experience gained through travel, together with the acceptance of the fatigue it entails in order to acquire a broader knowledge of the world, however, takes on a value that goes beyond the limits of mere profit to the benefit of historical composition: this is clear from the continuation of Dionysius' description, when, outlining all the interests recorded in Theopompus' production–such as to encompass 'what is remarkable and unusual in each country and each sea'–he at the same time emphasised their 'universal' benefit: 'πᾶσιν ὠφέλειαν περιέχει'[15]. On this concept Dionysius further insists: learning the multiplicity of ethnographical, political and biographical information concerning both the barbarians and the Greeks would have been indispensable for anyone dedicated to 'φιλόσοφος ῥητορική'[16]. This last remark alone would suffice to underline the more widely 'cultural' scope of Theopompus' historiographic activity, proven by the recognition of his ability, unknown to other historians, to penetrate psychologically into the souls of the characters[17] he had the opportunity to meet: a clear sign that his cognitive horizons had been broadened beyond the strictly geo-ethnographical direction traced by the Herodotus model.

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12. Dion. Hal. *Pomp*. 6.2.
13. Dion. Hal. *Pomp*. 6.3.
14. Dion. Hal. *Pomp*. 6.2.
15. Dion. Hal. *Pomp*. 6.4: 'καὶ γὰρ ἐθνῶν εἴρηκεν οἰκισμοὺς καὶ πόλεων κτίσεις ἐπελήλυθε, βασιλέων τε βίους καὶ τρόπων ἰδιώματα δεδήλωκε, καὶ εἴ τι θαυμαστὸν ἢ παράδοξον ἑκάστη γῆ καὶ θάλασσα φέρει (...) ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὠφέλειαν περιέχει'.
16. Dion. Hal. *Pomp*. 6.5: '(...) τίς οὐχ ὁμολογήσει τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὴν φιλόσοφον ῥητορικὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν ἔθη καὶ βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐκμαθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ νόμους ἀκοῦσαι πολιτειῶν τε σχήματα, καὶ βίους ἀνδρῶν καὶ πράξεις καὶ τέλη καὶ τύχας;'
17. Dion. Hal. *Pomp*. 6.7.

A vision of historical investigation that, being expressed through travel, necessarily entailed absolute dedication and a commitment to life that was not partial, but total, as Dionysius recalled:[18] this too was a genuine concept in Theopompus' work, since we find an echo of it in the statements that the patriarch Photius, another direct reader of the *proem* of the *Philippica*, expressly attributed to the Chian historian[19].

From the point of view of those who programmatically made historiographic activity an existential style, personal mobility, which was an unavoidable part of that activity, thus abandons the role of mere tool for collecting/verifying information, of Ionian memory, to take on the much more significant and meaningful role of a fundamental and unavoidable articulation of professional and human experience. We are therefore faced with a conceptual evolution: individual mobility, gaining for the historian a methodological and, at the same time, existential significance, becomes an indispensable element of a broader cultural vision as the bearer of potentially 'universal' values.

Similar concepts would have found fertile ground in another careful reader of Theopompus: Polybius, who will grant the travel experience–programmatically and systematically pursued–a specific methodological value, making it an essential component of his theoretical partition of pragmatic historiography[20]. With an explicit quotation from Theopompus, Polybius himself testifies to the concept that the assiduity of direct participation in experiences inevitably generates greater competence[21]; a concept that is backed up by an observation on the analogy with what happens in medicine and in the art of piloting ships[22], consolidating the idea of the particular value attributed by Theopompus to the historian's competence that can be assimilated to specialist and technical competences. Significantly, this quotation is placed in the broader context of the Polybian praise of historical investigation carried out with effort and expenditure

18. Dion. Hal. *Pomp*. 6.3: 'οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τινὲς πάρεργον τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐποιήσατο, ἔργον δὲ τὸ πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον'.

19. Phot. *Bibl.* 176.120b.38-39: *FGrHist* 115 F25; see also Plb. 12.28.4. On the derivation of this concept from a direct reading of the proem of the *Philippica*, see Ottone 2018a: 372-373 and n. 50; see also Vattuone 1997: 91-92.

20. Plb. 12.25e.1. On the theoretical and practical value of the experience of travelling in Polybius, see in particular Zecchini 1991; Schepens 2006: 91-93.

21. Plb. 12.27.8-9: *FGrHist* 115 F342. For an assessment of the passage in the context of the Polybian judgement on Theopompus' historiography, see Ottone 2010a: 313-315.

22. Plb. 12.28.9: 'τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον συμβαίνειν ἐπ'ἰατρικῆς καὶ κυβερνητικῆς'. The attribution of this commentary to Theopompus is plausible if one accepts Benseler's convincing 'συμβαίνειν' conjecture against the 'συμβαίνει' lesson of the manuscripts.

of esources ('δαπάνη')[23], modulated exactly on the same concepts that, as we have seen, Dionysius inferred from Theopompus' autobiographical statements[24]. It is not surprising then to find in Polybius the term 'δαπάνη' associated also with the idea of the effort needed by the historian to make himself 'αὐτόπτης' of as many peoples and places as possible[25] in a passage, which, again, brings to mind the tireless activity of Theopompus 'πολλῶν αὐτόπτης' evoked by Dionysius[26].

Thanks to the joint testimony of Dionysius and Polybius, we are therefore able to grasp the existence, in Theopompus' thought, of the intimate correlation between the experience of travelling and the professional and human experience of the historian, with all the implications of 'philosophical'–nowadays we would say 'humanistic'–enrichment that derive from it: an awareness that therefore recognises a 'cultural' and even 'vocational' value in the individual mobility of those who practice historical writing.

The aspect reported by Photius in *codex* 176 of his *Bibliotheca*, dedicated to the 'review' of Theopompus' major work, fits perfectly into this perspective, in an almost complementary way: according to his testimony, in the *Philippica* the Chian historian would have explicitly expressed his pride for the success and fame achieved by means of the ἐπιδείξεις held without excluding any site of Panhellenic gatherings ('οὐδείς ἐστι τόπος κοινὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων') and any city of prestige ('οὐδὲ πόλις ἀξιόχρεως')[27]. The use of the term in the plural, together with the clarification on the 'totality' of

23. Plb. 12.27.6.

24. Concerning Theopompus' view of 'fatigue', understood also in its economic aspects as the expenses incurred in travelling to places and obtaining faithful testimonies, as a necessary component for the optimal conduct of the historical enquiry, see Vattuone 1997: 99-100. For the reflections of this notion on Timaeus (deducible from Polybius, especially at 12.25h.1: *FGrHist* 566 F34), who, in the proem to the sixth book of the *Sikelika*, likely drew on arguments from Theopompus' proem to the *Philippica*, see Vattuone 2005: 154-155, and n. 51. On the *ponos* as a tool for in-depth research that is not strictly limited to aspects of physical reality, the traditional focus of geo-ethnographic literature, or of dynamic and *événementielle* reality, the domain of political historiography, see Chávez Reino 2007, 135-137. For the idea that the historian's *ponos*, like the labours of Heracles or the vicissitudes of Odysseus, constitutes a historiographical *topos*, connected with the idea of the effort needed to acquire knowledge of the world and its events, see Darbo-Peschanski 2007: 382 (with reference also to the Polybian quotation from Theopompus [*FGrHist* 115 F342] as above).

25. Plb. 12.28a.3-4.

26. Dion. Hal. *Pomp*. 6.3. For the problem of the correct interpretation of the term 'αὐτόπτης' in the Dionysian passage, see Chávez Reino (2007: 136), which rejects the traditional hypothesis that the term must be understood in reference to the sources of information on which Theopompus' work was based, with a distinction between *praxeis* that the historian would have witnessed personally and those on which he would have obtained information from *strategoi* and politicians.

27. Phot. *Bibl.* 176.121a.3-7: *FGrHist* 115 F25: '(...) διότι οὐδείς ἐστι τόπος κοινὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲ πόλις ἀξιόχρεως, εἰς ὕάς αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπιδημῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν λόγων ἐπιδείξεις ποιούμενος οὐχὶ μέγα κλέος καὶ ὑπόμνημα

the 'high level' locations where his performances take place, unequivocally indicates, even without a hyperbolic emphasis on the concept, a practice of public exhibition that is not extemporaneous, but repeated, systematic and to some extent 'targeted'. In this perspective, even the focus on his own oratorical expertise and the consequent ability to disseminate the contents of his own production in prestigious contexts with a large audience is an element that goes well beyond a banal narcissistic claim, to emphasise, instead, the value of an approach that is consciously different from the one, for example, valued and propagated by the contemporary Isocrates. In fact, the latter, who, as is well known, dedicated himself to disclosing written speeches, did not miss a chance to reiterate his aversion to public exhibitions, and also considered the Panhellenic meetings to be more suitable for those whose sole aim was to show off their eloquence[28]. But it is precisely the clear-cut Isocratean position on the issue that gives further substance to the actual presence of antithetical positions on the subject, suggesting how topical and 'transversal' in the 4th century the debate was on the ways of exercising literary activity and its aims, even beyond the cultural controversy closely linked to the educational practice of the sophists, actually the main target of the Athenian orator's disagreement.

It is no coincidence that it is precisely the celebration of the success and glory achieved in public performances, even in Panhellenic venues such as Olympia, that characterises Philostratus' description of the activities of Hippias of Elis[29], testifying to a cultural climate that identified travelling lectures as a particularly gratifying, as well as functional, means of expression and communication, the fascination for which the historian of Chios, even though he did not share the sophistic intellectual model in other respects[30], evidently did not shy away from. And also for this reason it is not surprising that Theopompus would be associated with Hippias and sophists such as Prodicus of Ceos and Polus of Akragas by Lucian in the list of those who, following the experience of Herodotus, would have gained great fame at Olympia in public readings of their

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τῆς ἐν λόγοις αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἀρετῆς'. For a commentary on the passage in relation to its full context, see Ottone 2018a: 376-401.

28. Also see, with specific reference to 'ἐπιδείξεις', Isoc. *Ep*. 1.5: 'οὐ γὰρ οὔτ' ἐγὼ τυγχάνω φιλοτίμως διακείμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις (…)'; and 6: 'τούτοις κἀκεῖνο πᾶσι φανερόν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδείξεως δεομένοις αἱ πανηγύρεις ἁρμόττουσιν,–ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἄν τις ἐν πλείστοις τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν διασπείρειεν–(…)'.

29. Philostr. *VS* 1.11.5: '(...) οὐδαμοῦ κατέλυσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν δημηγορῶν τε καὶ διαλεγόμενος, ἀλλά καὶ κρήματα πλεῖστα ἐξέλεξε (…)'; and 7: 'εὐδοκιμῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔθελγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι λόγοις ποικίλοις καὶ πεφροντισμένοις εὖ': 86 A2 Diels-Kranz (= 8 A2 Untersteiner) = 36 P5 Laks-Most.

30. For this specific aspect, see Ottone 2018a: 367-376.

writings:[31] this interpretation of Lucian's passage is not hindered by the fact that the manuscript tradition presents instead the name 'Ἀναξιμένης ὁ Χῖος', very plausibly the result of textual corruption, whose genesis is easily identifiable if we postulate the dropping of the syntagm 'ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Θεόπομπος' after the idionym 'Ἀναξιμένης'[32]. Considering, moreover, that one 'Anaximenes of Chios' is a person otherwise unknown to tradition, and that instead the presence of Theopompus of Chios at an Olympic *panêgyris* fits perfectly with the above-mentioned evidence concerning the fame obtained through public lectures in Panhellenic contexts, the proposed amendment that restores Theopompus' name, more reasonably referring the ethnic 'Λαμψακηνός' to the previous idionym 'Ἀναξιμένης', can rightly be considered acceptable. Its plausibility is also supported, albeit indirectly, by the biographical profile of the *Lampsacenus*, whose commitment to public performances is remembered in the ancient tradition[33].

The claim that the city of Olympia was one of the destinations of Theopompus' travels also seems to be supported by an epigraphic text from the 2nd century BC which preserves remains of a bibliographic catalogue of the Rhodes gymnasium library:[34] the first column, lines 13-27, records certain titles of works ascribed to Theopompus[35] that are mostly not attested elsewhere, including a '[Ὀλυμ]πικός' (l.16). There are also a 'Λακωνικός' (l.13) and a 'Παναθηναϊκό[ς]' (l.25), which would suggest, at least theoretically and in accordance with Photius' testimony, that Athens and Sparta were also

31. Luc. *Her.* 3: '(…) Ἱππίας τε ὁ ἐπιχώριος αὐτῶν σοφιστὴς καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ Ἀναξιμένης <ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Θεόπομπος> ὁ Χῖος καὶ Πῶλος ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ λόγους ἔλεγον ἀεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν πανήγυριν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν γνώριμοι ἐν βραχεῖ ἐγίγνοντο'.

32. Jacoby 1926: 114, *ad* 72 T10. Jacoby's proposal to amend the passage, which is clearly corrupt, restoring Theopompus' name, was preceded by other, less convincing, conjectures: see Müller 1846: 33, n. *.

33. See *FGrHist* 72 T6, T11, T12 and T25. On Lucian's testimony in relation to Anaximenes' rhetorical activity, see in particular Schneider 2001; Chávez Reino 2009: 111-112 and nn. 51-52; Parmeggiani 2009: 231-232; Ferrucci 2010: 164 and n. 26.

34. Maiuri 1925: 14-15, n. 11 (*editio princeps*); see Rosamilia 2014: 330-332 and 355-360. For an examination of the content of this document in relation to the traditional data on Theopompus, see Ottone 2018a.

35. The first editor at line 13 read, in error, 'Θ[εοδέκτ]ου' (Theodectes' name already appears at line 11); 'Θ[εοπόμπ]ου' is instead Vogliano's reading (1926), unanimously accepted by later editors and scholars. Jacoby unhesitatingly includes the text of the inscription in the section on the *testimonia* relating to Theopompus of Chios: *FGrHist* 115 T48. The reading 'Θεοπόμπου' can indeed be considered reliable and is further corroborated by the fact that the penultimate preserved line (line 28) mentions the name of an homonymous author (otherwise unknown) indicated as 'Θεοπόμπου ἄλλου', to whom the authorship of a treatise 'Περὶ βασιλείας' is ascribed.

among the destinations covered by the historian's itinerant activity[36]. It is less certain that Corinth was among them, because the title 'Κοριν]θ[ια]κός' reconstructed by the first editor in line 14 is not definite, and by others it is read instead as 'Π[αν]ιωνικός'[37], or, alternatively, as 'Ν[ησ]ιωτικός'[38]. Very plausible, however, is the historian's trip to Halicarnassus, where a substantial tradition[39], albeit full of anecdotal details[40], records his presence at the Carian court with an oratorical performance at the funeral agon in honour of the dynast Mausolus; a tradition that seems confirmed by the title '[Μαύσ]σωλος', which can be reconstructed with certainty at l.15 of the above bibliographic catalogue.

In essence, this document, read in conjunction with the autobiographical statements reported by Photius, further substantiates Theopompus' 'itinerant' professional activity, all the more so if one considers that in terms of epigraphic sources, the documentation pertaining to the 4th century appears to be particularly scant on attestations about the historians, and even less generous in testifying to their presence in places outside of their cities of origin for reasons not linked to strictly political or diplomatic circumstances leading to the honorary tribute[41].

Let us turn to the contents of Theopompus' public performances: although the titles listed in the Rhodian catalogue suggest encomiastic and persuasive speeches, it is

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36. See also Pédech 1989: 23.

37. See Segre 1935: 217 and n. 2.

38. This latter proposal was made on the basis of the consideration that this title is one of the so-called 'λόγοι ἐπεισφερόμενοι' erroneously attributed to Isocrates in scholiastic tradition: see Chávez Reino 2009: 108.

39. Gell. *NA* 10.18.5-7*: FGrHist* 115 T6b; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 10.3 = Porph. fr. 408 Smith: *FGrHist* 115 F345; *Suda*, *s.v.* 'Θεοδέκτης' [θ 138 Adler]: *FGrHist* 115 T6a; *Suda*, *s.v.* ''Ισοκράτης' [ι 653 Adler]: *FGrHist* 115 T6a.

40. On the fictitious components of the ancient tradition relating to the *certamen* at Halicarnassus in honour of Mausolus, see Ottone 2010b: 125-130. These include the report of the presence of Isocrates of Athens in Caria, a presence that is unrealistic, *inter alia*, in view of the mere fact that an Isocrates who was over eighty years old would have had to undertake a long journey at that date (see as proof Isoc. *Ep.* 1.1, where–in 368 BC, some fifteen years earlier–the orator cited his age as the reason for not going to Syracuse in person to see Dionysius I).

41. See e.g. Chaniotis 1988: 329-330, E34 (Androtion of Athens honoured at Arkesine in Amorgos) = *FGrHist* 324 T7 = T7 Harding; E35 (Phanodemus of Athens honoured in Oropos) = *FGrHist* 325 T3b and T4; E37 (Nearchus of Crete honoured in Delphi) = *FGrHist* 133 T2, to which should be added E36 (Anaximenes of Lampsacus honoured in Olympia) = *FGrHist* 72 T6, which, however, is exclusively literary testimony (Paus. 6.18.2) and moreover lacking any explicit indication of the epigraphic text that was to accompany the statue mentioned, although the anecdote referred seems to suggest that the honour was in gratitude for the successful mediation work carried out by Anaximenes of Lampsacus between his fellow citizens and Alexander the Great.

not necessary to conclude that the object of his 'ἐπιδείξεις' were exclusively 'ἐπιδεικτικοὶ λόγοι'[42]. In fact, it must be borne in mind that in the 5th and 4th century sources, the term 'ἐπίδειξις' is not linked to the definition of a specific type of form and content[43], but is used simply to designate the instrument that allowed one to 'exhibit' to the public one's 'technical' mastery and command of a given subject. Given that Photius referred to the historian's *ipsissima verba*, it is plausible that 'ἐπιδείξεις' was indeed part of the original Theopompus' lexicon, with the aforementioned 'pre-technical' connotation[44], contemporary to the context of origin. Nothing, therefore, prevents us from postulating that the oratorical activity carried out in various places in the Greek world also included public readings of parts of his 'ἱστορικοὶ λόγοι', in line with a practice that dates back to the very beginnings of historical literature, since it was the physiological means of 'publication'[45] and dissemination of a literary product[46]. In fact, it was precisely to this practice and to the illustrious 'antecedent' Herodotus that Lucian explicitly referred in the passage quoted above, mentioning the names of those who, following in the footsteps of the historian of Halicarnassus, would treasure the potential offered by the Panhellenic tribune of Olympia.

Moreover, it should always be borne in mind that in the perception of the 5th- and 4th-century public there was no substantial difference between historians, rhetoricians and sophists:[47] the fact that Herodotus himself, in his historical exposition, clearly uses

42. It should be pointed out that the distinction made by Theopompus between ἐπιδεικτικοὶ λόγοι and historical writings within his own production, to which Photius refers (*Bibl.* 176. 120b.40-121a.3), should not mislead to postulate the existence of a conceptual connection between ἐπιδεικτικοὶ λόγοι and ἐπιδείξεις, since they are terms used with different meanings and in different contexts. On this aspect see also Chávez Reino 2009: 100-101.

43. See Demont 1993; Thomas 2003.

44. For this specific aspect, see Cole 1991: 89; Chávez Reino 2009: 104 and n. 31.

45. On the difficulty of applying the modern concept of 'publication' to works such as the Herodotus' *logoi* and contemporary literature, whose dissemination, through oral performances, made the historiographical product naturally susceptible, on several occasions, to additions and revisions by the author, see in particular Evans 1991: 90; Bakker 2002: 8-12; Fowler 2006: 36-37.

46. In general, on the practice of public readings as a means of disseminating works with historical content, the following are fundamental: Momigliano 1974; Thomas 1992: 123-125; Nicolai 2004: 68-69; with specific regard to the case of Herodotus and the different aspects related to the oral dissemination of historiography in the 5th century BC, see Thomas 1993; Johnson 1994; Dorati 2000: 17-52; Rösler 2002; Slings 2002. For the use of terms such as 'ἀκροάσεις', 'ἐπιδείξεις' and 'δείξεις' with the meaning of 'public readings' in the texts of honorary decrees referring to historians, see Chaniotis 1988: 362, nn. 780 and 781, plus further reports of inscriptions with references to public readings of prose writings with a historical content in Nicolai 2004: 68.

47. The clear distinction between professional figures, as well as between the disciplines practised, is an anachronistic concept, if applied to the ancient world, where the *discrimen* between genres consisted rather

the language and method typical of the 'ἐπίδειξις'[48], which could therefore be practised regardless of the type of content, demonstrates the absence of clear lines of demarcation. The technical mastery of the rhetorical tools, if ever, made it possible to apply expressive forms to illustrate and persuade the audience, strengthening the effectiveness of the presentation of the arguments. Considering that Theopompus claimed excellence both in historical production and in oratorical practice, as Photius underlined[49], it is fair to deduce that these claims were set in a logic of conceptual evolution, according to which, in perceiving the value and function of one's intellectual activity, public display and the dissemination of information assumed the same dignity and importance as historical writing. This conceptual evolution was perfectly consistent with the awareness of the specialist value assumed by the 'historian's craft', in which 'mobile' status was an integral and unavoidable part of the professional background, precisely because it was the only part capable of fully meeting heuristic, cognitive and divulgative needs. In the light of this, attempting to classify Theopompus' performances on the basis of the form or genre does not make much sense, especially since even the speeches themselves were often anchored in historical content, as they related to the narration of the past or to contemporary circumstances: the example of the already mentioned 'Μαύσσωλος' plausibly delivered *in praesentia* at Halicarnassus, which was meant to retrace the salient moments of the personal and political vicissitudes of the Carian dynast, just like Isocrates' *Evagoras*, is sufficient.

Even if we exclude courtly and celebratory contexts, it is clear that it was the same communities to whom the lectures were addressed that played a decisive role in inspiring the choice of the contents closest to epichoric interests: in this sense, the antecedent represented by Hippias of Elis is again significant, in whose mouth Plato puts, in a close dialogue with Socrates veiled by a hint of irony, the admission of having presented selected themes to the audience of Sparta with the precise aim of satisfying their expectations. But even more significant is the list of topics given as the object of the Spartan performance: 'περὶ τῶν γενῶν (...), τῶν τε ἡρώων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν κατοικίσεων, ὡς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκτίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ συλλήβδην πάσης τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας'[50]. It seems to be a precise catalogue of the various branches of historical

of the modes of communication, see Thomas 2000: 284; Nicolai 2004: 68.

48. See Thomas 2000: 258. In general terms, on the *historia*/*epideixis* relationship, see, still valid, Burgess 1902: 195-214; more recently, Woodman 1988: 95-98; Zangara 2007: 143-146.

49. Phot. *Bibl.* 176.121a.7-14: *FGrHist* 115 F25.

50. Pl. *Hp. mai.* 285d: 86 A11 Diels-Kranz (= 8 A11 Untersteiner) = 36 D14a Laks-Most; see also Philostr. *VS* 1.11.3: 86 A2 Diels-Kranz (= 8 A2 Untersteiner) = 36 D14b Laks-Most.

and antiquarian erudition: genealogy, heroology, biography, and oekistic history, all of which are given the all-encompassing and weighty definition of ἀρχαιολογία at the end[51]. A 'repertoire' of topics evidently not dissimilar to what Dionysius of Halicarnassus described with regard to the themes contained in the *Philippica* of Theopompus[52], which evidently took concrete form, in its eminently antiquarian aspects, through the extensive recourse to *excursus* that an ancient tradition largely agrees to attribute to the Chian historian[53].

With the 'itinerant' distribution of this type of content, we are in fact witnessing a process of capillary and selective 'dissemination' of historical knowledge which, in the 4th century, attracted increasing attention precisely because of the changing conditions of the general political context. The progressive weakening of autonomy of the *poleis* after Mantinea and the parallel strengthening of Macedonian power contributed to the consolidation of identity consciousness within the Hellenic communities, which, on the one hand, were increasingly oriented towards the recovery of antiquarian local memories selected to forge the sense of civic definition, belonging and self-expression, while on the other, they did not disdain narratives through which they could feel part of a common Panhellenic history[54], with the related anti-Barbarian ideological implications, so current in the age of Philip. In this sense, the interest in themes close to or related to epichoric historical traditions coexisted in a way that was anything but antithetical, but rather complementary and almost symbiotic, with interest in subjects that, by involving the various local entities in a 'unitary' historical experience, supported the feeling of belonging to the *Hellenikon* and sharing its cultural values.

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51. On the antiquarian connotation of Hippias' interests, see Ottone 2016.

52. See above and n. 15.

53. On the function of the *excursus* in Theopompus' *Philippica*, see Ottone 2018b: 70-79; see also Ead. 2018a: 507-566.

54. The focus on traditions connected with the mythical past and the history of beginnings, as well as on events in recent and contemporary history, essentially reflects the two 'souls' of the 'historical memory' of the *polis*, namely the 'cultural memory' (a 'reconstructed' image of a common remote or mythical past), which contributed to identity building, and the 'collective memory' (experiences of the recent past lived directly by the community or through eye-witness accounts), so much so as to generate real communicative patterns, not only in the narration of historians, as documented in the Hellenistic Age, see Chaniotis 2009: 253-268. For the concept of 'social memory', with particular reference to the case of Athens, see Steinbock 2013: 1-96. On the complex dynamics of the relationship between epichoric traditions and 'general' Greek history, and on the tendency towards 'localism' in the commemoration of major events of the past on the part of city communities that perceived themselves as repositories of the collective memory of the *polis*, see Beck 2020: 161-206.

It was precisely the 'itinerant' practice, allowing the historian to reach different locations and to be immersed in contexts of great social impact, that made the reception of the information he proposed more effective, since it brought him closer, even physically, to the audience, making his figure, in the eyes of the communities to whom he gave lectures[55], culturally comparable to that of the poet or philosopher, as an authoritative educational reference point. From this perspective, historians such as Theopompus of Chios and Anaximenes of Lampsacus evidently elevated individual mobility from a mere instrument of personal affirmation[56] to a tangible vehicle of cultural interaction, being both collectors and disseminators of historical knowledge in the polycentric context of the *poleis* and in the diversified societies that reflected this, in some ways also 'eroding' the role of 'cultural catalyst' traditionally played by Athens. No less significant is the fact that, by conveying contents related to a vision of events not connoted by an Athenocentric perspective, they promoted the dissemination of a less monolithic and ideologised historical knowledge, and potentially more inclined to appeal, also through the cross-cutting nature of the subjects, to the receptive propensities of a 'multi-ethnic' audience, as demonstrated, moreover, by the almost 'ecumenical' connotation that Dionysius of Halicarnassus recognised in the contents of the *Philippica*.

In all this, what made the difference compared to the past would have been a new vision of *historie*, which becomes *techne* to the extent that it is nourished by extensive experience and specialist skills, and the lucid awareness that these can only be acquired and put to use by the historian through the systematic practice of personal mobility.

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55. For a focus on the complex relationship between historical memory and its articulation in the practice of oratory on the side of the target audience, relating to the paradigmatic case of Athens in the 4th century BC, see Canevaro 2019; see also Worthington 1994: 109-118, and especially Clarke 2008: 245-303, on the attitude towards the past in orators' choices, between safeguarding shared civic memory and selecting specific historical *exempla*.

56. See Polybius' criticism of a certain category of colleagues: 12.25e.2-3 and 16.14.8-9.

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LYSIAS: FROM A WANDERING METIC TO AN UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE FOR CITIZENSHIP

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Introduction

What does the figure of Lysias first suggest? Considering Lysias is usually synonymous with focusing on Lysias the logographer, whose discourses have been amply analysed[1]. However, scant attention has been paid hitherto to Lysias of Thurii and Athens, the son of Cephalus of Syracuse. This juxtaposition of places is an encouragement to study the particular course that this character plots in his biography, relating to both his legal status in the different cities that he lists and his own reflections on 'the bad citizen' and 'the good metic', which, according to Bakewell[2], can be glimpsed in his speeches *Against Eratosthenes* (12) and *Against Philon* (31). The interweaving of these elements and their contextualisation allow for arriving at two interrelated conclusions that are useful for discussing the legal status of Lysias in 4th-century-BC Athens. Firstly, by examining his life path, especially the cities in which he resided and his changing legal status depending on where he was living at each time, it is possible to recognise the depiction of the orator himself in the paradigm of the good metic at two different moments, in both *Against Eratosthenes* and *Against Philon*. In light of this, it is easy to distinguish the discourse of a metic who has served democracy beyond the call of duty, but for all his pains has not been granted citizenship, which, however, is indeed possessed by people who he judges to be unworthy of such an honour. This identification leads to the second conclusion: a reading of the reflections of Lysias reinforces the thesis of his permanent status as a metic, or at best as an *isoteles*, in Athens. Therefore, this orator can be conceived not only as a famous logographer, but also as an intellectual on the move who from a wandering metic became an unsuccessful candidate for citizenship.

1. As a reference work, see Dover 1968.
2. Bakewell 2000: 6-9.

The paths of the wandering metic: ideological constancy, changes in legal status

A metic in Athens

According to Ps.-Plutarch in his *Lives of the Ten Orators*, Lysias' father emigrated from Syracuse to Athens, persuaded by Pericles ([Plut.] *X orat.* 835c; cf. Lys. 12.4). This piece of information anticipates the connection that his family, despite–or precisely owing to–their metic status, would maintain with Athenian democracy. The future logographer was born into this system and resided in the city until reaching adolescence. In other words, Lysias was brought up as a metic in 5th-century-BC Athens, where he formed part of a milieu closely linked to the regime of this *polis*, whose troops were supplied with the shields manufactured in the workshop that the family of Cephalus owned in Piraeus (Lys. 12.8 and 12.19).

Nevertheless, neither their service to Athens nor their dealings with Pericles led to the granting of citizenship to this metic family. Far from it, for the artificial demographic growth which, according to Patterson, would have been stimulated by the incorporation of metics in the phratries following the Battle of Salamis, was curbed by the famous law promoted by Pericles in 451 BC, by virtue of which citizenship was restricted to those who could prove that they were offspring of *astoi* parents (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 26.3)[3]. This regulation dashed the probably high hopes that the metics had harboured of being legally integrated into the body politic of Athens, insofar as in view of the citizenship requirements in force before the passing of the law, they had seen their status as foreign residents as a provisional state of affairs. Indeed, this obstacle to improving their legal status was in all likelihood one of the factors that prompted Lysias and his brother Polemarchus, among other foreign residents in Athens, to obtain citizenship in Thurii[4].

A citizen of Thurii

Specifically, Lysias and his brother Polemarchus travelled to Magna Graecia as colonists in a particular venture organised by Athens: to found Thurii[5]. There, in what would subsequently become a new centre of Athenian political and cultural influence[6], but

3. Patterson 1981: 70-71 and 106-107; Carawan 2008: 389-390.
4. García Quintela 2006: 207 and 210.
5. Ehrenberg (1948: 157) established the founding of this colony *c.* 444-443 BC.
6. Ehrenberg 1948: 153-154, 156-157 and 163. According to tradition, the *oikistes* of Thurii was Lampon of Athens, a supporter of Pericles (Diod. Sic. 12.10.3-4; Plut. *Mor*. 812d).

with a Panhellenic social composition (Diod. Sic. 12.35.1) which stood out for its large number of intellectuals[7], Lysias was able to benefit from citizenship rights (Diod. Sic. 12.11.2-3; [Plut.] *X orat.* 835d).

Those rights included an equal distribution of land that chimed with the urban planning of Thurii, characterised by a grid plan that, given the standardisation of the plots, could be understood as an expression of 5th-century-BC democracy (Diod. Sic. 12.10.7; 12.11.2)[8]. As a matter of fact, Thurii had a democratic constitution (Diod. Sic. 12.11.3)[9] whose laws, according to Diogenes Laërtius, were drafted by Protagoras of Abdera (Diog. Laert. 9.8.50)[10]. I concur with Muir's defence of its plausibility, for, in addition to the arguments that he deploys, I also believe that 'a more suitable choice for a democratic constitutional planner would have been hard to find–a perfect complement to the forward-looking city architect'[11].

So, for 20 or 30 years[12], Lysias lived the life of a citizen of this Panhellenic colony in which there were plenty of intellectuals, including his masters of rhetoric, the Syracusans Tisias and Nicias ([Plut.] *X orat.* 835d). Nonetheless, the circumstances to which the political infighting had given rise in Thurii, exacerbated by the city's alliance with Athens during the Peloponnesian War, forced Lysias to move yet again: the disastrous Sicilian expedition brought about a substantial change in the foreign policy of Thurii, which thenceforth supported the Spartans, not without earlier expelling all those sympathising with the Athenians in 412 BC[13], including Lysias and Polemarchus ([Plut.] *X orat.* 835e)[14].

7. Muir 1982: 18; García Quintela 2006: 214.

8. Cf. Ehrenberg 1948: 166. Notwithstanding the fact that the population was divided into three classes as an aristocratic trait of Hippodamus' ideal *polis* (Arist. *Pol.* 2.1267b 22 ff.), equal citizenship rights, the non-existence of hierarchies between those classes and the fact that the people could vote in the election of magistrates (Arist. *Pol.* 2.1267b 31-34 and 1268b7 14-15; cf. García Quintela 2000: 29-30) are factors that stress the democratic character of Hippodemus' social engineering.

9. On constitutional amendments and democratic provisions, see Freeman 1941: 55 and 60.

10. As to the differences between the democracy of Thurii and the Athenian model, see Ehrenberg 1948: 166. With respect to the laws of Thurii, see Diod. Sic. 12.11.3-12.18.4.

11. Muir 1982: 19.

12. The time that he spent in Thurii varies according to the year to which Lysias' departure for the Italiot colony is dated, which, in turn, depends on the year in which his date of birth is established. On this issue, see Azoulay & Ismard 2020: 268-270.

13. Ehrenberg (1948: 159) talks about a 'pro-Athenian party' which was still powerful, despite the declining Athenian influence in Thurii, in about 414 BC (cf. Thuc. 7.33.5).

14. Freeman 1941: 58.

Political exile? The return to Athens, the return to the *metoikia*

Lysias returned to Athens as a political exile. Obliged to renounce the privileges of citizenship that he had enjoyed in Thurii, he returned to the *polis* where he had been born as a foreign resident. It is a somewhat curious fact that, in a way, Lysias returned to a sort of colony, because, in line with the preferences of many other metics, he settled in the coastal suburb of Piraeus, a place that has since been described as a colony on the fringes of the *polis*[15]. In point of fact, it had the same grid plan as Thurii.

According to Aristotle, the population of Piraeus was more democratic than that of the *asty* (Arist. *Pol.* 5.1303b 15). Symbolically, the port recalled the might of 5th-century democratic Athens[16], for its construction was very closely linked to the development of Athenian naval power and democracy[17]. In addition, Thucydides observes that it was in an assembly held in Munychia where it was decided to march on the *asty* and confront the Council of the Four Hundred in 411 BC (Thuc. 8.93), establishing the precedent that opposing the oligarchy from Piraeus was more effective[18]. It was partly for this reason that, in 404 BC, the oligarchic regime of the Thirty Tyrants took the matter into its own hands, arresting and executing several wealthy metics (Lys. 12.5-7; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.21, 40). These included Polemarchus for whom, unlike his brother Lysias, there was no timely escape (Lys. 12.16-18; [Plut.] *X orat.* 835f).

A political exile, a *xenos* in Megara

So, yet again, political upheaval forced Lysias to move on: the coup perpetrated by the Thirty Tyrants led to his exile in Megara (Lys. 12.17), where his legal status would have been that of a *xenos*. Thenceforth, the inherited link to democracy that could be glimpsed in the relationship between his family and Pericles, and which Lysias himself had expressed in Thurii as part of the pro-Athenian faction, became even more evident through his collaboration with Thrasybulus, who he would support financially and logistically in his struggle against the same oligarchy that had executed his brother ([Plut.] *X orat.* 835f). In fact, it was Thrasybulus' victory, namely, that of the democrats, that enabled Lysias to return to Athens.

15. Von Reden 1995: 27. Approximately 20 per cent of the metics residing in Attica lived in Piraeus (Garland 2014: 159).
16. Garland 1987: 3.
17. Von Reden 1995: 26.
18. Garland 1987: 32.

An *isoteles* in Athens?

Lysias' cooperation with the democrats earned him the honour of figuring among the candidates for citizenship proposed by Thrasybulus. Despite having been approved by the Assembly, his initiative came to nothing because of the *graphe paranomon* brought against him by Archinus, in light of the fact that the Council had not voted on the motion that he had tabled (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 40.2; [Plut.] *X orat.* 835f). This must have occurred in 404-403 BC, because it was only after that date that the decree that Archinus himself proposed for granting honours to those who had restored democracy would have made sense (Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 187 and 190), which has been dated to 403-402 BC[19]. As Azoulay and Ismard observe[20], the swiftness with which this character bought the suit against Thrasybulus for the illegality of his motion would have blocked the process in such a way that, in all likelihood, Lysias never got to enjoy citizenship rights.

All considered, there is an ongoing debate on the decree recorded in an inscription, dated to 401-400 BC[21], mentioning the granting of honours to those who had fought alongside Thrasybulus, as to the status that the orator would have enjoyed thenceforth. The fact that the inscription is difficult to read makes it impossible to confirm that Lysias figured among those granted such honours, although this was probably the case; in fact, in his Speech 12 Lysias includes himself among those who marched on Piraeus (Lys. 12.53). So, the controversy revolves around the type of privilege–or privileges–stipulated in the decree and, consequently, what honour or honours had been granted to him.

Whitehead assumes that the decree of 401-400 BC would have replaced the failed motion of 403 BC and, therefore, that it would have resulted in around 100 new Athenian citizens[22]. Quite to the contrary, Krentz deploys solid arguments in favour of a general *isoteleia*[23], whereas Middleton, who is more ambiguous in his interpretation, claims that

19. At the end of 404 BC or at the beginning of 403 BC, the democratic forces began to lay siege to Phyle (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.2-3). Thrasybulus' motion could not be approved by the Council owing to the fact that the *boulé* still had not been reconstituted, when the democratic institutions had yet to be reorganised. In contrast, as Osborne (1982: 30-31) notes, Archinus' decree is 'fully *probouleumatic*', which establishes it after the failed motion for the granting of citizenship. On Archinus' decree, see also Taylor 2002, who concurs with Osborne's proposal about its dating (Taylor 2002: 388), but not with his interpretation of the content, for the authoress defends the interpretation made by Raubitschek 1941 (*contra*, cf. Osborne 1982: 31).

20. Azoulay & Ismard 2020: 270.

21. *IG* II^2 10.

22. Whitehead 1977: 158.

23. Krentz 1980: 300 and 303-304.

those honoured would have obtained 'some or all the rights of citizens'[24]. Osborne, for his part, suggests that the division into groups appearing in the inscription would have signified that the first group would have acquired citizenship (those who had marched on Piraeus with Thrasybulus), while the other two, assumedly joining the resistance later on, would have been granted *isoteleia*[25]. On the basis of this distribution and relating it to the different democratic initiatives recorded by Xenophon (*Hell*. 2.4.2-43), Nails has contended that Lysias would have acquired citizenship[26]. Continuing with the differences of opinion about the granting of honours, Blok asserts that a small group of metics and foreigners of hoplite status would have acquired citizenship, while the rest, certainly only the free people among them, would have obtained *isoteleia*[27].

Following Krentz[28], it seems more plausible that those honoured in the decree would have merely been placed on an equal footing with the Athenian citizenry as regards taxation[29], for in 401-400 BC the circumstances were not any more favourable to the extending of citizenship rights than two or three years before[30]. Indeed, Krentz's interpretation is also borne out by the fact that the granting of *isoteleia* corresponded to a certain cliqueyness affecting the Athenian body politic at the end of the 5th century BC[31]. This can be seen in both the initiatives of radical democrats like Theozotides–who excluded the orphans of metics from a decree benefitting the offspring of those who had fallen in combat against the oligarchy[32]–and those of the moderate democrats[33] like Archinus–*supra*–and Phormisius–who unsuccessfully attempted to limit citizenship to landowners (Dion. Hal. *Lys*. 32). Similarly, this interpretation coincides with the promise of *isoteleia* for the foreigners who had fought alongside Thrasybulus, recorded

24. Middleton 1982: 303.

25. Osborne 1982: 32-33.

26. Nails 2002: 193.

27. Blok 2017: 259.

28. As an example of the acceptance of Krentz's thesis, see Sancho Rocher 2016: 389.

29. An *isoteles* was exempt principally from the *metoikion* and commercial taxes. For a compilation of other interpretations, see Whitehead 1977: 11-12.

30. Although Krentz ends up dating the decree to 403-402 BC, from the looks of it this reflection is valid for stressing the difficulty in passing a decree for granting citizenship which had already been blocked (Krentz 1980: 299-300). Additionally, the inscription in question (*IG* II^2 10) does not contain the formula normally employed in the 5th century BC for indicating the granting of citizenship to a metic or foreigner; nor does the classification of those honoured by their tribe favour the thesis of the granting of citizenship (Krentz 1980: 303-304), but precisely that of *isoteleia* (Osborne 1982: 33).

31. Azoulay & Ismard 2020: 115 and 122-126.

32. *SEG* 28-46. Lysias himself wrote a speech against the conditions of this measure: Lys. 34.

33. Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 34.3.

by Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.4.25). Also noteworthy is the fact that this is consistent with the account in Ps.-Plutarch (*X orat.* 835f-836a), claiming that Lysias lived the rest of his life as an *isoteles* in Athens[34].

Changes in legal status, ideological constancy

A metic; a citizen; an exile and a metic; an exile and a foreigner; before finally returning to Athens as a metic, presumably with privileges of *isoteleia*. During these many fluctuations in his legal status, Lysias constantly served democracy, that regime symbolically reflected in the places in which he had lived the longest (*supra*).

Even though it is true that, as Azoulay and Ismard highlight, Lysias wrote speeches to defend people of all ideologies, this apparently does not qualify the traditional vision of the orator as a staunch advocate of democracy[35]. After all, as these authors stress, it was the nature of his profession as a logographer that determined his seemingly flexible ideology, which can sometimes lead to the perception that Lysias defended political positions that he did not necessarily share[36]. In effect, the combination of the voice of the logographer with that of his client, already analysed by Dover[37], makes the task of determining the level of autonomy that can be attributed to the words of Lysias even harder. All in all, the exchange between client and consultant is not one way: the former also has to adapt to the guidelines of the latter[38]. With that in mind, it is not difficult to observe the influence of his own judgements on his speeches, irrespective of whether the aim is to suggest that it is the democrats who have demonstrated their devotion to Athens or to highlight the vileness of the behaviour of the oligarchs[39]. In this vein, for Bearzot, Lysias' ideological coherence in those suits relating to the amnesty of 403 BC, demonstrating the orator's rejection not of the amnesty per se, but of its indiscriminate application, underscores his connection with radical democratic thought[40].

34. In favour of Lysias' acquisition of *isoteleia*, see also Baslez 1984: 143.

35. Bearzot 2007: 9, 11, 12, 39, 87 and 136; Mansouri 2011: 106, 110 and 112-113; *contra* Azoulay & Ismard 2020: 274-276.

36. Azoulay & Ismard 2020: 274, 277 and 283-284; cf. Dover 1968: 55-56.

37. Dover 1968: 148-174.

38. Azoulay & Ismard 2020: 294.

39. On democracy, see Lys. 13.77, 18.4-6, 24.25, 28.12 and 30.15. As regards the oligarchy, see Lys. 16.4-8, 18.19, 25.1-2 and 26.2-5. For a study of the political judgement concealed by the terminology employed by Lysias to refer to oligarchs and democrats, see Bearzot 2007: 87-100.

40. Bearzot 2007: 12, 37-54 and 55-85.

Besides, the link that Lysias maintained with Athenian democracy throughout his life (*supra*) should be considered as a basic factor for understanding his likes and dislikes. Despite considering that Azoulay and Ismard's characterisation of Lysias as a *homme pluriel* is correct[41], inasmuch as it illustrates this character's many facets–artisan, orator and logographer–I do not believe that this definition can be applied to his ideology. Even when enjoying citizenship rights, Lysias continued to support Athenian democracy from Thurii (*supra*). When he returned to Athens, yet again becoming a metic, he would have shown himself to be a democratic metic, a status that, as will be seen, he emphasises in his speeches.

The bad citizen and the good metic: censorship and self-representation in Lysias 12 and 31

Notwithstanding his active collaboration with democracy, Lysias never acquired Athenian citizenship. This state of affairs ties in with the fact that precisely when he failed to obtain citizenship not once but twice[42], the logographer included reflections on the bad citizen and the good metic in his speeches *Against Eratosthenes* (12) and *Against Philon* (31). As a matter of fact, these considerations reinforce the thesis that Lysias' hopes of becoming a citizen were dashed, for behind that 'good metic' to which the orator refers a likeness to himself can be glimpsed.

Bakewell has already noted that, in both speeches, Lysias contrasts the bad citizen, namely, he who places his personal interests above the good of the *polis*, with the good metic, to wit, he who not only fulfils his tax obligations, but is also a loyal servant of Athenian democracy[43]. The author uses this analysis to classify the Lysian conception of citizenship as an example of the defence of the principle of consent, understood as the desire to serve the *polis*, as a requirement for acquiring citizenship rights[44].

Applying Bakewell's analysis to the opposition that the speeches formulate, but regardless of his interpretation of the Lysian conception of citizenship, our proposal differs: Lysias' unique journey through life and his ultimately frustrated attempt to acquire

41. Azoulay & Ismard 2020: 303.

42. In 404-403 BC, for Archinus' accusation that Thrasybulus' motion for granting citizenship was illegal; in 401-400 BC because he received the promise of *isoteleia*, but not that of citizenship (*supra*).

43. Bakewell 2000: 6-9.

44. *Id.*: 18-19 and 22.

Athenian citizenship provide the key to discerning his self-representation in the good metic that he describes in his speeches[45].

Well versed in oratory, but vetoed in the Assembly because of his legal status, Lysias discovered that the courts were the only Athenian institution that would listen to him. Indeed, metics could bring lawsuits against others, although, unlike citizens–whose cases were brought in by the Archon–they were introduced by the War-lord (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 58.1-3). In fact, metics had legal personality, for which reason they could defend themselves in the courts, without the strict need for a *prostatēs*–who was only essential when filing a suit[46].

So, after returning to Athens Lysias delivered his speech *Against Eratosthenes*, who had been responsible for Polemarchus' arrest and, by extension, his subsequent execution (Lys. 12.3, 12.16-17, and 12.23). There is a certain amount of controversy surrounding the nature of the suit, for there are some for whom it was a process of *euthynai*–an examination of accountability to which all retiring officials were subject–while for others it was a *dike phonou*–a prosecution for murder[47]. Effectively, the condemnation of the acts committed by the oligarchy in the speech might lead us to think, as Fernández-Galiano does, that Lysias would have intervened in the *euthynai* of Eratosthenes at a moment when he was precisely hurt by the death of his brother[48]. Even though Lysias' status poses a problem for this interpretation, the author notes that, as a metic, the orator would have been able to lodge his complaint before the *euthynos*, once the court had acquitted the magistrate (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 54.2)[49]. Although deploying a different argument, Todd also considers this possibility, suggesting that, because the case of the Thirty Tyrants was unique, the *euthynai* that they underwent might have allowed for the intervention of non-citizens[50]. All considered, this author also cautions that, having had the opportunity to condemn a murder, it is hard to imagine that Lysias would have passed it up. According to this and to the characteristics of the interrogation to which the orator submits his opponent (Lys. 12.23-34)[51], I am of the mind that the lawsuit in question was a *dike phonou* for the murder of Polemarchus.

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45. Bakewell (*ibid.*) overlooks the level of influence that Lysias' legal ups and downs and life path must have had on him when writing his reflections on the bad citizen and the good metic.

46. Cf. Gauthier 1972: 133; Whitehead 1977: 11 and 92; Baslez 1984: 138.

47. Cf. Todd 2020: 36.

48. Fernández-Galiano 1992: 221-222.

49. *Ibid.*

50. Todd 2020: 38.

51. *Ibid.*

Either way, contrary to the view held by Clerc, who claims that Lysias could have only delivered *Against Eratosthenes* if he had been a citizen[52], or in contrast to Loening, who assumes that only being an *isoteles* would he have been able to dispense with a *prostatēs*[53], it is obvious that the orator took the floor in the courts as a metic. In point of fact, there is a consensus on the dating of this lawsuit to 403 BC[54], which is consistent with the direct self-representation of Lysias in 'the good metic'.

Admittedly, it is easy to evoke the figure of Lysias when delivering his speech: the logographer respected everyone in democracy, without ever litigating against anyone (Lys. 12.4), practicing a sort of *apragmosyne* that, unlike that which a citizen might practice, would have been looked on favourably in the case of a metic who, like the orator, hitherto had not meddled in Athenian legal matters[55].

However, Lysias was also active–in the positive sense of the word–in democracy. It can be observed how he made all sorts of contributions to the city and 'did what was required' of him (Lys. 12.20)[56]. Considering his biography (*supra*), he distinguished himself among those who 'had ransomed many Athenians from the foe' (Lys. 12.20). Thus, Lysias, as a metic, behaved 'in a manner wholly unlike how they behaved as citizens' (Lys. 12.20)[57]. I believe that these claims, illustrating the self-portrait of the ideal metic, are more plausible when interpreted in the context of 403 BC and, especially, in a period following the *graphe paranomon* that had dashed Lysias' hopes of acquiring citizenship.

Later on, the orator, now as a logographer, wrote his speech *Against Philon*[58], who he portrays as someone unworthy of belonging to the *boulé* (Lys. 31.10 and 31.32) for having betrayed democracy, for the character not only refused to become involved in the resistance (Lys. 31.7 and 31.9), but also committed abuses such as pillaging the peasantry of Attica (Lys. 31.17-18).

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52. A–refutable–argument on which he bases himself for dating this speech to a purported interval in which Lysias enjoyed citizenship rights between Thrasybulus' motion and Archinus' *graphe paranomon* (Clerc 1893: 111; recently also Scheid-Tissinier 2019: 246-247). Against the existence of such an interval, see *supra*.

53. Loening 1981: 286 and 289-290.

54. Dover 1968: 44; Fernández-Galiano 1992: 222.

55. The *apragmosyne* of metics did not imply, as in the case of citizens, any ideological distancing from democracy; see Bearzot 2007: 131-135.

56. For Lys. 12, I use the translation of Todd 2020.

57. 'They', the oligarchs.

58. Weissenberger (1987: 149-152 and 202) considers that Lysias is the author of Speech 31. For its rhetorical similarities to Lys. 12. See Bakewell 2000: 5, n. 1.

The dating of this speech, which varies between a greater or lesser proximity to the restoration of democracy, is more debatable than that of *Against Eratosthenes*[59]. Weissenberger assumes that in 31.29 Lysias is referring to Thrasybulus' effective granting of citizenship to metics in 403 BC and that this would have remained in force until its–tardy–revocation by Archinus in 401-400 BC. On this basis, he believes that *Against Philon* was delivered in the *dokimasia* of 401 BC[60]. As has been seen, however, the date of Archinus' decree (403-402 BC) established his *graphe paranomon* quite a bit beforehand, it being highly improbable that the aforementioned metics, with Lysias figuring among their number, ultimately acquired citizenship. Furthermore, in 31.29 there is no mention of the assumptive granting of citizenship to whom Lysias significantly continues to refer as 'metics'. Consequently, I contend that the authentic *terminus post quem* of *Against Philon* would be Thrasybulus' motion of 401-400 BC.

This context, together with the self-representation of a Lysias whose acquisition of citizenship had been thwarted for a second time, consolidates the thesis of the granting of *isoteleia*: indeed, now in a veiled, but perfectly perceptible fashion[61], Lysias can be seen among the metics honoured by the city 'for having assisted the democracy beyond their duty' (Lys. 31.29)[62]. Likewise, in light of the status of *isoteles*–but not that of citizen–which Lysias would have possessed after 401-400 BC, the emphasis placed on the contrast between 'good metics' and those citizens who, like Philon, 'take the view that every place in which they possess anything is for them a fatherland' (Lys. 31.6) can be much more clearly understood.

In view of the foregoing, the claim that 'it is not right for anybody else to offer advice in our affairs, other than those who in addition to being citizens are also enthusiastic about their citizenship' (Lys. 31.5) makes greater sense. Even though Azoulay and Ismard reject the vision of Lysias as a metic who sought to obtain citizenship[63], I consider that, in his case, the odds are that he wanted to acquire it: his personal story, his quest for citizenship rights in Thurii, his political commitment, his public speaking skills, and the knowledge that he shared with the Athenians through his speeches, all suggest that the fact that he was prevented from intervening directly in the Assembly and did not belong to the Council would not have been trivial matters for him.

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59. See Floristán Imízcoz 2000: 99.
60. Weissenberger 1987: 203.
61. On the personal stamp that Lysias left on the discourses that he wrote as a logographer, see *supra*.
62. For Lys. 31, I have used the translation of Todd 2000.
63. Azoulay & Ismard 2020: 271-273.

In short, versus bad citizens like Eratosthenes and Philon, who had shown their lack of affection for their *polis*, Lysias may have been the good metic who, by virtue of his commitment to Athenian democracy, demonstrated in Thurii, in exile and in Athens itself that he was more deserving of citizenship than the previous two who had defiled it with their betrayal[64].

Conclusions

In light of Lysias' life path, especially the cities in which he resided and his changing legal status depending on where he was living at each time, it is possible to identify the orator as the good metic portrayed in his speeches. Moreover, I suggest that the reflections included in his speeches 12 and 31 can be understood as the pleas of a wandering metic who, even though he had actively collaborated in favour of a democratic Athens, saw how his two attempts at acquiring citizenship, which he believed that he deserved, were ultimately thwarted. On these grounds, I conclude that the aforementioned reflections reinforce the thesis of his permanent status as a metic, or at best as an *isoteles*, in Athens. A famous logographer, but also an intellectual on the move, Lysias would never see his ideological constancy fully rewarded.

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64. Cf. Bearzot 2007: 12 and 137-140.

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NAUKLEROI, *EMPOROI*, POTTERY WORKSHOPS AND THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE CASE OF THE *EL SEC* WRECK

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Several contributions have posed the problem of the relationship between pottery production and historical context[1]. It is therefore appropriate, before dealing with the case of the *El Sec* wreck, to briefly recall two earlier chronological moments in which the relationship between production and distribution is evident. We are referring, on the one hand, to the last quarter of the 6th century and, on the other, to the second quarter of the 5th century BC.

In 525 BC the conquest of Egypt by the Persians led to the definitive collapse of imports of Attic pottery in the Nile Delta area, and contributed, on the other hand, to an increase in the presence of Attic pottery in western areas and in Tyrrhenian Etruria in particular. Exports to this area increased progressively until the beginning of the 5th century BC, but they began to decline in the second quarter of the 5th century BC due to the turbulence in the western area caused by the progressive interference of the Dinomenids of Syracuse in the area of the Strait of Messina, a major route for Attic trade towards Tyrrhenian Etruria (Figure 1).

After the Battle of Cumae in 474 BC, won by Syracuse, which by now controlled the trade routes to the Campania region, the distribution of Attic pottery from this time onwards favoured, as opposed to the Ionian-Tyrrhenian route across the Strait of Messina, the route along the Adriatic Sea to the Picenian area, towards the Po Valley area, and from there, towards inland Etruria and Tyrrhenian Etruria itself, whose imports, if they continued, followed a declining trend.

1. For a bibliography on the routes of Attic pottery in the Mediterranean from the 6th to the 4th century BC, see Giudice & Giudice 2008. See also Giudice & Giudice 2016; Giudice & Santagati 2019; Giudice & Santagati 2020.

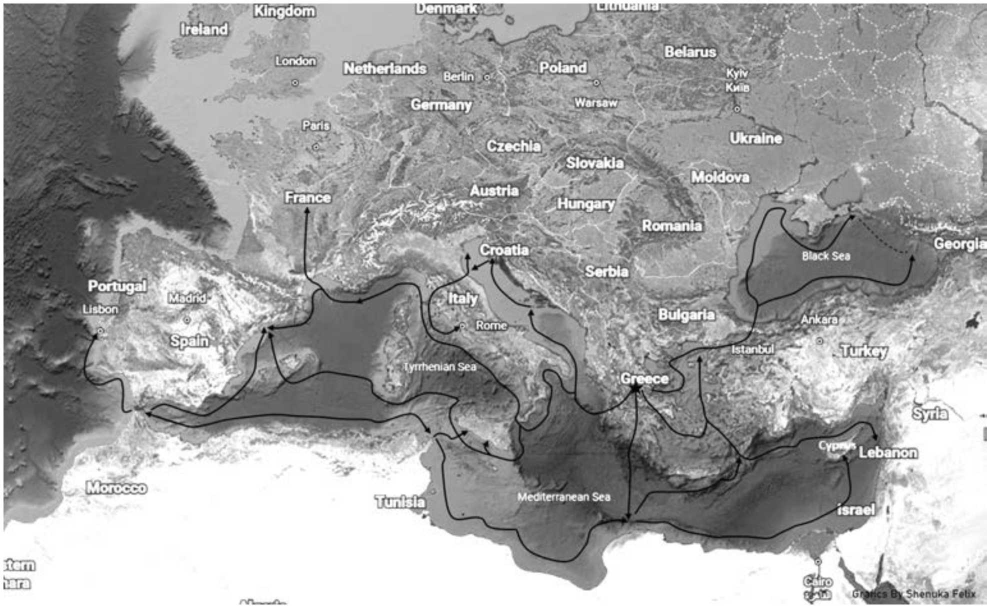

Figure 1. Attic pottery routes in the 4th century BC

Turning finally to the last quarter of the 5th century BC, a significant contribution to the history of long-distance trade in Attic pottery can be made by the wreck of *El Sec*, found in Iberia, in the shallows of the Balearic Islands[2]. In this period, as we know, the events of the Peloponnesian War were marked by the defeat of Athens in Sicily (415 BC) and at Aegospotami (404 BC).

The meticulous publication of the materials found in the wreck has opened a wide-ranging debate that cannot be entered into in the space of a single report. In this contribution, therefore, we limit ourselves to the opinions offered by two distinguished scholars of Late Attic pottery at the 1995 Arles conference, in which the discussions focused mainly on the coexistence in the *El Sec* wreck of ceramics from the 4th century BC and, at the same time, from the end of the 5th century BC[3]. On that occasion it was noted that the traditional chronology of certain types of pottery in the wreck is high and dated to the end of the 5th century BC as well as in the 4th century BC, and it is impossible to believe that older pottery had been taken on

2. On Attic pottery in Iberia, see in particular Trias 1967; Pallares 1972, 1987 and 1981. On the *El Sec* wreck, see: Arribas et al. 1987. For the specific problem, see Rouillard 1991; Morel 2000.

3. Morel 2000; Villard 2000.

board; and, that, therefore, the chronology of the black pottery should be revised, taking into account the dating of the other series. In particular, F. Villard emphasised the difference between the 5th and 4th centuries BC and, for the chronological framework, argued that it was not possible to assume a priori that mediocre products were necessarily the most recent. With regard to the absolute chronology, the scholar stated that the most reliable data were the siege of Olinthus by Philip II of Macedon (348 BC) and the foundation of Alexandria (322 BC): the combination of the two events would make it possible to see that half of the production of the most mediocre series is the oldest, while the best products of the Kerch style are placed around the third quarter of the 4th century BC. In the same conference, Jean-Paul Morel, on the subject of black-glazed Attic ceramics, supplements the chronological data of the *El Sec* wreck with those of Megara Iblea, Smyrna, the Kyrenia wreck and other sites. In this regard he comments:

> Si une espèce d'accord assez géeeral semble se faire pour assigner l'épave d'El Sec au deuxième quart du IVe siècle, le matériel de l'épave est diversament daté, selon les spécialistes et selon le catégories d'objets –et cela est vrai même de la céramique attique– entre la fin du Ve siècle et le début de la seconde moitié du IVe siècle[4].

At the same conference, the distinguished scholar also put forward the hypothesis of a possible overlapping of the two wrecks, although–he adds–nothing seems to prove this on the 'ground'. On the other hand, Morel continues:

> Les tombes posent un peu les mêmes problèmes que les épaves [...]: on le voit bien avec les tombes de Spina, qui mettent en évidence des difficultés de ce genre. Le problème paraît toutefois moins grave pour les tombes, où l'on peut toujours supposer la présence de certains objets conservés plus longtemps que d'autres – ce qui est plus difficile pour les épaves[5].

And Morel concludes:

> Plus généralement, on peut se demander (mais ce seraient autant d'études de détail à faire) si certaines de nos difficultés ne proviennent pas d'une chronologie de Sparkes qui serait

4. Morel 2000: 13.
5. *Id.*: 14.

parfois un peu haute pour une céramique qu'inversement, il est vrai, certains me reprochent de dater parfois un peu bas[6].

This, in summary, is what has been proposed for the wreck. Today, in keeping with the title of this paper, it is worth making a new proposal that justifies the coexistence of Attic pottery from the end of the 5th century BC with Attic pottery from the 4th century BC by referring to the events in the city of Athens between 404 and 394 BC, from the aftermath of the defeat at Aegospotami and the military occupation by the Spartans of the port of Piraeus and, after this decade, the reconstruction of the port infrastructure.

In fact, from the *annus horribilis* (404 BC) one has to look back to 394-393 BC, when the Athenian Conon, in command of a Persian fleet, destroyed Spartan ships at Knidos. These successes earned him an enthusiastic welcome on his return to Athens (393 BC), where he promoted the reconstruction of the Long Walls and the structures of Piraeus so that the great port could resume overseas trade.

The sources therefore support the hypothesis that Athens' international trade was halted for at least a decade, followed by a long and gradual recovery; a halt not only brought about by the damaged structures of Piraeus, but also by the killing of the rich, among whom we must probably include the rich *naukleroi* and *emporoi*. These events led to a halt not only in imports, as witnessed by the severe famine the population suffered, but also in the export of Attic goods to external markets. A consequence of the halt was undoubtedly the accumulation in warehouses of the Attic workshops' pottery production, which only began to be disposed of when exports resumed and the cadres of the entrepreneurial class reformed. It is therefore not surprising, if we are correct, that in both wreck and necropolis contexts we have found 4th century BC vessels alongside those produced towards the end of the 5th century BC and stuck in workshop warehouses. Parallel to the revival of the workshops, the class of wealthy *naukleroi* and *emporoi*, decimated by the Thirty Tyrants, was reformed. It is not by chance, therefore, that we read in the Isocratean work on the 'exchange', dated around 350 BC, that there were one thousand two hundred very rich people, a figure, as has been commented, 'exemplarily close to that of the presumed victims of the class massacre of 404'[7]. And, in fact, the middle of the 4th century BC marks the moment of the greatest expansion of Attic trade on the one hand towards the West (the Po Valley area, Gulf of Lion, Empúries) and on the other towards the East (especially the Black Sea area).

6. *Ibid.*
7. Canfora 2013: 124.

To conclude: if our hypothesis is well-founded, it is no longer surprising if we find pottery in wrecks and necropolises that, on the basis of the excavations in the *Agora* of Athens, can be traced back to vases that Brian Sparkes dates to the end of the 5th century BC, associated with pottery that he places in the 4th century BC. The goods produced at the end of the 5th century BC, which remained in the warehouses until the restoration of the infrastructure of Piraeus and the resumption of overseas trade, were shipped on the same ships together with the vases produced in the new century. It is no longer surprising, at this point, if pottery from the end of the 5th century BC appears in association with pottery from the middle of the 4th century BC, as the study of pottery from this period is gradually showing.

In fact, it was with the arrival of Conon in Athens in 394 BC that the resumption of commercial activity was documented, which meant that ships could resume long-distance trade, and alongside the new vases, those produced up to 404 BC and left in storage due to the halting of long-distance trade could be shipped. It is no coincidence, if our hypothesis is plausible, that the same phenomenon can be found in the Spina burials, where vases from the end of the 5th century BC are associated with pottery from the 4th century BC[8]. As we argued in the 2013 Bologna conference, Spina itself is the intermediate stage for the distribution of Attic pottery[9]. The route first arrived in Korkyra, then travelled up the Adriatic Sea to Spina. From there, along the Ligurian Sea, past the Massaliote coast, it reached Empúries, the main emporium of north-eastern Iberia. In any case, this route is not the only one, but it appears to run parallel to the African route, which descended towards Africa, reaching Alexandria, continuing on one side to Carthage, ascending towards the Punic city of Motya, and from there heading towards the Balearic Islands (remember that the terrible north-westerly winds that sweep down from Provence to the south, reaching south-eastern Iberia, the western coast of Sicily and, swirling around, the southern part of the island, prevail here).

At this point, if our hypothesis is correct, the coexistence in the *El Sec* wreck of late 5th century BC Attic pottery alongside 4th century BC pottery is no longer surprising.

8. A study by Maria Grazia Finistrella is currently being prepared on this topic.
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SOME NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE STUDY OF CRAFTSPEOPLE'S MOBILITY IN THE RED-FIGURE POTTERY PRODUCTION OF MAGNA GRAECIA AND SICILY

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The analysis of South Italian red-figure vases includes, among other questions, studying the people who made these artefacts and often moved themselves and their technological know-how from one region to another. As a preliminary note, it is worth considering that South Italian red-figure production cannot be compared to the Athenian system. Concerning the Attic tradition, when a vase is found outside Athens, it is usually automatically assumed that this artifact was found 'abroad' in respect to its manufacturing location, because of trading and commercial activities and the high production level of Athenian manufacturing[1] (bearing in mind, of course, that ancient maritime trade was, indeed, significant at the time)[2]. Yet, the red-figure production in Magna Graecia and Sicily beginning in the mid-5th century BC[3] provide new insights into the ancient craftspeople who created them, especially if we take into account the dynamics of connectivity characteristic of these 'communities of practice'[4].

In recent years, various attempts have been made to move beyond the systematic framework proposed by A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou[5]. These new studies have reconfigured what could be defined as a very rich, complex and articulated artisanal phenomenon, especially in relation to the dynamics that prompted the various local

1. For analyses of Athenian productivity, from various perspectives, see Cook 1959; Webster 1972; Johnston 1979: 50-51; McDonald 1981; Arafat & Morgan 1989: 326-327; Giudice 1992: 195-199; Acton 2016; Saperstein 2020.

2. For a distributive analysis of Attic vases, see G. Giudice 2007. For a comparative distributive analysis of Attic and early South Italian vases, see Serino 2014: 248-254, and 2019: 17-26.

3. For some general and recent overviews of early South Italian red-figure workshops, see Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009: 97-136 and 165-170; Gadaleta 2012: 93-95. To mention some of the most important post-Trendall studies related to Sicilian workshops: Spigo 1996 and 2001; Barresi 2002, 2013 and 2018; de Cesare 2009; Madella 2010; Elia 2012. For a brief overview of the last two decades of studies, see Soleti 2012: 66-71.

4. For the definition of 'communities of practice', see Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1996.

5. To mention some of their milestones: *LCS* and its supplements (*LCS I, LCS II, LCS III*); *RVAp* and its supplements (*RVAp I, RVAp II*) and the most recent handbook by Trendall 1989.

beginnings of red-figure productions. Of course, these analyses focus on a range of problems, but one of their most important contributions has been to highlight the strong propensity for mobility among certain South Italian craftspeople[6].

In the last decade, studies have begun to focus systematically on the strong regional footprint of some productions. Scholars have confirmed that red-figure vases were not only artefacts of Athenian manufacturing; rather, various other parallel and contemporary productions appeared in various areas of the Mediterranean, especially Greece and Italy, in order to satisfy local and regional demands. These industries, moreover, developed autonomous stylistic, iconographic and morphological features[7]. Another very recent and significant topic–a further step in this process of rethinking the dynamics related to South Italian red-figure production–is mobility[8].

In fact, a number of artisans have been linked to migratory movements from Attica to South Italy, for example, in the early phase alone (mid-5th century), the Pisticci Painter and Mesagne Painter[9]. However, regarding this likely artisanal mobility, an in-depth analysis must look at more than migration from Greece to Magna Graecia. The exceptional case of the so-called Arnò Painter/Perugia Painter, studied by M. Denoyelle and published in 1993, is particularly intriguing in this respect[10]. Vases attributed to these workshops probably belong to the same painter who migrated from the area of Metaponto to Etruria. Different regions, different shapes[11] and the same painter constitute a crucial combination for better understanding the dynamics of mobility, as explored further below. Moreover, other productive traditions around the area of Metaponto

6. For a general overview of this renewed attention to mobility in the ancient world (not only from an archaeological perspective), see Horden & Purcell 2000: 342-400; Rouillard 2007, 2009 and 2010; Jockey 2009; Archibald 2011: 53-55; Isayev 2017.

7. *The Regional Production of Red-figure Pottery: Greece, Magna Graecia and Etruria*, published by Aarhus University and edited by V. Sabetai and S. Schierup, provides a very good account of these multiform ancient artisanal dynamics.

8. The concept of mobility in South Italian red-figure production was also recently explored in the volume published by the Centre Jean Bérard and edited by C. Pouzadoux, M. Denoyelle & F. Silvestrelli 2018.

9. For the Pisticci Painter, see Denoyelle 1997; for the Mesagne Painter, see Barresi & Giudice 2011. For some more recent analyses of artisanal mobilities related to red-figure pottery traditions, see the case studies of the Darius Painter, the Underworld Painter, the Baltimore Painter, the White Saccos Painter, the Lucera Painter and the Arpi Painter (see previous bibliography in Pouzadoux, Denoyelle & Silvestrelli 2018).

10. Denoyelle 1993.

11. On the importance of the graphic enhancement of morphological studies in academic publications on red-figure vases, see Morel 2009 and Pouzadoux 2019.

and Apulia testify to some important stylistic connections between various workshops located in different regions[12].

Moving on to Sicily, a recent general review of the early Sicilian workshops argues various 'beginnings' (not only one 'beginning') must be taken into consideration with regard to this regional production. Recent studies reconsider these dynamics from a new perspective, that of mobility[13]. Workshops that fall within this framework include that of the Himera Painter, whom recent studies have suggested trained in Apulia[14], and the Locri Painter who, on the other hand, seems to have begun in Sicily and then moved to the Ionian area, as studies by S. Barresi and D. Elia demonstrate[15]. Alternatively, it is attested that the Santapaola Painter may have begun in Himera and passed through Lipari in Campania. Finally, the workshop of the Chequer Painter had important stylistic connections to both Campania and Sicily.

There is no doubt about the Atticizing stylistic elements on the vases attributed to the workshop of the Chequer Painter[16]. At the same time, a close link between this workshop and the Campanian productive tradition of the end of the 5th century BC was first suggested by A. Pontrandolfo[17] and, more recently, demonstrated by I. McPhee thanks to the case study of the Spinelli Painter (i.e. Figure 1)[18]. Looking more closely at the Chequer Painter and his likely Campanian production[19], it is possible to see details that are stylistically very similar to those on Sicilian vases. A bell-krater stored in Berlin (probably found in Campania)[20] (Figure 2a) contains the combination of stylistic

12. The close stylistic relationship between Amykos and Sisyphus was highlighted by N. R. Jircik. She considered a direct contact between these two workshops, going so far as to hypothesize a collaboration within the same workshop for the later phases of their production (Jircik 1990: 140). This issue was also explored by M. Schmidt (2001: 263): '*Dove questi due pittori avevano occasione di coltivare questi contatti?*'. Twenty years after Jircik's insights, archaeometric analyses performed by the University of Cincinnati and the University of Missouri, coordinated by J. Thorn & M. Glascock, appear to confirm this hypothesis (Thorn & Glascock 2010: 787).

13. Serino 2017, 2019a: 191-193, and 2019b.

14. See previous note.

15. To mention some: Elia 2010, 2014 and 2018; Barresi 2013 and 2018.

16. For the *ethnos* of the Chequer Painter, see Spigo (1996: 52) and Barresi (2002: 71). See also Serino 2019a: 28-33, and 2019b.

17. Pontrandolfo 1996: 35-38. On the contrary, S. Barresi (2002: 69) considers the vases by the Chequer Painter found in Campania clues of commercial and maritime contacts between Campania and Sicily, and he disagrees with the hypothesis of a migration phase for this painter/workshop.

18. McPhee 2018.

19. Cf. McPhee 2018: 301-302.

20. Berlin, inv. V.I. 3165 (Effenberger 1972: 128-130, 159-162, plate 17.1).

Figure 1. Iconographic scheme: Eros with pearl necklace, fig. (a) calyx krater, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, inv. 11022; (b) calyx krater, private collection; (c) calyx krater, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Città del Vaticano, inv. U51; (d) calyx krater, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Siracusa, inv. 37171; (e) calyx krater, Museo Archeologico Regionale Antonio Salinas, Palermo, inv. 2199; (f) calyx krater, private collection, Naples; (g) kylix, Athens, Logothetis collection; (h) kylix, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. 164371 (after Serino 2022: fig. 4)

features observed on both Campanian and Sicilian vases by the Chequer Painter, such as the chest and abdominal muscles of the male figures on the calyx krater at the British Museum (Figure 2d)[21], the face of the female figure on the Berlin vase, the two maenads

21. London, British Museum, inv. F37 (*LCS*: 197, n. 2, plate 78,2; Serino 2019: tab. 198, n. CK9-Sc2).

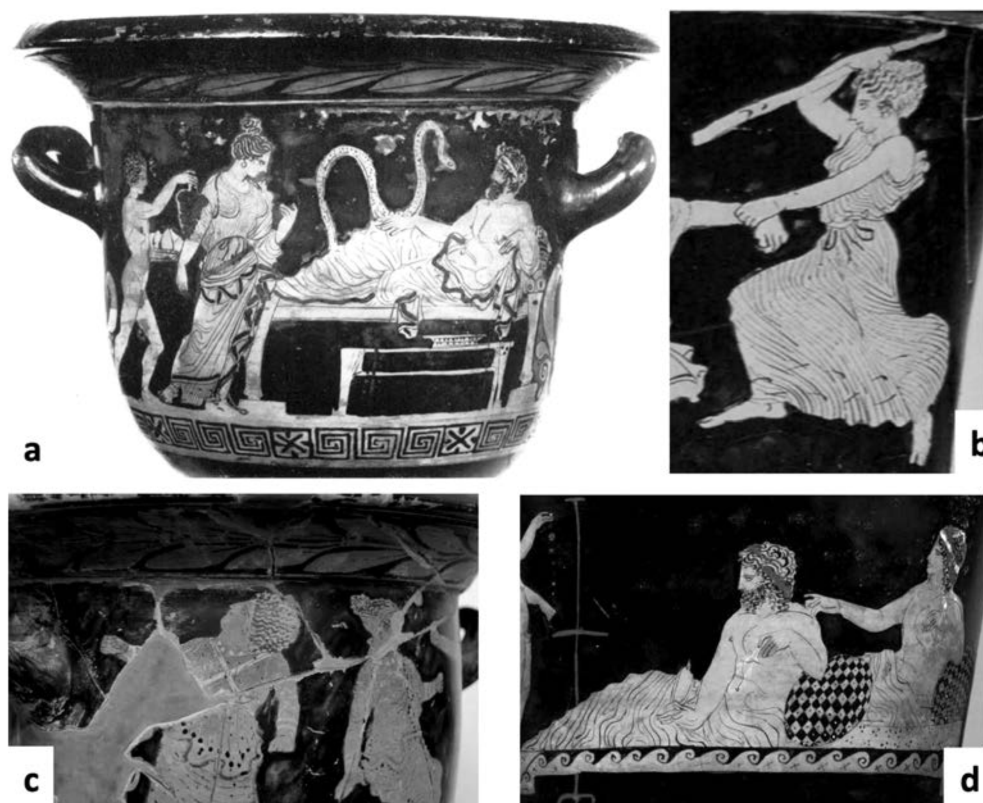

Figure 2. Workshop of the Chequer Painter, stylistic comparanda. (a) bell-krater, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung inv. V.I. 3165; (b) calyx krater, Università di Catania, inv. 9421; (c) bell-krater, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Siracusa, inv. 35196; (d) calyx krater, British Museum, London, inv. F37 (after Serino 2022: fig. 5)

depicted on the Centuripe calyx krater (Figure 2b) and the unique wavy border of the male figure on the Berlin krater, which looks identical to those attested on the Syracuse kraters (Figure 3c).

However, the scope of this paper does not allow me to explore these stylistic features more thoroughly. Its focus is on the fluidity in style attested in numerous artefacts that may well testify to the difficulty of establishing clear 'borders', especially between vases from different areas, as in the case of the Chequer and Spinelli Painters (Figure 3). One possible explanation is that the Chequer Painter may really have worked in Campania for some time, in the same workshop as the Spinelli Painter, before or after his experience in Sicily. Beyond the stylistic analysis, the presence of some kylikes decorated by the Spinelli/Chequer Painter only in Campania–as opposed to their total absence in Sicily–is significant in this context.

Figure 3. Workshop of the Chequer Painter and the Spinelli Painter: stylistic comparanda. (a) kylix, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. 164371; (b) bell-krater, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Siracusa, inv. 36333; (c) bell-krater, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Siracusa, inv. 35196; (d) kylix, Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina, INC Art Department Collection, 58.11.1 (after Serino 2022: fig. 6)

Likewise, it is possible to discern a similar situation for another early Sicilian workshop, that of the Santapaola Painter, whose vases were mostly found in the eastern part of Sicily, at Himera, and on the island of Lipari[22]. Not only is this craft hand found on Sicilian vases, but also on a kylix discovered at Suessula in Campania (Figure 4, a-c)[23]. Indeed, there are some very close stylistic connections with some vases from Sicily

22. On the Santapaola Painter's workshop and its development, see Serino 2019: 34-42, and 2020: 375-377.

23. *CVA* Italia 78: 82-83, tab. 80, inv. 164407. M. Borriello recently attributed this kylix to the Attic production near the Meleager Painter. Thanks to an in-depth stylistic review, it is possible to consider it a product of the workshop of the Santapaola Painter. For some stylistic comparanda, see also Serino 2019: 197, nn. CK29-Sa9 (a female figure's face on side A and all the mantle figures on side B), CK26-Sa3 (a male figure's face on side A) and fragments no. Sk11-Sa12.

Figure 4. Workshop of the Santapaola Painter: stylistic comparanda. (a-c) kylix, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. 164407; (d, f, g) calyx krater, Museo Archeologico Regionale eoliano Luigi Bernabò Brea, Lipari, inv. 11839; (e) skyphos, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Siracusa, inv. 56961 (after Serino 2022: fig. 7)

(Figure 4, d-g). Kylix was one of the favourite shapes during this period in Campania, and kylikes, as noted above, are totally missing from early Sicilian productive tradition. Consequently, the presence of the Santapaola Painter on a kylix in Campania may quite well be more than a coincidence.

These very brief examples show how it may also be possible to interpret the presence or absence of some specific shapes found in different regions as further clues to help detect the possible movement of artisans. In this analysis, potters and painters must be considered independently. Indeed, some shapes are found only within a specific regional area, but decorated by craft hands that usually painted in a number of regions. The traditional archaeological perspective tends to justify this by saying that the products were exported from one region to another, and some peculiar shapes were made following the demands of local markets. To some extent, this is true. However, the example of the Santapaola Painter in Campania raises a question: did the Campanian market turn to a Sicilian workshop like the Santapaola Painter for specific shapes (kylikes, in this case) rather than going to a local workshop?

Considering the traditional framework for the Athenian tradition of potters and painters, and processing in a different way the data provided by J. Beazley and A. D. Trendall, which aims to define single painters it is clear that the focus must be shifted, as E. Lippolis recently suggested 'from research on individual personalities to a concrete analysis of possible groups, relationships, dependencies and all the elements that can explain the existence of a tricky productive network'[24]. While the term 'network' may be overused today, in this case it is key. Large workshops were run by a few masters with proven design skills and engaged a number of collaborators who were specialized in different manufacturing processes, also relating to the shaping of the pottery itself[25]. Various studies have already demonstrated how South Italian painters, at least in the early phases, tended to settle where a local workshop was already active. They were usually employed in these workshops for a period of time, and then, sometimes, they moved on towards another workshop, somewhere else[26].

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24. Lippolis 2018: 87, author's translation. On the importance of an in-depth study of production processes and the internal organization of workshops also considering the various specialists engaged in the manufacturing procedures of red-figure vases, see also Pouzadoux 2013; Iozzo 2019.

25. See Lippolis 2018: 82-89.

26. Mannino 1996 and 2008. On the introduction of specialists (mainly painters) of red-figure production into local workshops already active *in loco* during the last decades of the 5th century BC, see Silvestrelli 2018 and 2019 (for Metapontum); Elia 2001, 2010: 221-227, and 2019: 554-558 (for Locri Epizephyrioi); Fontannaz 2014: 81-90; dell'Aglio & Masiello 2019 (for Tarentum).

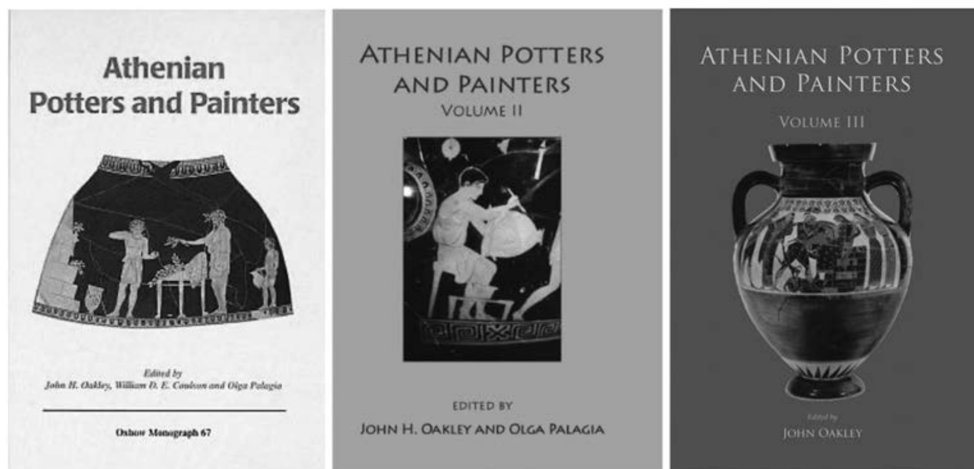

Figure 5. Athenian Potters and Painters, Vol. I, II, III; book covers

Considering the Attic model, we are familiar with 'potters' on one hand, and 'painters' on the other, as the three volumes of *Athenian Potters and Painters* testify (Figure 5)[27]. In Athenian production, even the few painter's and potter's signatures make this distinction quite simple. In contrast, in western production, most vases lack a signature. However, this absence does not justify any decision to make no distinction between potters and painters in the South Italian organization system. As noted above, the Athenian tradition is completely different; however, its productive system does offer some good starting points for rethinking the traditional approach to South Italian red-figure production. Indeed, the presence of local workshops, even before the beginning of red-figure production, would have made to host the red-figure specialists in painting possible. The consideration of the potter could, in fact, be fundamental to better understand certain associations of shape and image, and to grasp possible connections between different productive traditions, as noted above for the workshops of the Chequer and Santapaola Painters. Certainly, many other cases can be considered, for instance, specific shapes limited to a regional area, but done by a painter in no way limited to a specific area. In these circumstances, while the potter is the fixed part,

27. Oakley, Coulson & Palagia 1997 (vol. I); Oakley & Palagia 2009 (vol. II); Oakley 2014 (vol. III). The attribution studies in western Greek ceramics had to rely exclusively on stylistic affinities, as we have only a handful of signatures among the thousands of vases. The Athenian connoisseurship system similarly relied on stylistic ties as the signatures there although the more common do not surpass 200 in number (see Hurwit 2017: 71-96).

the painter is the moving part, the one with an itinerant aptitude within a complex and varied productive network.

This study suggests the crucial role that could have been played by itinerant craftsmanship that 'does not leave traces', in the words of Ch. Feyel. He used a very intriguing expression for these craftspeople: 'birds of passage'[28]. Clues of such 'birds of passage' in the form of potters and painters are not easy to find. One of the rare pieces of evidence is an inscription from Ephesus (I *Eph*. IV 1420). As J. K. Davies argues[29], this inscription testifies the stipulation of a contract for the transfer of two potters from Athens to Ephesus, and the document indicates the intense artisanal mobility that must have characterized also this category of workers. In his book *The Craftsman*, R. Sennett explains how artisanal 'practicing becomes narrative'[30]. According to Sennett, 'narrative' is the result of a long series of corrections and adjustments as essential moments of a craftspeople's apprenticeship. In the context of this chapter, these 'gestures', to use Sennett's terminology, help to explain the displacement of artisans, because corrections, adjustments and technological procedures are typical of every workshop.

For all these reasons, there is a need to develop an 'archaeology of gesture': narrative is not only the scene depicted on the vase; narrative is the vase itself and the invisible gestures behind it. Now, these invisible gestures can be seen, thanks to modern technology. The time has come to unveil these 'invisible' clues: on drafts, on adjustments and on the variability of the local artisanal technological process, in other words, on the material clues of ancient apprenticeship, which are sometimes invisible to the naked eye[31].

For these reasons and with this aim in mind, an international research project supported by the European Union, the A.G.A.T.H.O.C.L.E.S. project. ('The "Archaeology of Gesture": Apprenticeship, Tools, Hands, Organization, Collaborations, Learning Experience and Social Network Analysis'), was initiated in 2021 (Figure 6)[32]. The research related to this project combines traditional studies with some innovative diagnostic techniques, such

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28. Feyel 2006.

29. Davies 2011: 184.

30. Sennet 2008: 160-161.

31. A methodological approach already pursued by Serino 2017: 154-155.

32. A.G.A.T.H.O.C.L.E.S. will be jointly conducted in Italy–University of Turin, Department of Historical Studies–and the United States–the University of Arizona, Tucson, School of Anthropology: https://klinai.hypotheses.org/1905;https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/893629/it;https://ni.openaire.eu/search/project?projectId=corda__h2020::cf862116bc42bd523a4399fba676b6fa [Accessed 29/09/2021]; https://frida.unito.it/wn_pages/contenuti.php/441_studio-del-passato-dellumanit/585_agathocles-i-gesti-degli-artigiani-sui-vasi-a-figure-rosse-di-magna-grecia-e-sicilia/ [Accessed 29/09/2021]; https://ciao.hypotheses.org/1794 [Accessed 29/09/2021].

as archaeometric analysis, computational imaging, dactyloscopic investigations, experimental archaeology and digital humanities. The archaeometric analyses will focus on some technological features related to black-glaze, such as firing temperature, firing defects, the different uses of *miltos* and the chemical compositions of overpainted colours. Innovative photographic techniques such as reflectance transformation imaging (RTI) will be used to capture the sketches made before the glaze treatment that are invisible to the naked eye, and thus to go inside a real 'sequence of gestures. Dactyloscopic investigations will also be carried out on both clay and glazed surfaces in search of fingerprints that belong, respectively, to potters and painters and to evaluate the possibility of better defining the internal organization of some workshops. Sessions of experimental archaeology will attempt to reproduce some technical procedures related to the tools used by the painters. Finally, an important part of the research will focus on the potential offered by the digital humanities, an innovative approach for this field of study, aimed at revising Trendall's and Cambitoglou's catalogues using social network analysis (SNA), following the ongoing studies by E. Hasaki and D. Harris Cline on the lists of Attic vases provided by Beazley[33].

Figure 6. A.G.A.T.H.O.C.L.E.S. project, official logo

In light of these new methodological perspectives, perhaps the time is ripe to try to formulate new research questions, most particularly: how can new hermeneutic perspectives be applied to the mobility of potter and painter communities? The potters' craft and workshops have a footprint that is deeply anchored in the local landscape and what have been termed their 'communities of practice'[34]. At least until the mid-5th century

33. Harris Cline & Hasaki 2019; Hasaki & Harris Cline 2020.

34. For the definition of 'communities of practice', see Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1996.

BC, local sources and traditional recipes for clay, technical procedures for wheels, firing control in the kilns, in addition to the local visual formulas and internal organization of the various aspects of decorative process in a workshop were all the result of a long process of apprenticeship whose dynamics were nested in familiar contexts.

Various studies that have observed these phenomena from a number of perspectives[35] suggest that the Athenian system worked in this way for a certain period of time. However, the question remains open for the other regional productions. Moreover, the new artisanal dynamics of the second half of the 5th century BC also require further investigation. Were painters and potters still anchored to their familiar context? When considering the emigration (or the return emigration) of some painters from Attica to South Italy (like the Pisticci Painter), the kind of mobility to study needs to be defined: should it entail the mobility of the entire workshop or of the individual painters? And which painters should be studied? The master or some assistants/pupils in his workshop? Furthermore, questions regarding mobility within South Italian regions during the last decades of the 5th century BC and the first half of the 4th century BC (related to, e.g., the Arnò Painter, Locri Painter, Santapaola Painter, Himera Painter, Chequer Painter) must be addressed: how did they move? Who moved (entire workshops or only some artisans)?[36] How long did they stay in the new place?

Of course, these are complex technological, social and economic issues, and knowing whether the mobility involved the entire workshop or only one 'link in the chain' could be quite significant. Moreover, every local workshops' internal organization–related to the various aspects of the decorative process–were the result of a long process of apprenticeship whose dynamics were mostly unknown and, above all, very difficult to detect from an archaeological point of view[37]. In addition, social dynamics were different in the South Italian and Athenian *poleis*. For example, in terms of apprenticeship, family contexts may or may not have always been important, or the dynamics of apprenticeship may have been distinct in different areas. Perhaps, considering the South Italian production system, artisans from different workshops, located in different *poleis*, may have sometimes worked together.

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35. To mention some more recent perspectives: Acton 2016; Hasaki & Harris Cline 2020; Sapirstein 2020.

36. For discussions of embeddedness of the ceramic manufacturing stages within the local landscapes and for successful relocation strategies of potters and painters (together or separately), see Hasaki & Serino (forthcoming).

37. One of the most important recent attempts to connect archaeological and anthropological perspectives related to the apprenticeship in the ancient world is in the volume *Archaeology and Apprenticeship* edited by W. Wendrick (2012).

These issues, among others, need to be addressed as part of new research challenges. It is not known if it will be possible to answer them all, but there is no doubt that only a highly interdisciplinary approach will make it possible to accomplish this.

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