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0521852161 - Greeks and Pre-Greeks: Aegean Prehistory and Greek Heroic Tradition

Margalit Finkelberg

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GREEKS AND PRE-GREEKS

By systematically confronting Greek tradition of the Heroic Age with the evidence of both linguistics and archaeology, Margalit Finkelberg proposes a multi-disciplinary assessment of the ethnic, linguistic and cultural situation in Greece in the second millennium BC. The main thesis of this book is that the Greeks started their history as a multi-ethnic population group consisting of both Greek-speaking newcomers and the indigenous population of the land, and that the body of 'Hellenes' as known to us from the historic period was a deliberate self-creation. The book addresses such issues as the structure of heroic genealogy, the linguistic and cultural identity of the indigenous population of Greece, the patterns of marriage between heterogeneous groups as they emerge in literary and historical sources, the dialect map of Bronze Age Greece, the factors responsible for the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation and, finally, the construction of the myth of the Trojan War.

MARGALIT FINKELBERG is Professor of Classics at Tel Aviv University. Her previous publications include *The Birth of Literary Fiction in Ancient Greece* (1998).

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY PARENTS
τοὺς ζωοὺς κατέλειπον ἰοῦσ' ἔξ Ἰλιον ἱρήν

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Preface

It is almost impossible for a Homerist not to become involved, at one stage or another, in the world that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* purport to describe. My own interest in Aegean prehistory was first aroused by reading Denys Page's *History and the Homeric Iliad* many years ago. Gradually, the unqualified acceptance of Page's interpretation and conclusions as regards the relationship between the Homeric tradition and the Aegean Bronze Age gave way to systematic questioning of the assumptions from which he proceeded, which eventually led to conclusions diametrically opposed to those arrived at by Page. This, however, does not diminish the impact that his singularly stimulating book had on my work.

This book was long in the making. A number of the arguments found in it have appeared in various publication venues since 1988, but it was not until 1998 that they combined to form a larger thesis. The active participation in discussions which took place on AegeaNet, a discussion group on the prehistoric Aegean moderated by John Younger, during this very year was undoubtedly one of the factors that stimulated me to consolidate the ideas from which this book developed, and it was in 1998 again, at the Seventh International Aegean Conference held in Liège, that its main thesis was first presented. I am also much indebted to the Institute for Advanced Studies, Jerusalem, where I spent six months in 1999 as a member of the international research group on Mechanisms of Canon-Making in Ancient Societies. The exposure to the canonical texts of other civilisations and historical periods, as well as the exchange of ideas with scholars in other fields that I experienced during this period, enlarged my horizons and gave me a fuller understanding of the role of Homer as both the custodian of the past and its creator.

The first draft of this book was completed during my term as a Visiting Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, in 1999–2000. I have no doubt that the amiable atmosphere and the ideal working conditions provided by the College, as well as the first-class scholarly facilities of the University of

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Oxford, were the very factors that allowed me to bring my work to completion, and I am taking this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls. Martin West was the first to read the manuscript and to comment on it; in many respects his criticism and suggestions determined the directions in which the original version was subsequently revised. Aryeh Finkelberg read each one of the new versions that appeared in the subsequent years, and his thorough and often devastating criticism was in fact the main reason why these new versions continued to emerge. Deborah Boedeker, Benjamin Isaac, Emily Lyle, David Shulman and Calvert Watkins read either the entire manuscript or parts of it, and shared with me their suggestions and queries. Among those with whom different aspects of my argument were discussed, and sometimes disputed, the points made by Elizabeth Barber, Robert Drews, Irad Malkin, Sarah Morris, Thomas Palaima, Itamar Singer and Judith Weingarten have proved especially helpful; more specific contributions of other colleagues are acknowledged in the footnotes to the relevant sections of the text. I am grateful to audiences in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Oxford, Edinburgh, Princeton, St John's and Halifax, before whom different parts of this book were presented, for their discussion and comments. I am also grateful to the Cambridge University Press team – Sinead Moloney, Anna-Marie Lovett, Jackie Warren and others whose names I do not know – for their devoted work on the production of this difficult volume, and especially to Bernard Dod for his collaboration, which went far beyond the original target of copy-editing and has led to many improvements in my argument and presentation of the material. My special thanks go to Michael Sharp, whose creative editorship has resulted in what I see as a considerable improvement of the whole book and eventually to the present version.

I am grateful to the Austrian Academy of Sciences for the permission to reproduce Maps 1a, b and 2a, b ('Suffixes *-ss-* and *-nd-* in Anatolia and Greece'), first published in Fritz Schachermeyr, *Ägäis und Orient* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 93. Bd.: Graz and Vienna, 1967), pp. 13–15, and the University of California Press for the permission to reproduce Map 5 ('Greece according to the Homeric Catalogue of Ships'), first published in Denys Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1959), between pp. 124 and 125.

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 'The Brother's Son of Tawananna and others: the rule of dynastic succession in the Old Hittite Kingdom', *Cosmos* 13 (1997): 127–41;
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 'Greek epic tradition on population movements in Bronze Age Greece', in *POLEMOS. Warfare in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. R. Laffineur (Liège, 1999): 31–6;
 'Homer as a foundation text', in *Homer, the Bible and Beyond. Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World*, ed. M. Finkelberg and G. Stroumsa (Leiden, 2003): 75–96.

All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>AF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>CS</i>	<i>Cretan Studies</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>HAB</i>	F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, <i>Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I</i> (Munich, 1938)
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IF</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JIES</i>	<i>Journal of Indo-European Studies</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>KBo</i>	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi (Leipzig and Berlin)
<i>KUB</i>	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi (Berlin)
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>

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M-W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> (Oxford, 1967)
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Etudes grecques</i>
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
SMEA	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
ST	<i>Studia Troica</i>
TLS	<i>The Times Literary Supplement</i>
TPhS	<i>Transactions of the Philosophical Society</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>