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A COMPANION TO GREEKS ACROSS THE ANCIENT WORLD

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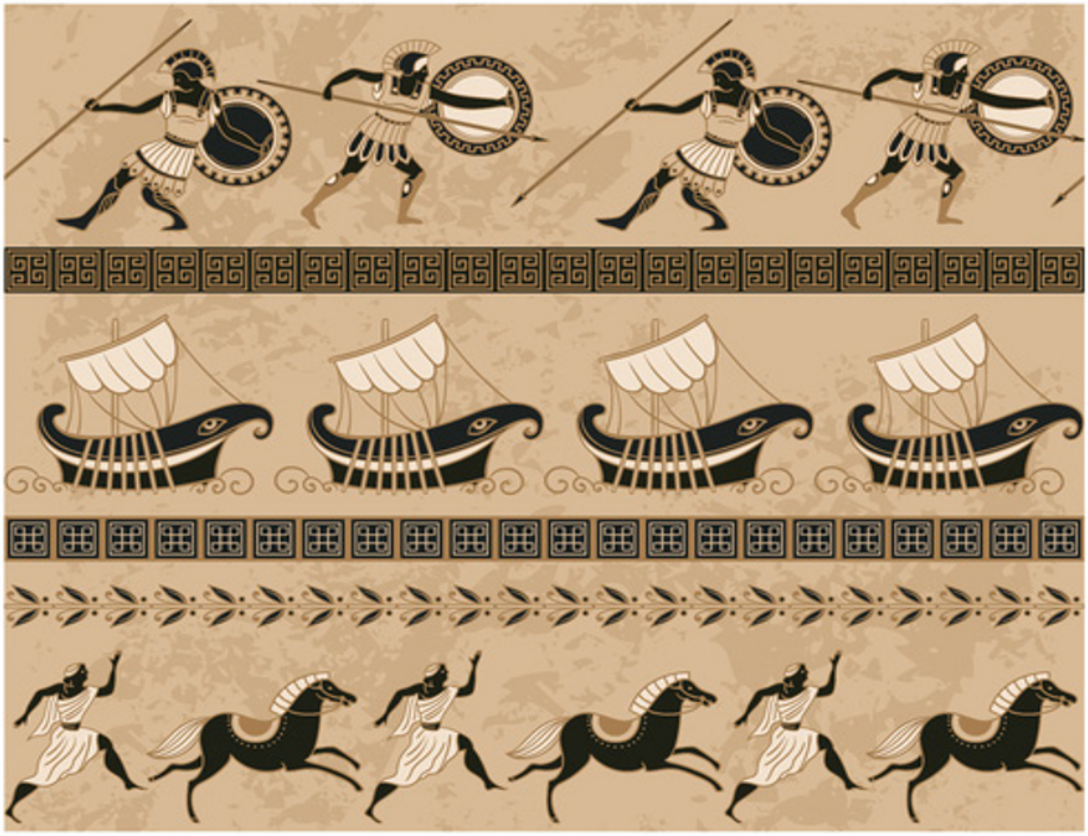

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WILEY Blackwell

This edition first published 2020

Registered Office
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

Editorial Office
111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Name: De Angelis, Franco, editor.
Title: A companion to Greeks across the ancient world / edited by Franco De Angelis.
Description: Hoboken : Wiley, 2020. | Series: Blackwell companions to the ancient world | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2019053490 (print) | LCCN 2019053491 (ebook) | ISBN 9781118271568 (hardback) | ISBN 9781118341360 (adobe pdf) | ISBN 9781118341377 (epub)
Subjects: LCSH: Hellenism. | Greeks–Foreign countries–History. | History, Ancient.
Classification: LCC DF77 .C6958 2020 (print) | LCC DF77 (ebook) | DDC 938–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019053490
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019053491

Cover Design: Wiley
Cover Image: ©Nikolayenko Yekaterina/Shutterstock

Set in 10/12.5pt Galliard by SPi Global, Pondicherry, India

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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Abbreviations

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, 2012), edited by Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth, pp. xxix–liii. Any other abbreviations can be found in their respective chapters.

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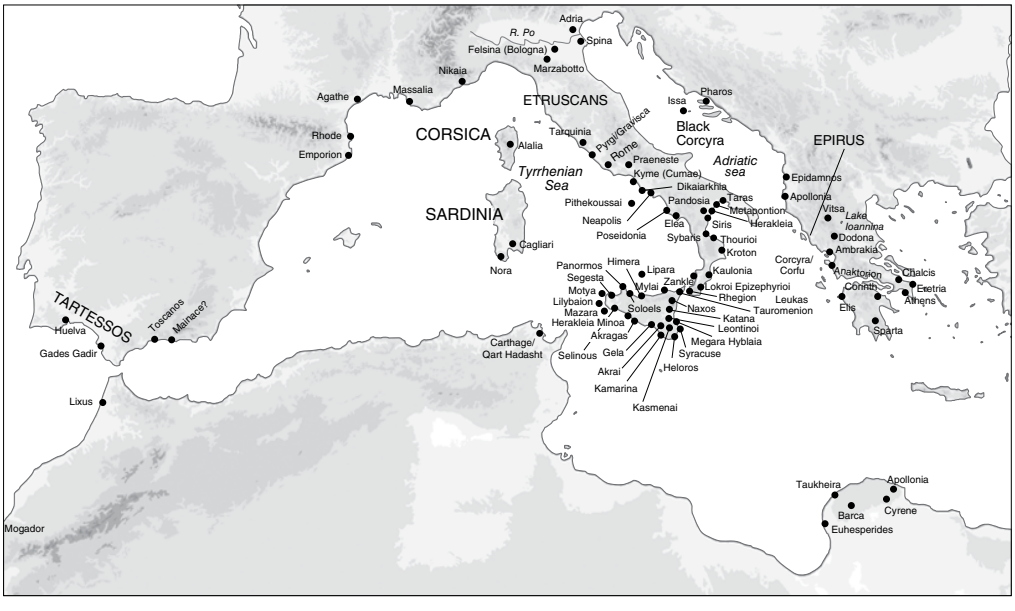
Acknowledgments

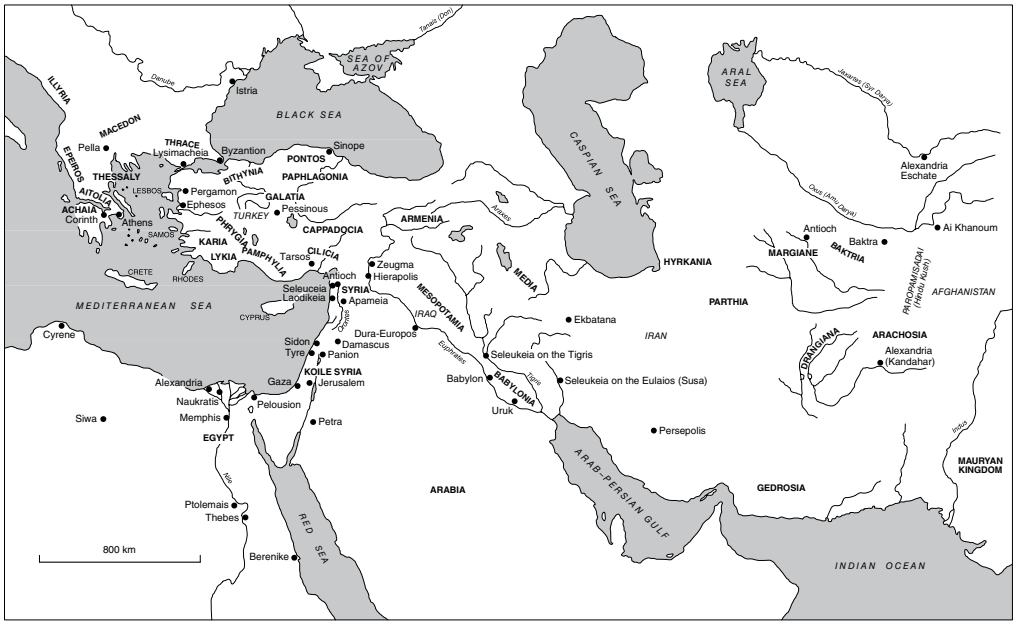
I most grateful to Haze Humbert, my original commissioning editor, who, many years ago, approached me with the idea of this volume. She saw the project develop from idea, through book proposal, to contract, and continued to serve as its commissioning editor as contributors were invited to participate in the volume and contracts issued to them. She and her staff provided advice and support of all kinds, without which this project would not have gotten off the ground. Her successor, Jennifer Manias, has continued to show this project the same commitment and support, and has taken this project now through to publication. I am very grateful to her. I am also very grateful to Ajith Kumar, my project editor, Sakthivel Kandaswamy, my production editor, and their respective teams, who have been responsible for the editing and production side of the publication process. I thank all the contributors for their hard work and patience, and for believing in the project from start to finish. I must also thank my former graduate student Andrei Mihailiuk, who translated Chapters 1 and 3 into English from their French originals. The final word of thanks, though not the least in any sense, is due to Tara Connolly, who not only lived with the entire project, but who also acted as my editorial assistant in the final phase of work needed to put the volume into press.

Bloomsbury, London
August 2019

Map 1 Map of Greece and Asia Minor.



Map 2 The western Mediterranean.



Map 3 Map of the Hellenistic world.

Introduction: Greeks across the Ancient World

Franco De Angelis

"Tutta la storia greca era considerata dagli antichi, in buona parte, storia di apoikiai"

(Mazzarino 1966, 1:111).[1]

The Greeks across the ancient world discussed in this *Companion* migrated, either permanently or temporarily, between the Early Iron Age and Hellenistic period (traditionally dated to ca. 1000–30 BC) (see Maps 1–3). This volume focuses on the regions where the migrants went, the new lives that they created there, and the connections that they maintained with home and with other Greeks and non-Greeks. Our approaches to and knowledge of this subject have grown and developed in unprecedented ways since the late 1980s, and it is the purpose of this *Companion* to bring together leading specialists to take stock of these scholarly advances. In this Introduction, I discuss the growth and development of the subject over the past generation, and how the present volume positions itself with regard to these. Let us start by outlining four crucial developments leading up to this *Companion*.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and Communist East Bloc in Central and Eastern Europe represents the first development. These regions were once home to ancient Greek settlements on their coasts (including Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Rumania, Russia, and Ukraine) and played host to a variety of interactions with the hinterlands beyond. National and regional scholarly research traditions emerged there in modern times to study these ancient Greeks, just as they did elsewhere in western European countries and their colonies overseas. Communism and the Cold War kept these two scholarly worlds largely apart, but the disappearance of these barriers has opened up opportunities. Scholars today have easier access to this Bloc and its past and present research and vice versa, thanks also in part to the development of the internet during this same time, exposing these two worlds to each other.

A Companion to Greeks Across the Ancient World, First Edition. Edited by Franco De Angelis.

At the same time as world politics were shifting, the practices of ancient historians were also changing, to such a degree that they comprise the second scholarly development of note (Davies 2002). Ancient history's traditional foci on written sources as evidence and on avoiding comparative approaches began to diminish (Ampolo 1997, 79–82). By focusing on surviving written evidence, a powerful canon restricted to a handful of questions and states (especially Athens) had been created. To counterbalance this, scholars had to face three important methodological challenges. The first is the ancient Greeks' penchant for local and regional traditions of historiography, which often survived in fragmentary form or not at all (Momigliano 1979, 169; cf. Vlassopoulos 2007, 15–17). This meant coming to terms with the silences of the written record and with the careful handling of the external perspectives of any surviving written sources (such as the accounts by Athenians regarding the Spartans or Sicilians). Second, it also entailed a search for alternative forms of evidence. Archaeology became important for the writing of Greek history, with the understanding that it is the only form of evidence that could bring together all the different regions and communities of the ancient Greek world (Roberts 2000, 99–100, 113, 131; Gosden 2004; Vlassopoulos 2007, 222–223). Lastly, Greek history's traditional canon began to broaden even further as the plea to study "Third Greece" (a term originally coined for overlooked states in Greece beyond Athens and Sparta: Gehrke 1986) came to be heeded. These three methodological challenges combined to loosen the straitjacket around the discipline.

Soon the concept of "Third Greece" and the crucial role of archaeological evidence came to be applied to ancient Greeks outside Greece (De Angelis 2003; Tsetskhladze and De Angelis 2004). This application set a third scholarly development into motion and raised a whole new series of questions. The primacy of particular parts of the ancient Greek world was also heavily molded by the incorrect modern practice of labeling all ancient Greek city-states outside Greece proper as "colonies." This practice can be traced back to the early Renaissance, with a mistranslation of the ancient Greek word *apoikiai* ("homes away from home") into "colonies," and gained considerable momentum with modern Greek state formation and European colonial expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (McNeal 1991; Morris 1994; Shanks 1996; De Angelis 1998; Osborne 1998; Haagsma, den Boer, and Moormann 2003; Moore, Macgregor Morris, and Bayliss 2008). Such a misleading label and connection extended the model of modern nationalist history writing to ancient Greece and encouraged a number of modern beliefs and practices with which we still grapple today. In general, nationalist histories showed no interest in migrants: once they left, they left the nation's historical imagination (Harzig, Hoerder, and Gabaccia 2009, 1; Constantinides 2015, 16). Not surprisingly, a similar lack of interest extended to the ancient Greek migrants who left Greece. When they received any attention, it only emphasized their inferiority, with Greece proper representing the "center" of an imperial-like system that treated regions outside it as an underdeveloped or undeveloped "periphery" (see most recently De Angelis 2019, and Chapters 22–24 in this volume). As a result, it was usually assumed, though without much supporting evidence, that fully formed ancient Greek civilization in Greece was exported to the "colonies," and that Greek culture overseas completely depended on it. No cultural developments worth reporting sprang from the edges of the Greek world (as noted by Frisone and Lombardo 2007, 183). In addition, there was the widespread assumption that the ancient Greek