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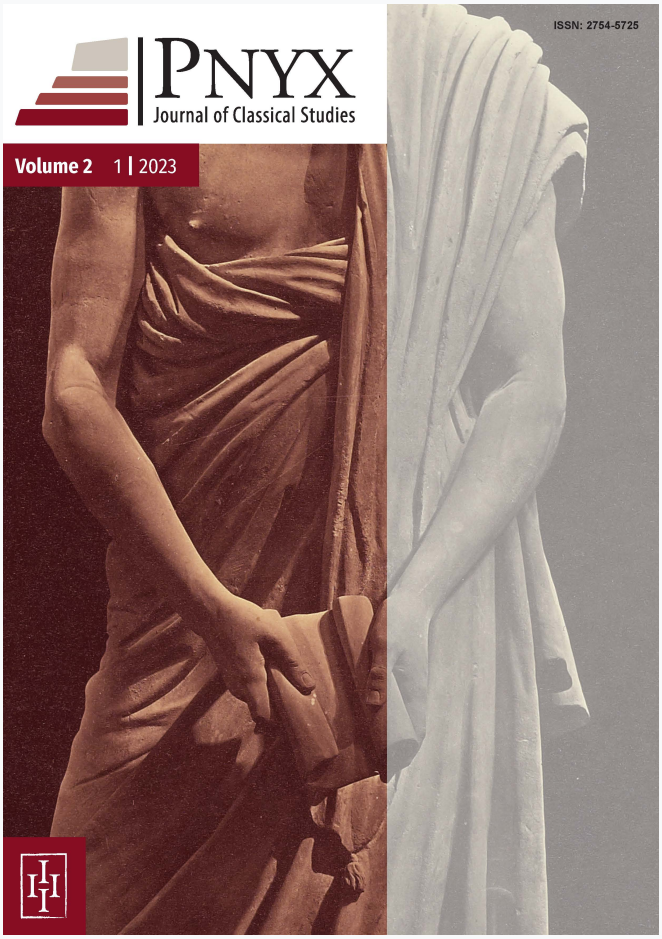

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A Review of: Mauro, Chiara Maria, Chapinal-Heras, Diego, and Valdés Guía, Miriam (eds.) 2022. People on the Move Across the Greek World. Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla

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Review

People on the Move Across the Greek World collects 22 papers on various aspects of ancient Greek history and archaeology, all joined by their consideration of movement as key to understanding their subjects.* The volume opens with a short introduction that sets out the agenda, to which I will return below. Here follows a brief overview of the 22 papers, divided into four Sections that comprise the volume.

I

The first Section presents four papers under 'Society, Economy and Knowledge'. Aida Fernández Prieto begins by taking a lexical approach to the question of the relationship between movement and poverty in literature. Though the pauper did not necessarily wander, and the wanderer was not necessarily destitute, there was often a blurry line between the two who met on the margins of Classical Greek society.

Next, Domingo Plácido presents a number of somewhat disjointed observations about travel and movement as it manifested itself in the works of those 'professionals' who contributed to the Homeric corpus and classical literature and relates them to long-term developments in literature. It is an interesting idea; the usefulness of this contribution, however, is severely limited by a very economical use of references to both scholarly literature and ancient evidence.

Luckily, Gabriella Ottone picks up on the theme of literature and place with a careful analysis of the importance of travel for the first historians. On the one hand, travel was an essential part of the

*Authors and titles are listed at the end of this review.

historical method; historians had to acquaint themselves with events, people, peoples (ethnography remained an essential part of history), and places and the historian's reputation, to a considerable extent, depended upon their familiarity with the people and places they treated. On the other hand, the historians, as a kind of itinerant craftsmen, travelled to find new audiences for their work, for instance, at the Olympic games. The decision to place the lesser-known fourth-century historian Theopompos of Chios at the centre of the analysis, rather than, say, Herodotos or Polybios, is in itself a treat for a reader only vaguely familiar with that historian, but it also broadens the analysis and makes for a greater historical anchorage of the results.

Nerea Terceiro Sanmartín traces an outline of the life of the speechwriter Lysias as a metic of Athens (and briefly Megara) and citizen of Thourioi and Syracuse. She discusses his relationship with his adopted home city of Athens and the democracy that he helped restore in 403 BCE, but which seems – so it is argued – never to have embraced him fully with Athenian citizenship. Lysias belongs among the best-attested metics of Classical Athens. Therefore, his case is exciting since it holds the promise of a clear and direct insight into what David Whitehead called the 'ideology of the Athenian metic'. In this reading, Lysias is a devout but disappointed democrat against Azoulay and Ismard's more ideologically flexible Lysias.[1] A lynchpin of the analysis is Lysias' failure – despite his support for the restoration of democracy – to secure citizenship. However, the matter is controversial, and the nature of the evidence seems to preclude any hard conclusions (given our fairly extensive knowledge about Lysias, this is in itself an interesting fact). Similarly, though Lysias 12 and 31 (with Bakewell)[2] can be read to reflect Lysias' support for democracy, if, as here, they are read in isolation, one might wonder about Lysias' apparent willingness to look past some clients' questionable democratic credentials?

Next follows a note by Filippo and Innocenza Giudice, which points to the disruption of Peiraieus' trade in connection with the reign of the Thirty at Athens as an explanation for the wide chronological distribution of pottery assemblages in the *El Sec* shipwreck.

For the section's final contribution, Marco Serino considers recent developments in the study of the mobility of potters and painters in late-fifth-century Sicily and South Italy. The traditional interpretation that Athenians sent pottery, which was eventually imitated by local craftspeople, has given way to interpretations that emphasise the mobility of especially painters. First steps have been taken, argues Serino, but more work – combining various disciplines – is needed for a fuller picture.

Section Two, 'Travellers and Borders', opens with Angiolo Querci tracing the ancient sea passage from (Minoan) Crete to Egypt and back again. The discussion departs from Odysseus' tale (in Hom. *Od.* 14) of such a voyage and early evidence of a connection between Minoan Crete and eighteenth-dynasty Egypt, but also draws on meteorological data to establish the most likely route: an open-sea 'jump' from eastern Crete to the mouth of the Nile and a land-hugging return trip up the Levantine coast and west along the South Anatolian coast and into the Aegean. Querci's questions, approach (especially the use of wind charts), and results closely mirror those of L. Casson in his classic article on the Roman grain fleets of Alexandria, and a discussion would have been worthwhile.[3]

Chiara Maria Mauro continues the focus on the technology of seafaring with a discussion of scholarship on the construction of vessels and means of navigation in early Iron Age Greece, drawing on both literary and iconographic evidence. Next, Unai Iriarte traces the overseas connections of

[1] Azoulay and Ismard, 2020.
[2] Bakewell, 1999.
[3] Casson, 1950.

Peisistratos to emphasise how the Athenian tyrant's hold on power depended on his relationship with especially the Eretrian and Argive elites and his military exploits in Thrace.

The section concludes with two papers on Pausanias', *Description of Greece* (Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις), Book 8. The myths and traditions of Arkadia are the subject of Maria Cruz Cardete Del Olmo's contribution. Following Pretzler, she argues that Pausanias aimed to conjure up an eternal, traditional, and mythical Arkadia to stand against the shifting of time. Sotiria Dimopoulou concentrates on Pausanias' description of Despoina's sanctuary in Lykosoura, which she reads against the archaeological remains and Pausanias' interests as a religious tourist with a preference for mysteries.

Section Three, '"Colonization" and Politics', begins with Elena Duce Pastor's study of 'mixed marriages' between Greek settler men and local women in the foundations of Miletos, Cyrene, and Massalia, which finds that women typically did not participate in colonising ventures and therefore had to be drawn (violently) from among the native populations. The contribution takes a very optimistic view of the foundation myths reported by Herodotos and Aristotle, and a discussion of their evidentiary value would have been most welcome (the reader may consult the following contribution for a brief discussion of the methodological issues, or indeed Hall's discussion, to which Mac Sweeney's should now be added).[4]

Alfredo Novello and Annalisa Savino reflect on the aspects of travel in the foundation myths of the Greek *poleis* of Asia Minor as they are preserved in fragments of the Aristotelian *politeiai*. That origin stories were of interest to Aristotle and his students seems straightforward enough, but scarcity and, above all, the fragmentary nature of the evidence inhibit further conclusions. In a fascinating account of the migration history of the Sicilian city of Zankle (Messene), Elena Santagati traces the different waves of migration that contributed to the rise of that city, from the Middle Neolithic (through the quasi-mythical Dark Age foundation) to the mid-fifth century BCE. In Santagati's reading, the capture of the *polis* by Samian exiles drove the development towards a new shared sense of civic identity, even as the memory of previous times lingered with some members of the community.

Next, Natia Phiphia traces an outline of the Greek settlement of the Black Sea in the sixth century BCE and the consolidation of the *poleis* there, which involved increased contacts between the cities of the region in the fourth century BCE and the incorporation of neighbouring territories and the establishment of satellite settlements. For the section's final contribution, Carlo De Mitri presents an overview of the evidence for the migration of the Messapians to Rome and the Greek East in the centuries following their integration into the Roman Empire in the third century BCE.

The final Section, 'Religion and Mythology', kicks off with András Patay-Horváth's discussion of the first visitors to Olympia who are argued, based on the early votive gifts from the sanctuary, to have been hunters – or 'sports hunters' from whose activities the sanctuary and its festival eventually arose. In a well-argued paper, Javier Jara and César Fornis analyse Herodotos' account of the Spartan Dorieus' failed attempt at establishing a colony in North Africa. The narrative – and in particular, the role of Apollo's oracle in Delphoi – is set against the dynastic and political struggles that characterised Sparta at the time. Herodotos, it is argued, parroted the version of events preferred by the victorious Spartan faction, which drew on the rising importance of Delphoi in the affairs of the Greek states.

Next, Miriam Valdés Guía reconstructs the *theoria*, or sacred embassy to Delphoi, of the Thyiads, a band of Athenian women, discussing the group's composition, route, and participation in rites at Delphoi. The evidence is fragmented and scattered over centuries, but Valdés Guía puts it to good

[4] Hall, 2008; Mac Sweeney, 2017.

use in offering several plausible hypotheses. Diego Chapinal-Heras provides an overview of the sanctuaries of Macedonian Dion and asks whether any of them might have been healing sanctuaries. The evidence, however, is inconclusive and supports only 'conjecture'. Aitor Luz Villafranca examines aspects of mobility in the Macedonian origin story preserved in Book 8 of Herodotos' Histories. Herodotos tied the Macedonian king Alexandros I closely to the cause of opposing the Persians in 480 BCE and claimed – echoing Macedonian sources – a Peloponnesian origin for the royal house that drew on available foundation myths for its basic template. For the section's and the volume's final contribution, Kerasia A. Stratiki examines three foundation stories involving displacement preserved by Pausanias and finds that traditions of explusion were kept alive in civic rituals and priesthoods.

II

As should be evident at this point that the *People on the Move* volume covers an impressive amount of ground in terms of subjects (economy, technology, society, emotions, politics, identity, religion, architecture, history, and literature), from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, and into the Black Sea, from the middle of the second millennium BCE to the first centuries CE.

In their introduction, the editors outline the ideas that provide the gravitational pull to keep all these papers together: movement, or rather 'being on the move'. The editors opt for what might be called a minimalist definition, pulled from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which captures 'the process of moving from one place to another, travelling, moving about'[5] and which captures, if not quite everything, then undoubtedly many things.

Interestingly, when the editors, in their introduction, survey the field of previous research, they point precisely to approaches that embed movement (or perhaps better, mobility) within a broader framework: 'mass mobility', 'pilgrimage', 'displacement', 'settlement', 'connectivity'[6] – one might add 'migration', 'diaspora', 'insularity' and indeed more. Movement or mobility, of course, is an essential component of, say, connectivity and, in a sense, permeates it. Still, connectivity implies more than movement, patterns, networks, reciprocity, anchorage, and more that structure an investigation.

Against this, it might – and with justification – be objected that movement indeed pervades every one of these concepts and that these additional aspects can be left to the individual papers to develop. As the editors clearly say in their introduction, the aim is to provide 'a selection of approaches, themes and contexts that reflect the importance of being on the move in ancient Greece'.[7] However, a consequence of the approach is that papers become somewhat disjointed. One more important consequence is that 'movement' on occasion quietly slips away from the analysis after a dutiful invocation in the opening lines, while the analysis then proceeds to tackle the context of movement. It is at this point that a reader might be forgiven for asking if there is, in fact, anything that is not somehow a context for movement. Still, there is something to be said about the diversity the volume contains, and each reader can surely meander through the papers guided by their own interests.

I conclude this review with a small note on language. Though most authors are native writers of Spanish and Italian, languages with long-standing and living traditions in Classical scholarship,

[5] Mauro, Chapinal-Heras, and Valdés Guía, 2022: 13.
[6] Mauro, Chapinal-Heras, and Valdés Guía, 2022: 14–15.
[7] Mauro, Chapinal-Heras, and Valdés Guía, 2022: 15.

all contributions are written in English. I realise that language in the domain of scholarship is a contentious issue, and I raise this point only to make this one observation: many of the bibliographies collected in this volume draw on Spanish and Italian (and other languages, of course) works that one does not necessarily come across in anglophone scholarship. Only now, one does.

People on the Move: Contents

Section 4: Religion and Mythology

17. Visitors to Early Olympia: Greedy Farmers, Pious Pilgrims or Aristocratic Hunters?, *András Patay-Horváth* [pp. 259–266]
18. Delphi in the Colonial Ventures of the Spartans in the Archaic Period, II. The Oracle's Influence on the Voyages of Dorieus, *Javier Jara and César Fornis* [pp. 267–286]
19. Travelling to Delphi: The *Theoria* of Athenian Women to the Oracle, *Miriam Valdés Guía* [pp. 287–306]
20. Travelling for Healing. Dion in Macedon, a Place for Recovery, *Diego Chapinal-Heras* [pp. 307–322]
21. The Legend of Perdiccas: Patterns of Mobility in Macedonia Before Philip, *Aitor Luz Villafranca* [pp. 323–340]
22. Human Mobility and Heroic Cults in Pausanias *Periegesis*, *Kerasia A. Stratiki* [pp. 341–356]

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