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

PEOPLE ON THE MOVE ACROSS THE GREEK WORLD



ESTUDIOS HELÉNICOS ~ 4

Editorial Universidad de Sevilla

UAM Ediciones

People on the Move across the Greek World

COLECCIÓN ESTUDIOS HELÉNICOS

DIRECTORES CIENTÍFICOS

- Dr. César Fornis Vaquero, Catedrático de Historia Antigua (US, Sevilla)
Dr. José Pascual González, Catedrático de Historia Antigua (UAM, Madrid)

CONSEJO DE REDACCIÓN

- Dr. César Fornis Vaquero, Catedrático de Historia Antigua (US, Sevilla)
Dr. José Pascual González, Catedrático de Historia Antigua (UAM, Madrid)
Dr. Adolfo J. Domínguez Monedero, Catedrático de Historia Antigua
(UAM, Madrid)
Dra. M^a Soledad Milán Quiñones de León, Contratada Doctora (UAM, Madrid)
Dr. Antonio Hermosa Andújar, Catedrático de Filosofía (US, Sevilla)
Dr. Eduardo Ferrer Albelda, Catedrático de Arqueología (US, Sevilla)

COMITÉ CIENTÍFICO

- Dra. Dirce Marzoli, Directora del Instituto Arqueológico Alemán de Madrid
Dra. Laura Sancho Rocher, Catedrática de Historia Antigua (Unizar, Zaragoza)
Dra. Miriam Valdés Guía, Catedrática de Historia Antigua (UCM, Madrid)
Dra. M^a Cruz Cardete del Olmo, Profesora Titular de Historia Antigua
(UCM, Madrid)
Dr. Julián Gallego, Universidad de Buenos Aires y Director del PEFSCEA
(Programa de Estudios sobre las Formas de Sociedad y las Configuraciones Estatales
de la Antigüedad)
Dra. Claudia Antonetti (Università Ca'Foscari, Italia)
Dr. Massimo Nafissi (Università degli Studi di Perugia, Italia)
Dr. Hans Beck (Westfälische Wilhelms Universität Münster, Alemania)
Dra. Violaine Sebillote Cuchet (Universite Paris 1 Pantheon-Sorbonne, Francia)
Dr. Marc Domingo Gyax (University of Princeton, Estados Unidos)
Dr. Nino Luraghi (Oxford University, Reino Unido)
Dr. Stephen Hodgkinson (University of Nottingham, Reino Unido)

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

PEOPLE ON THE MOVE ACROSS THE GREEK WORLD

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

ESTUDIOS HELÉNICOS

 **ueus**
Editorial Universidad de Sevilla

UAM

Ediciones

COLECCIÓN ESTUDIOS HELÉNICOS
Núm.: 4

Esta obra ha contado
con la financiación de



ESCHATIA: Grupo de
Investigación sobre la
Grecia Antigua

Motivo de cubierta: Attic black-figure cup depicting Greek sailing ships signed by Nicosthenes, c. 520 BC. Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. n. F123. Photo credits: photo © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski

© Chiara Maria Mauro, Diego Chapinal-Heras, Miriam Valdés Guía (coords.), 2022
© de los textos, sus autores, 2022

© de la edición: UAM Ediciones, 2022
Campus de Cantoblanco, C/ Einstein, 1 28049 Madrid
<http://www.uam.es/publicaciones>
servicio.publicaciones@uam.es

© de la edición: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2022
c/ Porvenir, 27 41013 Sevilla
<https://editorial.us.es>
eus4@us.es

Imprime: Imprenta Sand
Maquetación y cubierta: Referencias Cruzadas (referencias.maquetacion@gmail.com)
Diseño: milhojas SCA

Todos los derechos reservados. De conformidad con lo dispuesto en la legislación vigente, podrán ser castigados con penas de multa y privación de libertad quienes reproduzcan o plagien, en todo o en parte, una obra literaria, artística o científica fijada en cualquier tipo de soporte, sin la preceptiva autorización de la Editorial de la Universidad de Sevilla y Universidad Autónoma de Madrid Ediciones.

DEPÓSITO LEGAL: SE-1946-2022
ISBN UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA: 978-84-472-2366-4
ISBN UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE MADRID: 978-84-8344-859-5

ÍNDICE

ABBREVIATIONS AND (MAIN) LATIN EXPRESSIONS USED IN THIS WORK 11

INTRODUCTION 13

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 21
Aida Fernández Prieto

PROFESSIONAL TRAVEL, BETWEEN ARCHAISM AND CLASSICISM 39
Domingo Plácido

INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY AND CIRCULATION OF KNOWLEDGE: THE
‘ITINERANT’ HISTORIAN IN THE 4TH CENTURY BC 53
Gabriella Ottone

LYSIAS: FROM A WANDERING METIC TO AN UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE
FOR CITIZENSHIP 71
Nerea Terceiro Sanmartín

NAUKLEROI, *EMPOROI*, POTTERY WORKSHOPS AND THE HISTORICAL
CONTEXT: THE CASE OF THE *EL SEC* WRECK. 85
Filippo Giudice / Innocenza Giudice

SOME NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE STUDY OF CRAFTSPEOPLE MOBILITY
IN THE RED-FIGURE POTTERY PRODUCTION OF MAGNA GRAECIA
AND SICILY. 91
Marco Serino

SECTION 2
TRAVELLERS AND BORDERS

THE MINOANS ABROAD: A DISCUSSION OF THE EXISTENCE OF A DIRECT SEA ROUTE LINKING CRETE TO EGYPT DURING THE LATE BRONZE AGE.	111
Angiolo Querci	
SAILING THE WINE-DARK SEA: MARITIME TRAVEL DURING THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD	123
Chiara Maria Mauro	
Ο ΕΞΑΤΙΩΝ ΑΝΗΡ: THE PATHS TO PEISISTRATOS'S TYRANNY	141
Unai Iriarte	
TRAVELLING AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRADITION: PAUSANIAS AND ARCADIA	153
M ^a Cruz Cardete del Olmo	
PAUSANIAS: TRAVELLER, PILGRIM, JOURNALIST OR RESEARCHER OF ANTIQUITY? THE CASE OF LYCOSURA AND THE VISIT TO THE TEMPLE OF DESPOINA IN ARCADIA	171
Sotiria Dimopoulou	

SECTION 3
'COLONISATION' AND POLITICS

MIXED IDENTITIES IN THE FIRST GENERATIONS OF ARCHAIC GREEK COLONIES: THE FEMALE CONTRIBUTION	189
Elena Duce Pastor	
JOURNEYS AND FOUNDATIONS IN ARISTOTLE'S <i>POLITEIAI</i> OF ASIA MINOR.	209
Alfredo Novello / Annalisa Savino	
ZANCLE/MESSENE: A TALE OF <i>LESTAI</i> , <i>APOIKOI</i> , FUGITIVES AND UNDESIRABLES	225
Elena Santagati	

GREEKS ON THE EAST COAST OF THE BLACK SEA LITTORAL: SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION PATTERNS.	239
Natia Phiphia	

MESSAPIANS BEYOND MESSAPIA: MOBILITY AND TRADE NETWORKS IN THE LATE HELLENISTIC AGE (LATE 3RD-1ST CENTURIES BC)	247
Carlo De Mitri	

SECTION 4
RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

VISITORS TO EARLY OLYMPIA: GREEDY FARMERS, PIOUS PILGRIMS OR ARISTOCRATIC HUNTERS?	259
András Patay-Horváth	

DELPHI IN THE COLONIAL VENTURES OF THE SPARTANS IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD, II. THE ORACLE'S INFLUENCE ON THE VOYAGES OF DORIEUS	267
Javier Jara / César Fornis	

TRAVELLING TO DELPHI: THE <i>THEORIA</i> OF ATHENIAN WOMEN TO THE ORACLE.	287
Miriam Valdés Guía	

TRAVELLING FOR HEALING. DION IN MACEDON, A PLACE FOR RECOVERY	307
Diego Chapinal-Heras	

THE LEGEND OF PERDICCAS: PATTERNS OF MOBILITY IN MACEDONIA BEFORE PHILIP	323
Aitor Luz Villafranca	

HUMAN MOBILITY AND HEROIC CULTS IN PAUSANIAS <i>PERIEGESIS</i>	341
Kerasia A. Stratiki	

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 view². 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 art³. 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 Angelis⁴. 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 Compernelle 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 professionals⁵. Displacements justified by religious reasons have been examined by Perlman⁶ and Dillon⁷, 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 sphere⁸. 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 Antiquity¹⁰, 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

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 *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.

References

- Boardman, J. 2000: 'Aspects of "Colonization"', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 322, 33-42.
- Cardete, M. C. 2006: 'El postcolonialismo y los procesos coloniales: controversias y posibilidades de análisis', in J. Cortadella, O. Oresti, C. Sierra (eds.), *Lo viejo y lo nuevo en las sociedades antiguas: homenaje a Alberto Prieto*. Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 659-673.
- Casevitz, M. 1985: *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien. Etude lexicologique: les familles de ktizo et de oikeo-oikizo*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Costanzi, M. 2010: 'Les colonies de deuxième degré de l'Italie du Sud et de Sicile: une analyse lexicologique', *Ancient West & East* 9, 87-107.
- Costanzi, M. 2020: 'Mobility in the Ancient Greek World: Diversity of Causes, Variety of Vocabularies', in F. De Angelis (ed.), *A Companion to Greeks Across the Ancient World*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell Publishers, 13-36.
- De Angelis, F. 2009: 'Colonies and colonization', in G. Boys-Stones, B. Graziosi, P. Vasunia (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 48-64.
- De Angelis, F. (ed.) 2020: *A Companion to Greeks Across the Ancient World*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell Publishers.
- De Wever, J. & Van Compernelle, R. 1967: 'La valeur des termes de colonisation chez Thucydide', *Ant. Class.* 36, 461-523.
- Dillon, M. 1997: *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*. London–New York: Routledge.
- Dueck, D. (forthcoming): *A Cultural History of Exploration in Antiquity*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Finley, M. & Lepore, E. 2000: *Le colonie degli antichi e dei moderni*. Rome: Donzelli Editore.
- Horden, P. & Purcell, N. 2000: *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hunter, R. & Rutherford, I. (eds.) 2009: *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture. Travel, Locality and Pan-Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jockey, P. 2009: 'D'une cité à l'autre. Brèves réflexions sur la mobilité des artisans de la pierre dans l'Antiquité Classique', in C. Moatti, W. Kaiser, C. Pébarthe (eds.), *Le monde de l'itinérance en Méditerranée, de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne. Procédures de contrôle et d'identification*. Bordeaux: Ausonius, 139-159.

- Kristensen, T. M. & Friese, W. (eds.) 2017: *Excavating Pilgrimage: Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World*. London: Routledge.
- Malkin, I. 2011: *A Small Greek World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mauro, C. M. 2020: 'A proposito delle convenzioni lessicali: "precolonizzazione" e "colonizzazione" fenicia alla luce dei recenti modelli interpretativi', in J. L. López Castro (ed.), *Entre Utica y Gadir. Navegación y colonización fenicia en el Mediterráneo occidental a comienzos del I milenio a.C.* Granada: Comares, 2-11.
- Montiglio, S. 2005: *Wandering in Ancient Greek Culture*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Natali, C. 1996: 'Lieux et écoles de savoir', in J. Brunshwig, G. Lloyd (eds.), *Le savoir grec*. Paris: Flammarion, 29-249.
- Pébarthe, C. 2007: 'Commerce et commerçants à Athènes à l'époque de Démosthène', *Pallas* 74, 161-178.
- Perlman, P. 2000: *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Phillips, E. D. 1981: *Aspects of Greek Medicine*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Ruschenbusch, E. 1985: 'Die Zahl der griechischen Staaten und Arealgröße und Bürgerzahl der "Normalpolis"', *ZPE* 59, 253-263.
- Tagliamonte, G. 1994: *I figli di Marte: mobilità, mercenari e mercenariato italici in Magna Grecia e Sicilia*. Rome: G. Bretschneider.
- Tsetskhladze, G. R. 2006: 'Revisiting Ancient Greek Colonisation', in G. R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas, vol. I*. Leiden: Brill, 23-83.
- Tsetskhladze, G. R. & Hargrave, J. 2011: 'Colonisation from Antiquity to Modern Times: comparisons and contrasts', *Ancient West & East* 10, 161-182.
- Virgilio, B. 1971-1972: 'I termini della colonizzazione in Erodoto e nella tradizione prerodotea', *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 106, 345-406.

SAILING THE WINE-DARK SEA: MARITIME TRAVEL DURING THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

Chiara Maria Mauro*

UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID

Introduction

From the beginning of their history and during the whole of Antiquity in general, Greeks ventured across the sea motivated by different reasons (e.g. exploration, trade, war, religion, politics). The paths of the sea were not exactly easy to travel; indeed, pitfalls and attacks could suddenly and permanently interrupt the journey at any moment. However, seaways were faster and cheaper than land routes. The geographic conformation of the Aegean Sea (which is full of islands) and—more generally speaking—of the Mediterranean Sea (which is almost enclosed) further contributed to fostering maritime connections. As a result, water routes were transformed into a sort of bridge that connected the Greek world to a much wider spatial frame. In this sense, the so-called ‘Geometric period’—traditionally dated between 900 and 700 BC¹— did not represent an exception to a long-standing tradition, since the possibility of conducting long- and medium-range maritime trips was the fundamental technical requirement that made it possible, amongst other things, to establish, first, commercial relationships and, soon thereafter, the first *apoikia*².

* This work has been supported by the Madrid Government (Comunidad de Madrid-Spain) under the Multiannual Agreement with Universidad Complutense de Madrid in the line Research Incentive for Young PhDs, in the context of the V PRICIT (Regional Programme of Research and Technological Innovation). Grant No. PR27/21-018.

1. New proposals have been advanced to adjust the traditional chronology of Greek pottery to the dates suggested by Carbon-14 dating; such proposals tend to move the traditional chronology up to 980 BC (Brandherm 2008), 975 BC (Mederos Martín 2020) or 950 BC (Nijboer 2006). For a recent summary of this topic: Domínguez Monedero 2020: 447-450.

2. The first settlements outside Greece were established along the Anatolian coast and, according to literary sources, they were contemporaneous to the Trojan War (end of the 13th century BC—beginning of the 12th century BC). During the so-called ‘Dark Age’, part of the Greek population migrated to Anatolia and other adjacent areas (Schachermeyr 1982; Boruchovic 1988: 86-144). From the 8th century BC onwards,

Even if it is traditionally assumed that, at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, ships from different Greek settlements (mainly Euboean vessels) were capable of reaching the western Mediterranean³, further particulars concerning the way in which maritime travel was conducted still wait to be answered, i.e. what kinds of vessels were used for long- and medium-range movements? How was navigation done? What kinds of places did Geometric ships use as terminals of departure and arrival?

When considering the Geometric period, the answers to these questions by necessity involve a series of still unsolved problems. Firstly, the literary sources available are scant and their documentary value is often questionable. Even if both the *Odyssey* and—to a lesser degree—the *Iliad* contain descriptions of maritime adventures, the reliability of the data they provide must be questioned: as poems, their main concern was, in fact, to entertain the audience by telling a story, not to reconstruct an absolute consistent historical reality. Furthermore, despite the fact that it is usually accepted that the Homeric poems reached their final form by the end of the 8th century BC, there is no unanimity about the kind of society they sought to represent: were they inspired by a situation that was contemporaneous to the narrated facts⁴, or were they, instead, the result of a combination of elements with different chronologies? The most probable scenario is that they combined elements from the contemporaneous setting (i.e. the end of the 8th century BC) and that, starting from there, the author (or authors)⁵ proceeded to remove all those features that, being considered recent additions, may have appeared less than perfectly credible when projected backward in time⁶.

The second major problem is related to the difficulty inherent in interpreting the available archaeological record. On the one hand, the way in which ships and maritime scenes were represented heavily relied on the artisan's skills and his familiarity with the nautical world; consequently, they cannot be as authoritative a source as one might expect. Neither can the findings from excavations of shipwrecks currently fill this gap, as none of the wrecks identified so far can be attributed to a Greek context earlier than the

the Greeks also started to settle in the western Mediterranean, as shown by the case of Pithekoussai (current Ischia, Italy).

3. The expression 'western Mediterranean' refers here to the area west of the Strait of Messina and the Channel of Sicily.

4. In this case, they would be referring to the end of the 13th century BC or the beginning of the 12th century BC.

5. On this issue, see Lévy 1989: 123-131. For the sake of convenience, the name 'Homer' is used to refer to the author or authors of the two epic poems in this chapter.

6. Morris 1986: 81-138. On this issue, see Querci's chapter in this volume.

6th century BC⁷. Moreover, no extant nautical handbook or on-board document exists that provides information about how ships navigated from one specific point to another. Finally, knowledge of the harbours and places of shelter used during the first half of the 1st millennium BC is far from exhaustive, although it has increased in recent decades thanks to the development of multidisciplinary research projects⁸.

In light of the foregoing, this chapter provides the reader with an overview of maritime travel during the Geometric period, reconstructing to the extent possible the experience of Geometric maritime travel by looking at the kinds of vessels used, the travel experience itself, and the configuration of the harbours and places of shelter that may have been employed.

The means of transportation

Because of the current lack of known shipwrecks attributable to the Greek Geometric period, it is necessary to turn to a well-known—albeit academically polemical—Homeric passage in order to gather information on the ship-building process. In this passage, Odysseus is described building a vessel with the aid of Calypso:

But when she had shewn him where the tall trees grew, Calypso, the beautiful goddess, returned homewards, but he fell to cutting timbers, and his work went forward apace. Twenty trees in all did he fell, and trimmed them with the axe; then he cunningly smoothed them all and made them straight to the line. Meanwhile Calypso, the beautiful goddess, brought him augers; and he bored all the pieces and fitted them to one another, and with pegs and morticings did he hammer it together. Wide as a man well-skilled in carpentry marks out the curve of the hull of a freight-ship, broad of beam, even so wide did Odysseus make his raft. And he set up the deck-beams, bolting them to the close-set ribs, and laboured on; and he finished the raft with long gunwales. In it he set a mast and a yard-arm, fitted to it, and furthermore made him a steering-oar, wherewith to steer. Then he fenced in the whole from stem to stern with willow withes to be a defence against the wave, and strewed much brush thereon. Meanwhile Calypso, the beautiful goddess, brought him cloth to make him a sail, and he fashioned that too with

7. At this time, the earliest Greek shipwrecks that have been identified were found near Isola del Giglio (Italy, Tuscan coast, 580 BC) and Pabuç Burnu (Turkey, 570-560 BC). On the Giglio shipwreck, see Bound 1991; on Pabuç Burnu, Polzer 2010.

8. For an overview, see Mauro 2019: 1-8.

skill. And he made fast in the raft braces and halyards and sheets, and then with levers forced it down into the bright sea (Hom. *Od.* 5.241-261).

After having cut down the trees, Odysseus smooths out the axes. Finally, he assembles them together to form the hull, and then places a longitudinally reinforced frame. Apparently, what Homer is describing at this point corresponds to a common ship-building method used in Antiquity, traditionally known as ‘shell-first’. As the expression itself suggests, the ‘shell-first’ technique involved constructing the shell of the boat first, making it the fundamental structural element and, starting from there, building the framework. In other words, the ‘shell-first’ technique reflected a longitudinal conception of the boat, since the overall length was the first component to be defined⁹.

Whilst the construction technique is described quite clearly, the specifics of the system for joining the planks together has divided scholars. According to Casson, Homer is referring to the mortise-and-tenon joint, a system that relied on the structural support provided by peg-mortise-and-tenon joinery through the shell of the boat and that is largely documented in the eastern Mediterranean since the 2nd millennium BC¹⁰. On the other hand, Mark interprets the Homeric passage in a slightly different way, arguing that what is being described in this case is the assembly of a sewn ship, that is a boat whose planks were joined together by means of vegetable ropes¹¹. Nonetheless, Mark’s arguments are open to dispute. Firstly, he asserts that Odysseus does not have all the tools supposedly required to fix the planking with mortise-and-tenon joinery with him, although this may be expecting an unnecessary level of precision from what is actually a piece of literary work¹². Furthermore, he finds an allusion to the use of sewn boats in

9. Nieto Prieto 2018: 118.

10. Casson 1964. For instance, the ships involved in the Uluburun (14th century BC) and the Cape Gelydonia (13th century BC) wrecks were both built using this system, traditionally considered a Levantine innovation.

11. Mark 2005: 25-69. The sewn technique is usually interpreted as a Greek tradition, since in the Archaic Greek shipwrecks excavated to date, the planks were joined together with ropes (e.g., the shipwrecks found at Isola del Giglio, the Bon Porté 1, the Jules-Verne 9 and the Pabuç Burnu). However, no examples of Greek sewn boats have been attributed to a period earlier than the 6th century BC. In Egypt, sewn boats have been found that can be dated to the 3rd millennium BC, for example the funerary boat belonging to the pharaoh Khufu, ascribed to 2650 BC. Even so, the Egyptian sewn system was substantially different from the Greek one; while in the Egyptian ships, the planks were sewn in a transversal direction (from the port to the starboard), in the Greek boats the planks were joined lengthwise (from the prow to the stern), see Nieto Prieto 2018: 126.

12. Mark 2005: 29.

other Homeric passages (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 4.382-383 and 5.33) and subsequently proposes that—if other sewn boats are mentioned in these epic poems—than Odysseus' boat must have been joined together using this same system. However, as one can easily ascertain, the two literary works frequently refer to different kinds of vessels¹³, suggesting that not all of them relied on the same joining method. Indeed, the use of different joints could have been due to different local traditions.

Concerning the appearance of Geometric ships, Homeric accounts can be partially combined with the material evidence in the form of iconographic representations. However, the representation of the ships would have been distorted according to an artisan's greater or lesser familiarity with the nautical world and, in the case of paintings on pottery, to space constraints. Homeric ships are μέλαιναι (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.524), that is to say 'black' or 'dark', an adjective that might be connected to the traditional caulking applied to wooden vessels:¹⁴ the hull was, in fact, often covered with pitch to protect it and make it waterproof without slowing it down. After applying the pitch, the prow was painted red or purple, giving the ships the impression of being 'red cheeked' (the words used in this case are μιλοπάρης¹⁵ or φοινικοπάρης¹⁶). Furthermore, Homer also uses the term κυανόπρωος, i.e. 'dark prowed'. In 1988, Cunliffe advanced a proposal to overcome the apparent contradiction of the former term (κυανόπρωος) with the above-mentioned μιλοπάρης or φοινικοπάρης, emphasizing that the three words are slightly different: whilst the first (κυανόπρωος) is composed of the actual Greek word for 'prow', the other two (μιλοπάρης, φοινικοπάρης) simply refer to the 'cheeks' of a ship. Thus, he suggested that the three words are all related to two different elements of the ship, both found in the forward part¹⁷. In particular, κυανόπρωος is associated with an inlaid ornament located on the prow of the ship (which could perfectly well have been painted red or purple), and that it might correspond to an element extant in several Geometric representations, where it is depicted as a wheel with several spokes (Figure 1)¹⁸.

Another adjective frequently associated with ships is κορωνίς (meaning 'concave'), an allusion to the curved shape created by the sequence of the stem, the keel and

13. Homer employs different words to identify the vessels and he mentions boats with different numbers of rowers.

14. Mark 2005: 99.

15. E.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.637 and *Od.* 9.125.

16. E.g. *Od.* 11.124.

17. Cunliffe 1988: 240, *s.v.* 'κυανόπρωος'.

18. This same element would develop, beginning in the Archaic period, into the *oculus*, the eye of the ship (Basch 1987: 155-264; Novak 2006; Krieger 2020: 278).



Figure 1. Fragment of a krater attributed to the 'Dipylon Master' and dated between 775 and 750 BC. In the prow, it is possible to see an ornament in the form of a wheel. Louvre Museum, Paris, Catalogue A 517.1; Inventory S 568. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski

Pithekoussan ship is found in other contemporaneous representations²⁰. Homer never mentions such an element in his poems and this silence has nourished a long debate on the process of the development of this horizontal, extended element, so frequently found on the prow of Geometric ships: how should this be interpreted? What was its function? Why is it not mentioned? Some scholars have observed that this element cannot be interpreted as a ram, as it seems to have been too small to be effective as a weapon²¹. Subsequently, it is currently accepted that, at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, some ships began to be equipped with a forward horizontal structure that acted as a cutwater and that the structure was basically used to guarantee the stability of the ship, rather than as a weapon²². Casson explains Homer's

the sternpost (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 11.227). The rounded form to which the Homeric passages refer can also be seen in a locally produced krater found at Pithekoussai and dated to the last quarter of the 8th century BC (Figure 2). Here, the shipwreck scene represents a boat flipped over, in which the stern is covered by a bent sternpost. On the other side, the prow ends with a protruding element, over which there is a decoration in the form of a bird's head¹⁹. The horizontal structure clearly identified at the end of the prow of the

19. Starting from the Geometric period, it became common practice to decorate the stem with a protome. These protomes, usually in the form of animal heads, have been interpreted as a sort of symbol of the community responsible for equipping that particular ship.

20. For further examples, see Murray et al. 2017: Fig. 1. As can be seen, this protruding element is also documented in contemporaneous eastern Mediterranean ships.

21. Cohen 1938: 489-493. *Contra* Kirk (1949: 117-118), who refers to this element using the term 'ram', not 'cutwater', see *infra*.

22. A recent study published by Murray et al. (2017: 72-82) highlighted how the presence of a cutwater could actually have improved the ship's performance. This chapter uses the term 'cutwater' to identify this

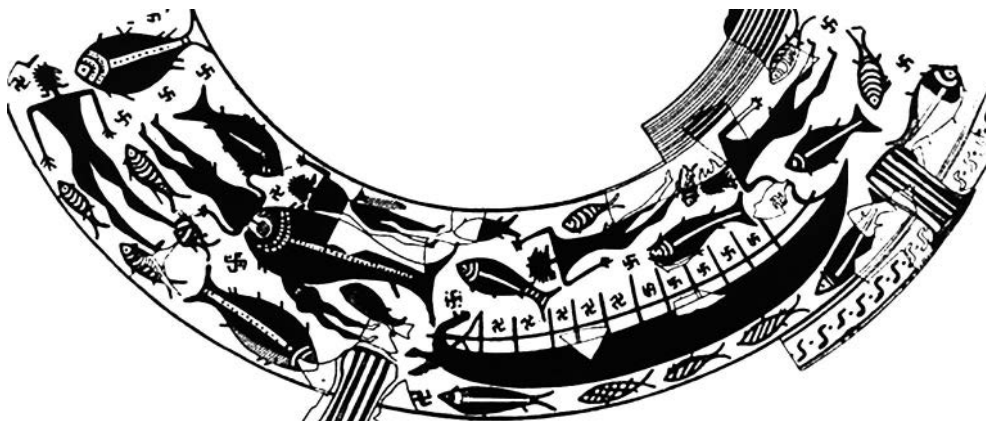


Figure 2. Reproduction of a krater from Pithekoussai with a shipwreck scene. Lacco Ameno Museum (Ischia, Italy) (Ermeti 1976: tab. LXXIII.2)

silence regarding this element in light of the need to maintain an inner chronological consistency; according to the scholar, the cutwater is not mentioned either in the *Odyssey* or *Iliad* so as not to produce an anachronism, since the author considered it too recent an acquisition²³.

The same reason could explain Homer's decision not to speak of a continuous deck. The ships he described did not have a deck or, alternatively, were equipped with small decks located at the stern and at the prow:²⁴ the helmsman who fell into the sea following the collapse of the mast, for example, was probably located on the stern-platform (Hom. *Od.* 12.498-414)²⁵. On the other hand, Odysseus was stationed at the prow-platform when he was trying to glimpse Scylla (Hom. *Od.* 12.226-232)²⁶. The existence of these two platforms, therefore, fulfilled two practical needs: the stern-platform was meant to host the

element, avoiding the word 'ram'. Actual rams only developed at a later stage and their main function was different, as they were meant to be driven into the hull of an enemy ship to puncture or sink it.

23. Casson 1995: 43.

24. Therefore, the ship's hold was left uncovered.

25. Morrison & Williams 1968: 48. The text simply refers to a platform (ἵκρια), without specifying its location. However, since the rudder was placed in the rear part of the ship, it is probable that Homer is referring to the stern deck. On other occasions, Odysseus (*Od.* 13.70-74) or Athena (*Od.* 2.415-419) are described as standing on the stern platform. Mark (2005: 91) interpreted these passages to mean that this part of the ship might have been reserved for high-status people. A similar use is also documented in Minoan ships, where there was a cabin with a seat in the stern which presumably had a ceremonial function (Wedde 2000: 132).

26. Morrison & Williams 1968: 48.

rudder and the helmsman, while the prow-platform created a raised area from which it was easier to detect possible dangers along the route or catch sight of the shore²⁷.

Although Homer did not mention the existence of a continuous deck, this seems to have changed by the Late Geometric period: apparently, the increase in commercial traffic at the end of the 8th century BC made it necessary to create a single platform and thus gain more space under which to store the merchandise²⁸. This innovation could also have produced a technical transformation, since the presence of a continuous deck allowed for the addition of a second line of rowers as well²⁹.

Boats making long trips were usually propelled by a mixed system: the square rig, raised over a mast, allowed the vessel to benefit from the winds, while the oars made it easier to advance on windless days or whenever it was necessary to enter or exit a harbour. Even if the representations of the ship only depict scenes when they are still, the Homeric poems reveal that the mast could be removed whenever necessary (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 9.77-79 and 15.287-293). The square rig was secured to the mast by means of the riggings, which ensured good sailing when running³⁰, being on a broad reach³¹, or—in general—when travelling with an average wind in a direction similar to the desired one (Figure 3). When these conditions were absent, it was recommended to furl the sail, since—if the wind suddenly changed or increased in intensity—the ship could become unbalanced and start to take on water³².

The situation with regard to the oars and rowers varied. Homer describes ships with a different number of rowers: while he most often writes of ships propelled by 20 rowers (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 1.280 and 9.322), he also mentions ships with 50 rowers (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.719, 14.170 and *Od.* 8.48)³³, and the second book of the *Iliad* contains a reference

27. Morrison & Williams (1968: 48) suggest that the lower part of these platforms could have been used as storage areas.

28. Wallinga 1992: 144. *Contra* Morrison & Williams (1968: 51) who, using Thuc. 1.14.3, state that the first evidence for a continuous deck can only be traced back to 467 BC.

29. Wallinga 1992: 144.

30. When a ship is sailing in the same direction as the wind, it is said to 'run downwind' (the corresponding point of sail is known as 'running').

31. At 135° off the wind, the ship is on a 'broad reach'.

32. This was particularly dangerous, especially when the boat was not equipped with a continuous deck.

33. The ship transporting Odysseus from the country of the Phaeacians to Ithaca carried 52 people, of whom 20 were probably rowers, one was the officer and the other the helmsman (Basch 1987: 196). These kinds of ships, known as 'penteconters', were versatile, so that they could have been used both for sea trade and for transporting troops. In addition to ships with 20 and 50 rowers, Homer also occasionally mentions ships with a different number of oarsmen (Mark 2005: 134-135).

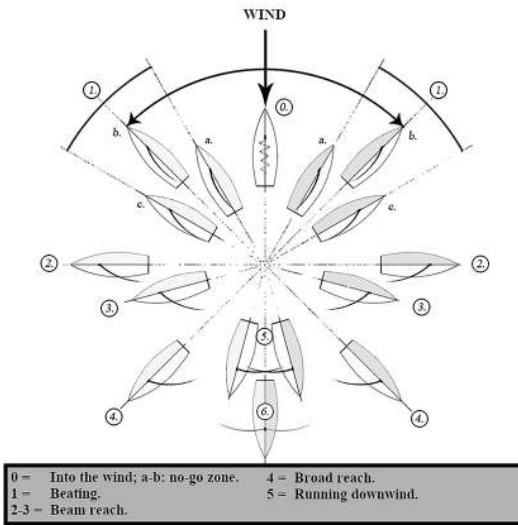


Figure 3. Point of sails

to ships capable of transporting 120 people (Hom. *Il.* 2.509). The second book of the *Iliad*, also known as the ‘Catalogue of the Ships’, is traditionally considered an addendum to the original text, and was written down a bit later than the rest of the poem, being dated around 700 BC³⁴. In his explanation of how the crew could have been organized within the same ship, Lucien Basch suggested that it contained 100 rowers and that the other 20

people were members of the crew, ship’s carpenters and archers. Using iconographic evidence from the end of the 8th century BC as support, Basch also proposed that the rowers on these kinds of ships were organized in two lines, each one composed of 25 men, meaning that there were 50 rowers on the left side and another 50 on the right. In this respect, Basch interpreted the passage from the second book of the *Iliad* as a reference—albeit implicit—to the existence of *dikrotoi*, two-banked ships³⁵. If Basch’s proposal is accepted,



Figure 4. Fragment (8 x 18 cm) of a krater attributed to the ‘Dipylon Master’ and dated around 725 BC. The deck line is clearly represented; however, as a side perspective, it is not known if it is actually a deck or, rather, a simple gangway connecting the platforms at the stern and prow. Louvre Museum, Paris, Catalogue A 533; Inventory S 525

34. Apparently, this addendum was written in Boeotia, and its aim was both to enhance the value of the region (despite the fact that its merit in the Trojan War were greatly diminished) and to praise the size of its fleet.

35. Basch (1987: 161-170) observed that, in a contemporaneous period, the Phoenicians used two-banked ships as well; however, he also wrote that the Greek *dikrotoi* must have developed independently

it may be that beginning at the end of the Geometric period, some ships were equipped with two lines of rowers. Technically, this addition could have been made possible by the creation of a continuous deck (connecting the platforms at the stern and prow), over which a second set of oars could be placed (Figure 4)³⁶.

The experience of travelling by sea

Travelling by sea was not a pleasant activity, but it was at least faster and less expensive than moving by land. Some common thoughts about sea travel can be inferred from Homer's epic, in that Odysseus' maritime wanderings are presented as a punishment and not as something desirable. Furthermore, the sea is portrayed not as a friendly environment, but as a hostile context, inhabited by monsters and other untrustworthy creatures. Finally, as noted by Montiglio, a subliminal moral can be deduced from the entire *Odyssey*: the most important thing about sea travel in the end was to return home safely³⁷.

Amongst the many dangers connected to maritime travel, two fears must have been particularly common: the possibility of getting lost or of sinking. The numerous Geometric vases depicting shipwreck scenes (see again the Pithekoussan krater, Figure 2) are, in this sense, extremely significant. Nevertheless, mastering some navigational tools at least helped—if it did not completely eliminate—to reduce such risks.

To understand how orientation may have worked at sea, Homer's poems, once again, serve as a valuable source. The two epics depict two different methods for finding one's way across the sea: on the one hand, the position of the ship could be inferred from reference points, whether natural or artificial, on the shoreline, while on the other, the route could be adjusted by observing astronomical or meteorological elements (e.g. the stars or winds). The first method, generally known as 'pilotage', 'wayfinding' or 'environmental navigation'³⁸, consisted of determining the ship's position in relation to its destination by following a chain of landmarks identified during previous sea

from the Phoenician *bireme*.

36. The first line was placed under the deck; the rowers moved the oars thanks to the holes in the hull equipped with fairleads.

37. Montiglio 2005: 125.

38. McGrail 1991: 86. 'Environmental navigation' depended on the ability not only to determine a ship's position by observing the landscape, but also to identify sounds and smells so as to anticipate approaching dangers.

journeys³⁹. As documented by Homer, this navigation system relied on both natural (e.g. promontories, mountains, islands)⁴⁰ and artificial (e.g. towers, settlements, temples)⁴¹ markers. The person in charge of scanning the horizon (so as to keep the ship on the right course) may have been stationed on the platform in the prow, much like Odysseus looking for Scylla⁴².

Meteorology was used when navigating out of sight of the coast and when orientation was based on astronomical and/or meteorological points of reference. Winds were particularly helpful for this purpose, as they could be used both at night and during the day. During the Geometric period, the wind compass contained at least four winds, each of which was associated with a geographic direction: 'Boreas' identified a northerly sailing direction⁴³, 'Notos' pointed to the South⁴⁴, 'Zephyros' to the West⁴⁵, and 'Euros' to the East⁴⁶. During the day, navigation could also be directed according to the position of the sun, which made it possible to determine the ship's orientation at three different times, at least: dawn, when the sun was coming up from the East; noon, when it formed a North-South axis; and at sunset, when it disappeared to the West⁴⁷. At night, seafarers could use the stars to direct their route⁴⁸.

The importance of adjusting the ship's course in relation to the position of the stars can also be inferred from iconography: Geometric ship scenes are, in fact, often adorned with stars (e.g. the stars in Figure 1)⁴⁹. The main constellations used as references were undoubtedly the Great Bear (*Ursa Major*) and the Little Bear (*Ursa Minor*). At the

39. Morton 2001: 186.

40. E.g. Hom. *Od.* 5.410-416.

41. As an example, Homer mentions the tomb built to cover Achilles' and Patroclus' bones and placed on a projecting headland by the Hellespont to 'be seen from far over the sea both by men that now are and that shall be born hereafter' (*Od.* 24.80-84).

42. Hom. *Od.* 12.226-232; Morrison & Williams 1968: 48.

43. Hom. *Od.* 13.110-111.

44. Hom. *Il.* 2.145-150.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.* It is necessary to underline that these directions did not identify precise cardinal points; rather, they designated approximate orientations. For instance, the expression 'towards Boreas' generically identifies a direction corresponding to the North-Northeast.

47. E.g. Hom. *Od.* 13.240-242. The directions established according to the position of the sun were not precise, unless the sea journey was made close to the equinoxes; these are, in fact, the only times of the year when the East and West exactly coincide with the points of the sunrise and sunset (Medas 2004: 170-172).

48. E.g. Hom. *Il.* 18.483-489.

49. Stars were certainly included in these depictions as decorative elements; however, given their frequency in maritime scenes, one can also read their presence as proof of their relevance in seafaring.

latitude of the Mediterranean, these constellations are circumpolar⁵⁰, and they never go below the horizon, which is why Homer says that the Bears ‘have no part in the baths of Ocean’⁵¹. Apparently, Greek seafarers preferred to use the Great Bear, which was more visible, but was somewhat far from the North Pole⁵²; once they determined where North was, they could subsequently deduce the other cardinal points. Even if the Bears were certainly the two main reference points, several other constellations were acknowledged as useful for sailing. In one well-known passage from the *Odyssey*, Homer describes the open-sea sailing that brought Odysseus from the island of Calypso to that of the Phaeacians. Here, Calypso explains the route with outstanding precision, suggesting to the helmsman that he keep the Pleiades on the right and Boötes to the left, and to be sure that the Bear is on his left side:

Gladly then did goodly Odysseus spread his sail to the breeze; and he sat and guided his raft skilfully with the steering-oar, nor did sleep fall upon his eyelids, as he watched the Pleiades, and late-setting Boötes, and the Bear, which men also call the Wain, which ever circles where it is and watches Orion, and alone has no part in the baths of Ocean. For this star Calypso, the beautiful goddess, had bidden him to keep on the left hand as he sailed over the sea (Hom. *Od.* 5.269-278).

And, indeed, it is the constellation of Boötes, one of the brightest in the night sky, that is possibly depicted on the inner part of an 8th century BC fragment found in the late 20th century at Pithekoussai (Figure 5)⁵³. The fragment contains some stars joined

50. A star or constellation is said to be circumpolar when, as viewed from a given latitude on Earth, it never sets below the horizon due to its apparent proximity to one of the celestial poles. Circumpolar stars stay visible throughout the night (and they would also be visible during the day, if it were not for the sun blocking them out): Medas 2004: 159.

51. Hom. *Od.* 5.275.

52. On the contrary, Phoenician seafarers used the Little Bear to direct their course at sea. Although more difficult to scan, the Little Bear is closer to the North Pole, so it provides more accurate orientation.

53. This fragment was found in the area of Lacco Ameno, under the religious complex of S. Restituta, and is listed as Inventory 1597. In the museum catalogue, the piece is described as following: ‘*Cratere eu-boico importato. LG I. Argilla rosea, poco compatta, con vacuoli –puntini neri– mica argentea; ingubbio crema all'esterno, nerastro all'interno. Conservazione: 1 fr. di collo, spalla e parte di corpo con decorazione e incisione. Orlo piano con motivo a tre linee radiate, staccato e linee orizzontali; collo basso inclinato verso l'esterno con motivo semilunato a tre linee concentriche su linea orizzontale in marrone; parete leggermente bombata con mezza mancante della parte inferiore, motivo a farfalla racchiuso tra due fasce a quattro linee verticali in marrone. All'interno, figura della costellazione Bootes incisa a mano; quattro estremi della figura terminano con piccoli*

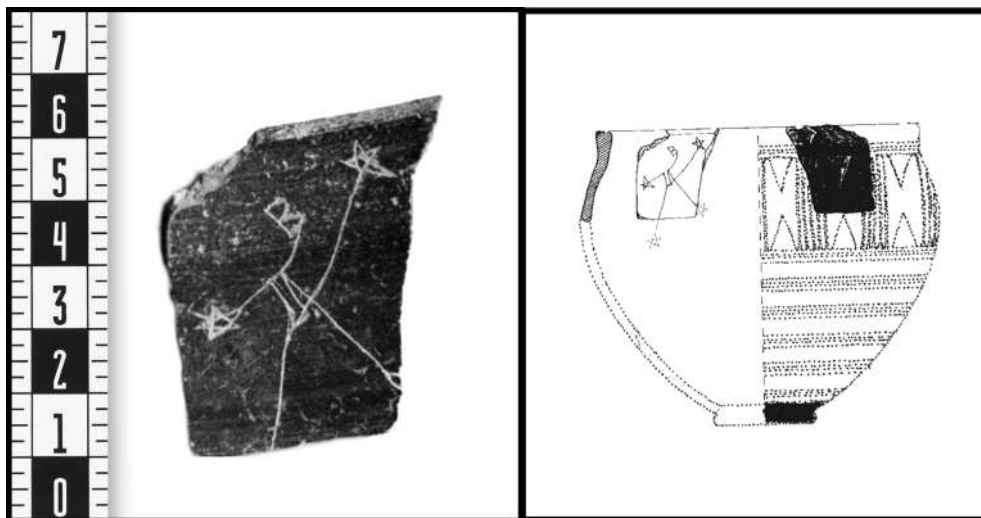


Figure 5. On the left, the fragment of the krater with an incision representing the constellation of Boötes. On the right, a reconstruction of the krater (after Monti 1998-1999: figs. 9 and 11)

together by a line and accompanied by a β in the Chalcidian alphabet⁵⁴. Some scholars believe that, together with the incision depicting the constellation of Boötes, the inner part of this krater may have also held the engraved outlines of the Great Bear, the Hyades and the Pleiades⁵⁵.

Onshore facilities

Judging from the Homeric poems, most of the harbours and places of shelter available along the Mediterranean shores were basically natural havens, located in areas that were particularly favourable because of their physical arrangement and/or geographic orientation, for instance, in the lee of a headland or an island, in a bay or a river mouth⁵⁶. Amongst the numerous kinds of natural havens, Homeric descriptions suggest the existence of differences in the level of protection they were able to guarantee: there

pentagoni, l'altro con il segno β ; (misure: h. 5,3, largh. 4). Inv. n. 1579. Provenienza e datazione, date a voce, dt C.W. Neef, 22 ottobre 1995'.

54. Monti 1998-1999.

55. Coldstream & Huxley 1996; Monti 1998-1999.

56. On the advantages and disadvantages offered by each of these locations, see Mauro 2019: 25-41.

were secure places, which ships could use in almost all weathers, and places that could only provide temporary shelter. Homer refers to the former with the expression λιμένες εὖρομοι ('good mooring harbours'), writing:

...and in the island, too, is a *good mooring* [emphasis added] harbour, where there is no need of moorings, either to throw out anchor-stones or to make fast stern cables, but one may beach one's ship and wait until the sailors' minds bid them put out, and the breezes blow fair (Hom. *Od.* 9.136-140).

On the other hand, to describe secure places, he speaks of λιμένες κλυτοί ('renowned harbours'):

When we had come thither into the *renowned* [emphasis added] harbour, about which on both sides a sheer cliff runs continuously, and projecting headlands opposite to one another stretch out at the mouth, and the entrance is narrow, then all the rest steered their curved ships in, and the ships were moored within the hollow harbour close together; for therein no wave ever swelled, great or small, but all about was a bright calm (Hom. *Od.* 10.87-93).

After reaching a shelter, lighter ships could be taken out of the water and they were commonly hauled stern-first, so that they could be launched quickly in case of necessity⁵⁷; however, the beaching was sometimes done bow-first (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 13.114-16). Dragging the ship out of the water, either overnight or for a longer period, had different advantages: firstly, it would have kept the ship safe from the actions of the *Teredo navalis*, a shipworm which usually attacks wooden hulls; and secondly, it made it possible to protect the boats from bad weather (Hes. *Op.* 618-626) and to make repairs or carry out routine maintenance activities⁵⁸. To make it easier to take the ship out of the water, Homer mentions the existence of both cut channels (Hom. *Il.* 2.151-154) and wooden sleepers (Hom. *Il.* 2.557-558), through which 'long props' (ἔρματα) could be set (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 3.445; *Od.* 4.438 and 5.482). Alternatively, the ships could be moored and secured by fastening their stern to the trees or rocks on the shore with ropes⁵⁹.

The only exception to this overall uniform scenario is represented by the harbours of the Phaeacians, who—not for nothing—were famous for their seafaring prowess. Unlike

57. E.g. Hom. *Od.* 2.389-390, 2.414-433, 3.153-154, 3.577-578, 4.780-786 and 11.7-9.

58. Rankov 2013: 102.

59. This was the case, for example, with big round vessels, see Votruba 2017.

the other, mostly natural places of shelter, the Phaeacians' harbours were provided with permanent slips for hauling the ships; moreover, ships spending the night at sea could make use of a τρετός λίθος ('pierced stone') permanently fixed in the harbours to ease mooring (Hom. *Od.* 13.77).

As emphasized at the beginning of this chapter, Homeric descriptions can certainly be used to reconstruct the maritime scenario of the Geometric period. Even so, they need to be nuanced and contrasted (whenever possible) with other sources, as it may be that the situations in these poems depicted conditions that were credible in a far-off, imagined past, rather than contemporaneous circumstances.

Neither the *Odyssey* nor the *Iliad* contains references to permanent structures (other than the abovementioned devices) built in harbour environments, a situation that seems confirmed by a well-known passage from Herodotus, who attributes the construction of the first breakwater to Polycrates of Samos (thus to the third quarter of the 6th century BC) (Hdt. 3.60.3). Looking at the archaeological remains, artificial or natural-reinforced breakwaters have been documented on the Levantine shore at Tabbat el Hamman⁶⁰, Atlit⁶¹ and Tyre⁶², places—deeply connected both commercially and culturally to the Greek world—that were therefore equipped with permanent structures already in the 9th or 8th century BC. As for the Greek realm, the contemporaneous situation appears more blurred. Even if the 8th century BC could have theoretically provided a likely context for the first large-scale attempts to improve the protection of harbour basins⁶³, the only known structure that has been tentatively dated to this period is the breakwater found at Delos (Cyclades) protecting the 'Sacred Port' and its southern end. Unfortunately, this structure is still waiting to be accurately studied and dated⁶⁴.

Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to reconstruct how Greek seafarers may have experienced long- and medium-range maritime travel during the Geometric period by looking at

60. Braidwood 1940: 207-208.

61. Haggai 2006: 52; Carayon 2008: 324-328.

62. Nouredine 2020: 144.

63. Blackman 2008.

64. The 8th century BC chronology was first proposed by Lehmann-Hartleben (1923: 50) and later repeated by several scholars (e.g. Duchêne & Fraisse 2001: 93), but an archaeological reassessment has not been conducted.

three essential components of the sea movements: the means of transportation involved (the vessels), the travel experience itself (the dangers connected to sea journeys and the different ways to find the desired route) and the facilities found onshore (the configuration of harbours and places of shelter). As emphasized in the Introduction, the chapter primarily relies on the descriptions found in the Homeric poems, which offer a fertile ground for reconstructing several aspects of the maritime world; however, given the problems related to their interpretation, the data they provide have been contrasted with other sources of information, like iconographic evidence and archaeological remains.

The overview has highlighted the heterogeneity of the scenario, with the different types of ships involved in maritime travel and possibly built according to methods and techniques that corresponded to distinct local traditions. Furthermore, the chapter has shown that it is possible to trace important innovations in ship technology, such as the introduction of the cutwater and, presumably, the continuous deck, back to the Geometric period. Similarly, starting from this phase, the platform on the prow started to be more clearly connected to a specific function: to provide a raised area from which to scan the horizon in search of familiar reference points.

Maritime travel was certainly challenging, but seafarers had tools to improve the experience and avoid possible dangers. The possibility of mentally positioning the ship within the maritime space was certainly key. Homer refers to different methods of orienteering at sea, using both coastal points and astronomical or meteorological references like the sun, the winds and the stars. In the case of the stars in particular, their importance in the practice of seafaring seems further confirmed by their frequent representation in maritime scenes depicted on pottery. With regard to coastal facilities, harbours and places of shelter along the coast were probably equipped with temporary devices, allowing seafarers to more easily beach or moor their ships. It may be that the first, permanent structure built out of stone, breakwaters, can be traced to the end of this period; further research will certainly shed more light on this issue.

References

- Basch, L. 1987: *Le musée imaginaire de la marine antique*. Athens: Institut hellénique pour la préservation de la tradition nautique.
- Blackman, D. J. 2008: 'Sea Transport – Part 2: Harbours', in P. J. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 638-670.
- Boruchovic, V. G. 1988: 'Die ägäische Kolonisation', *Klio* 70, 86-144.

- Braidwood, R. J. 1940: 'Report on two sondages on the coast of Syria, south of Tartous', *Syria* 21, 183-221.
- Brandherm, D. 2008: 'Vasos a debate. La cronología del Geométrico griego y las primeras colonizaciones en Occidente', in S. Celestino, N. Rafael, X. L. Armada (eds.), *Contacto cultural entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico (siglos XII-VIII a.n.e.)*. La precolonización a debate. Madrid: CSIC, 93-106.
- Bound, M. 1991: *The Giglio wreck: a wreck of the Archaic Period (c. 600 BC) off the Tuscan Island of Giglio. An Account of its Discovery and Excavation: a review of the main finds*. Athens: Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology.
- Carayon, N. 2008: *Les ports phéniciens et puniques. Géomorphologie et infrastructures, 3 vols.* Unpublished PhD dissertation, Université Marc Bloch - Strasbourg II.
- Casson, L. 1964: 'Odysseus' Boat (Od., V, 244-257)', *AJPH* 85 (1), 61-64.
- Casson, L. 1995: *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cohen, L. 1938: 'Evidence for the Ram in the Minoan Period', *AJA* 42, 486-494.
- Coldstream, J. N. & Huxley, G. L. 1996: 'An Astronomical Graffito from Pithekoussai', *PP* 51, 221-224.
- Cunliffe, R. J. 1988: *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Domínguez Monedero, A. J. 2018: 'El Mediterráneo arcaico como escenario bélico', in M. M. Ros Sala (coord.), *Phicaria VI. Encuentros Internacionales del Mediterráneo*. Mazarrón: Unidad Popular de Mazarrón, 53-80.
- Domínguez Monedero, A. J. 2020: 'Fenicios y eubeos en el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico durante los siglos IX y VIII a.C.', in J. L. López Castro (ed.), *Entre Utica y Gadir. Navegación y colonización fenicia en el Mediterráneo Occidental a comienzos del I milenio a.C.* Granada: Comares, 447-474.
- Duchêne, H. & Fraisse, P. 2001: *Le Paysage portuaire de la Délos Antique. Recherches sur les installations maritimes, commerciales et urbaines du littoral délien*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Ermeti, A. L. 1976: 'La nave geometrica di Pithecusa', *ArchClass* 28, 206-215.
- Haggai, A. 2006: 'Phoenician Atlit and its newly-excavated harbour: a reassessment', *Tel Aviv* 33, 43-60.
- Kirk, G. 1949: 'Ships on Geometric Vases', *ABSA* 44, 93-153.
- Krieger, A. 2020: 'The Human Experience of Seafaring in Prehistoric Times', *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* 8 (3-4), 273-286.
- Lehmann-Hartleben, K. 1923: *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*. Leipzig: Dieterich.
- Levy, E. 1989: 'De quelques allusions a l'Iliade dans l'Odysée', in *Architecture et Poésie dans le monde grec. Hommage à G. Roux*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 123-131.
- Mauro, C. M. 2019: *Archaic and Classical Harbours of the Greek World: the Aegean and Eastern Ionian contexts*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- McGrail, S. 1991: 'Early Sea voyages', *IJNA* 20 (2), 85-93.

- Medas, S. 2004: *De Rebus Nauticis. L'arte della navigazione nel mondo antico*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Mederos Martín, A. 2020: 'La cronología absoluta del Protogeométrico y Geométrico griego y su impacto en los inicios de la colonización fenicia', in J. L. López Castro (ed.), *Entre Utica y Gadir. Navegación y colonización fenicia en el Mediterráneo Occidental a comienzos del I milenio a. C.* Granada: Comares, 475-552.
- Monti, P. 1998-1999: 'Homeric Tradition in the Mediterranean Navigation of the Pithekoussans', *Talanta* 30-31, 115-132.
- Montiglio, S. 2005: *Wandering in Ancient Greek Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Morris, I. 1986: 'The Use and Abuse of Homer', *ClAnt* 5, 81-138.
- Morrison, J. S. & Williams, R. T. 1968: *Greek Oared Ships 900-322 b.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morton, J. 2001. *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring*. Leiden: Brill.
- Murray, W. M.; Ferreiro, L. D.; Vardalas, J. & Royal, J. G. 2017: 'Cutwaters Before Rams: an experimental investigation into the origins and development of the waterline ram', *IJNA* 46 (1), 72-82.
- Nieto Prieto, X. 2018: 'La función mecánica del cosido en los barcos griegos arcaicos', in M. M. Ros Sala (coord.), *Phicaria. VI Encuentros internacionales del Mediterráneo*. Mazarrón: Universidad Popular de Mazarrón, 118-129.
- Nijboer, A. J. 2006: 'The Iron Age in the Mediterranean: a chronological mess or "Trade before the Flag", Part II', *Ancient West & East* 2, 255-277.
- Novak, T. J. 2006: *Archaeological evidence for ship eyes: an analysis of their form and function*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Texas A&M University.
- Noureddine, I. 2019: 'Harbour Installations at Tyre North', in L. Blue (ed.), *In the Footsteps of Honor Frost. The life legacy of a pioneer in maritime archaeology*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 139-149.
- Polzer, M. 2010: 'The VIth century B.C. shipwreck at Pabuç Burnu, Turkey', in P. Pomey (ed.), *Les transferts de technologie dans la construction navale Méditerranéenne de l'Antiquité aux temps modernes: Identité technique et identité culturelle*. Paris: De Boccard, 27-44.
- Rankov, B. 2013: 'Slipping and launching', in D. J. Blackman, B. Rankov et al. (eds.), *Shisheps of the Ancient Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 102-123.
- Schachermeyr, F. 1982: *Die Ägäische Frühzeit. Die Ausgrabungen und ihre Ergebnisse für unser Geschichtsbild. 5. Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen 13. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte.
- Steffy, J. R. 1995: 'Ancient scantlings: the projection and control of Mediterranean hull shapes', *Tropis* III, 417-428.
- Votruba, G. F. 2017: 'Did Vessels Beach in the Ancient Mediterranean? An assessment of the textual and visual evidence', *MM* 103 (1), 7-29.
- Wallinga, H. T. 1992: *Ships and Sea-Power before the Great Persian War. The ancestry of the Ancient Trireme*. Leiden: Brill.
- Wedde, M. 2000: *Towards a Hermeneutics of Aegean Bronze Age Ship Imagery*. Mannheim: Bibliopolis.

Movement has always been part of daily life and, as such, it has taken on different forms. 'People on the move across the Greek World' provides a selection of approaches, themes and contexts that reflect the importance of being on the move in Ancient Greece. It does not aim to provide an exhaustive treatment of 'movement around the Ancient Greek world'; rather, its goal is to be representative, offering readers the opportunity to delve into the variety of activities that motivated 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.

The book is composed of 22 chapters divided into four thematic sections: (1) Society, economy and knowledge; (2) Travellers and borders; (3) 'Colonisation' and politics; and (4) Religion and mythology. Each contribution examines a case study united by a common factor: 'people on the move'. Its chronology spans the whole of Greek Antiquity, from the Late Bronze Age to the period of the Roman conquest. As for its geographical scope, this book is not limited to the Greek peninsula, but also includes those territories beyond the mainland that attracted the Greeks, resulting in their presence in those regions.

ISBN 978-84-472-2366-4

