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In this book Jonathan Hall seeks to demonstrate that the ethnic groups of ancient Greece, like many ethnic groups throughout the world today, were not ultimately racial, linguistic, religious or cultural groups, but social groups whose 'origins' in extraneous territories were just as often imagined as they were real. Adopting an explicitly anthropological point of view, he examines the evidence of literature, archaeology and linguistics to elucidate the nature of ethnic identity in ancient Greece. Rather than treating Greek ethnic groups as 'natural' or 'essential' – let alone 'racial' – entities, he emphasises the active, constructive and dynamic role of ethnography, genealogy, material culture and language in shaping ethnic consciousness. An introductory chapter outlines the history of the study of ethnicity in Greek antiquity.

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*To Ilaria*

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## Preface and acknowledgements

I hope it will not seem too perverse to establish, at the outset, what this book is *not* about. In the first place, its object of study is not a *collective* Hellenic identity, but rather the plurality of ‘intrahellenic’ identities, of which the Ionians, Dorians, Aiolians and Akhaians are simply the best-known examples. It might be argued that this distinction is simply one of degree and that what we have in Greek antiquity is a situation that is sometimes termed ‘nested ethnicity’, whereby a citizen of a city such as Sparta could subscribe not only to a Dorian ethnicity but also to a Greek identity that was itself constituted by ethnic subdivisions such as the Dorians and Aiolians. That is certainly one way of explaining why Greek myth regarded ethnic eponyms such as Doros and Aiolos as the sons of the Hellenic *Urvater*, Hellen, though I believe that there is a case to be made for keeping the two levels of identity distinct. Firstly, it is clear that some of these intrahellenic ethnic identities may have existed prior to the emergence of a fully blown Hellenic consciousness which sought to subsume them. Secondly, while the identity of groups such as the Dorians or the Ionians could undoubtedly become politicised, it generally tended to retain (with varying degrees of salience) its ethnic definition. Conversely, although Hellenic identity was clearly envisaged in the sixth century BC as being ethnic in character, there is some evidence that by the fourth century it was conceived more in cultural terms. The clearest enunciation of this comes in Isokrates’ comment (*Panegyrikos* 50) that ‘the name of Hellene should be applied to persons sharing in the culture rather than the ancestry of the Greeks’, and reaches its apogee in the Hellenistic world when cities from Spain to Afghanistan could participate equally within a cultural-linguistic (though not ethnic) paradigm of Hellenism.

In the second place, this book does not seek to serve as a gazetteer of all the numerous ethnic groups which inhabited Greece in antiquity. Its aim is rather to establish some methodological principles governing the possibilities (and, more importantly, limitations) of studying in the distant past a topic of contemporary anthropological interest. Thus, the core chapters of the book (chapters 3, 5 and 6) examine the three principal areas of evidence available to the student of antiquity - literature and myth; archaeology; and linguistics - and the examples that are included are intended to be illustrative or cautionary rather than exhaustive. Since the work is intended to be a methodological exercise rather than a systematic survey, there are no strictly defined chronological limits to its scope, though in prac-

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tice the period with which it is largely concerned falls between 1200 and 400 B.C. Within this broad chronological sweep, examples are drawn from various parts of the Greek world from South Italy to Cyprus, though there is a noticeable emphasis on the Argolid region of the northeast Peloponnese. The reason why the Argolid provides such a fertile area for ethnic analysis is partly due to the quality of its literary, archaeological and linguistic material which is (arguably) second only to that of Attika, but more importantly because - unlike Attika - the region was continually characterised by literary sources as being multi-ethnic.

At the time of writing, the topic of ethnicity is beginning to figure increasingly within research proposals in classical studies and particularly in classical archaeology - a discipline which has, in the last few decades, become far more receptive (albeit belatedly) to the theories and trends being elaborated within the wider field of world archaeology. The distant origins of this book are not, however, situated within this fashionable pedigree. They are instead rooted in a field trip that I made as an undergraduate to Troizen, in the Eastern Argolid, in the summer of 1986. My primary intention was to study the archaeology and history of the site, but in the course of this I became increasingly interested in the notion, recited in much of the modern literature (though, oddly enough, less explicit in literary sources), that an Ionian population had been overlaid by Dorian migrants during the Early Iron Age. Although the terms 'Dorian' and 'Ionian' were familiar ones, I began to wonder exactly how this rather mechanistic view of settlement history might have been negotiated 'on the ground'. My curiosity led to doctoral research, undertaken between 1989 and 1993 at the University of Cambridge, in which I examined the evidence for ethnic identity in the Argolid region in the years 900 to 600 B.C. It is that study which has provided the springboard for the current work.

My principal debts of gratitude are to Anthony Snodgrass, who supervised my doctoral dissertation, and to Paul Cartledge and Robin Osborne who examined it. Their continued support and interest have been crucial in nurturing the post-doctoral development of this book. I should also like to acknowledge the inspiration I derived from George Forrest, Lin Foxhall and Nicholas Purcell in the early and formative days of my research. A number of friends, colleagues and mentors have at various times over the last six years read and commented upon drafts of certain sections - in particular, Tamsyn Barton, Robert Coleman, Eric Hamp, Valérie Huet, Martin Maiden, Paul Millett, Catherine Morgan, Colin Renfrew, Todd Whitelaw and Greg Woolf, as well as the readers of Cambridge University Press. While they should not be held responsible for the views expressed here, I have considered their opinions carefully and would like to extend to them my sincere gratitude.

Every study which adopts an explicitly interdisciplinary approach also risks the charge of superficiality. If this criticism has been mitigated in any small way, it is largely due to all those friends and colleagues who have given so freely of their time and expertise to discuss various issues arising from my research. In this connection, I wish to thank Padma Anagol-McGinn, Tjeerd van Andel, Carla Antonaccio,

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My research would have quickly ground to a halt without the financial assistance of the British Academy, the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens, and both the Faculty of Classics and King's College, Cambridge. The book was largely written up during my tenure of a Research Fellowship at Downing College, Cambridge and I should like to thank the Master and Fellows of the college for providing me with such a congenial environment in which to work. In addition, certain sections were researched and written in warmer climes, and I am grateful to the British School at Athens and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome for permission to use their excellent library facilities. I should also like to acknowledge the warm but professional assistance that I have received from Pauline Hire and Susan Beer for Cambridge University Press.

Finally, I should like to thank my parents for their long-standing encouragement and above all my wife, Ilaria Romeo. Apart from acting as the most patient of sounding-boards, her critical judgement and wide knowledge of the classical world have proved indispensable, and it is to her that I gratefully dedicate this book.

*Note on the spelling of Greek names*

In general, I have tried to resist the Latinisation of Greek words: I thus write Aitolia for Aetolia; Akhilleus for Achilles; 'akropolis' for 'acropolis'; Herodotos for Herodotus; 'synoikism' for 'synoecism', etc. I freely admit, however, to a certain amount of inconsistency for which I apologise in advance. Firstly, I retain the convention of rendering Greek *upsilon* by English *y* - thus, Thoukydides (Thucydides) instead of Thoukudides, and Aiskhylos (Aeschylus) instead of Aiskhulos. Secondly, I often preserve familiar English forms of Greek proper nouns, but with Greek orthography - e.g. Korinth, Tiryns and Attika instead of the more technically correct Korinthos, Tirynthos and Attike. Finally, there are certain names such as Strabo, Plato and Plutarch, which I have never been able to bring myself to transliterate strictly as Strabon, Platon and Ploutarkhos.

There is, however, one area in which my inconsistency is more rational. In the case of Mykenai (Mycenae), I use the Greek form of the adjective (Mykenaiian) to refer to the site and its occupants in the historical period, but the Latin form of the adjective (Mycenaeian) to refer to the chronological phase of the Late Bronze Age to which the site gave its name.

## Abbreviations used in the text and bibliography

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Berlin.
AAA	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i> , Athens.
Act.Arch	<i>Acta Archaeologica</i> , Copenhagen.
Act.Hyp	<i>Acta Hyperborea</i> , Copenhagen.
Africa	<i>Africa: Journal of the International African Institute</i> , London.
AION (ASA)	<i>Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo: sezione di archeologia e storia antica</i> , Naples.
AION (L)	<i>Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo: sezione linguistica</i> , Naples.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , New York.
AJPA	<i>American Journal of Physical Anthropology</i> , Washington.
AK	<i>Antike Kunst: herausgegeben von der Vereinigung der Freunde antiker Kunst in Basel, Olten</i> .
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i> , Berlin.
Am.Ant	<i>American Antiquity</i> , Menasha.
Am.Anth	<i>American Anthropologist</i> , New York.
Am.Eth	<i>American Ethnologist</i> , Washington.
AN	<i>Archaeological News</i> , Tallahassee.
Ann.ESC	<i>Annales (Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations)</i> , Paris.
Ant	<i>Antiquity: a Quarterly Review of Archaeology</i> , Newbury.
ARC	<i>Archaeological Review from Cambridge</i> , Cambridge.
Archaiognosia	<i>Ἀρχαιογνωσία</i> , Athens.
Arch.Eph	<i>Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς</i> , Athens.
Areth	<i>Arethusa: a Journal of the Wellsprings of Western Man</i> , Buffalo.
Arion	<i>Arion: a Journal of Humanities and the Classics</i> , Boston.
A.S.Atene	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene</i> , Rome.
ASNSP	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</i> , Pisa.
AT	<i>Anthropology Today (Royal Anthropological Institute)</i> , London.
Athenaeum	<i>Athenaeum: Studi di Letteratura e Storia dell' Antichità</i> , Pavia.
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i> , Oxford.
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> , Paris.
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i> , London.
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> , London.

## Abbreviations

<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , Cambridge.
<i>Cl.Ant</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i> , Berkeley.
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i> , Chicago.
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i> , Oxford.
<i>Cret.Stud</i>	<i>Cretan Studies</i> , Amsterdam.
<i>CSCA</i>	<i>Californian Studies in Classical Antiquity</i> , Berkeley.
<i>CSSH</i>	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i> , Cambridge.
<i>Deltion</i>	Ἔργα Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, Athens.
<i>EAC</i>	<i>Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique</i> , Geneva.
<i>Emerita</i>	<i>Emerita: Revista de Lingüística y Filología Clásica</i> , Madrid.
<i>Eth</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i> , New York.
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin and Leiden.
<i>Glotta</i>	<i>Glotta: Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache</i> , Göttingen.
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i> , Wiesbaden.
<i>Hesperia</i>	<i>Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> , Princeton.
<i>Historia</i>	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte</i> , Wiesbaden.
<i>IF</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i> , Berlin.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin.
<i>JAA</i>	<i>Journal of Anthropological Archaeology</i> , New York.
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des (kaiserlich) Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Berlin.
<i>JFA</i>	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i> , Boston.
<i>JHE</i>	<i>Journal of Human Evolution</i> , London.
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> , London.
<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i> , Sheffield.
<i>JMS</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Studies</i> , Msida.
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , London.
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal of Social Psychology</i> , Worcester MA.
<i>Kadmos</i>	<i>Kadmos: Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik</i> , Berlin.
<i>Kernos</i>	<i>Kernos: Revue Internationale et Pluridisciplinaire de Religion Grecque Antique</i> , Liège.
<i>Klio</i>	<i>Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</i> , Berlin.
<i>Kratylos</i>	<i>Kratylos: kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft</i> , Wiesbaden.
<i>Latomus</i>	<i>Latomus: Revue d' Études Latines</i> , Brussels.
<i>LSJ</i>	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , revised by H.S. Jones, Oxford (1968).
<i>MAAP</i>	<i>University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology: Anthropological Papers</i> , Ann Arbor.
<i>MAGW</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien</i> , Vienna.
<i>Man</i>	<i>Man (Royal Anthropological Institute)</i> , London.
<i>Mnem</i>	<i>Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca Classica Batava</i> , Leiden.