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Chiara Maria Mauro  
Diego Chapinal-Heras  
Miriam Valdés Guía  
(coords.)

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# PEOPLE ON THE MOVE ACROSS THE GREEK WORLD



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ESTUDIOS HELÉNICOS ~ 4

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## People on the Move across the Greek World

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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’)<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup>. 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<sup>4</sup>. 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

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1. De Wever & Van Compernelle 1967; Virgilio 1971-1972; Casevitz 1985; Boardman 2000; Finley & Lepore 2000; Tsatskhladze 2006; De Angelis 2009; Costanzi 2010; Tsatskhladze & 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<sup>5</sup>. Displacements justified by religious reasons have been examined by Perlman<sup>6</sup> and Dillon<sup>7</sup>, 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<sup>8</sup>. 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*<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup>, 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 ἀλητης/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 *emporía* 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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