

CHAPTER ONE

Mobility in the Ancient Greek World: Diversity of Causes, Variety of Vocabularies¹

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Since the beginning of the 1990s, the question of mobility has been at the center of a renewed reflection in historical studies, especially within the ancient period. The past two decades saw a transition from a very marginal vision of this phenomenon² to a new approach which, first off, frames the Mediterranean as the site, since the Archaic period, of all kinds of migration, individual and collective (Gras 1995; Stazio 2000; cf. Moatti 2012, 40), and then imposes a vision of this fluid space as the scene for traffic, exchange, and diverse and complex movements.³

The work of Claudia Moatti has only confirmed the importance of mobility which, beyond just pushing people to move with objects in tow, also takes on precise forms, and has political, social, economic, and cultural consequences (Moatti 2004, 2007; Moatti and Kaiser 2007, 2009; Moatti, Kaiser, and Pébarthe 2009). Tracing the historiography of the concept of mobility, she remarks that since we cannot doubt that mobility lies at the heart of ancient as well as modern and contemporary societies, then this concept alone encompasses a large variety of movements and displacements. It also underlines how “behind a unifying [modern] vocabulary lies a great diversity of realities,” which range from mass movements (for which we most often use the term *migration*, referring interchangeably to colonization, exodus, or flight, etc.) to individual mobility (called generally or imprecisely *foreigner*, who could just as easily be an alien, nomad, or guest, etc.). Moatti denounces the uniformity of this modern lexicon, which reduces the complexity of these experiences and relations, and argues for “the necessity to start from the ancient vocabulary.”⁴ But were the ancient Greeks really aware of different types of movement, conveyed in a specific and precise vocabulary? Or is their vocabulary reductive and unvarying from the start?

This study presents a few examples to identify different forms of mobility and their causes, and to analyze the terms used in ancient sources. One should not expect an exhaustive

glossary here. The examples, which come from literary and epigraphic sources of the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, illustrate a sampling of the terms used by ancient authors.⁵ Among the many categories of mobility, I will endeavor to go deeper into some of the most significant ones, so as to identify a specific lexicon. I will at times study certain problems raised by the vocabulary of modern authors on this subject.

Categories of Mobility

From the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, the sources clearly show that the Greeks were in constant movement for numerous reasons. Modern thinkers interpret this with great variety: for some, mobility is a condition of everyday life, just as much in times of peace as war;⁶ for others, the practice of traveling, though not foreign to the ancients, was nevertheless not as common as now, for political and social reasons (hostility, wars) and practical reasons (distance, the precariousness of routes, and modes of transport), implying a different concept and command of space (Marasco 1978, 15–29). The reality is that, despite difficulties, the majority of ancient Greeks traveled incessantly, pushed by all sorts of motives and without the aid of our modern modes of transport.

As Thucydides (1.2.1–2) relates, “in ancient times” the Greeks were already emigrating and leaving their homes with ease:

It appears, for example, that the country now called Hellas had no settled population in ancient times; instead there was a series of migrations (μεταναστάσεις), as the various tribes, being under the constant pressure of invaders who were stronger than they were, were always prepared to abandon (ἀπολείποντες) their own territory. There was no commerce.... the use they made of their land was limited to the production of necessities; they had no surplus left over for capital, and no regular system of agriculture.... they showed no reluctance in moving from their homes (οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο), and therefore built no cities of any size or strength... (trans. Warner 1954).

The primary agent of mobility during the Archaic period is certainly colonization, which is to say the foundation of cities outside of Greek territory, more or less autonomous and independent of the metropolis. In the Classical period, colonies were founded as part of the constitution of the Athenian Empire, different from the cleruchies established during that same time. In the Hellenistic period, Alexander founded colonies throughout his eastern expedition, all bearing his name, as well as some other less important establishments. Thereafter, Hellenistic kings often resorted to the metonymy of ancient cities as they transformed and adapted to the new Greek presence.

Moreover, commerce drove Greeks to the extreme borders of the Mediterranean, touching the coastlines to the east and west, from which they moved inland. The more they traveled, the greater their reputation, and the further they went. Sanctuaries generated remarkable mobility as well. Private visits included Greek individuals consulting oracles at sanctuaries for personal or healing reasons. Public visits involved the political life of the city and the flow of its official representatives, *oikistai*, *theoroi*, ambassadors, and emissaries. Sanctuaries were equally a meeting place for athletes and artists. For education, Greek

students and teachers were drawn to and from the great centers of Hellenic culture, like Athens or Alexandria in Egypt.

While the above forms of mobility are done freely, others by contrast involve constraint and violence: ostracisms, exiles, migrations of populations, and marriages across borders and cultures. Hence all Greeks moved about, and not just those among the elite. This list of the categories of mobility is incomplete, and in turn these categories can only be unevenly developed. By organizing them into two groups – mass mobility and personal mobility – I am forced to choose certain categories which seem particularly significant to highlight their causes and reasons for their associated vocabulary. I will leave aside mobility linked to colonization, which has already received ample commentary.⁷ Nevertheless, concerning Archaic colonization I cannot avoid the debate sparked by modern language.

Mass Mobility

Greeks left home (in general, the colonial expedition and the settlement itself were indifferently called *apoikia*, “away from home”) for many reasons,⁸ and settled themselves all along the perimeter of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. These newly founded cities multiplied, reproducing cities of their own (the colonies of colonies were also called *apoikiai*).

The related lexicon has already been analyzed many times before (Casevitz 1985; Costanzi 2010; De Wever and Van Compernelle 1967; Virgilio 1971–1972). The current trend, among specialists and non-specialists alike, is to use a new term to identify this phenomenon: diaspora has been appearing increasingly in works concerning Greek history to designate mobility in general (Garland 2014 uses it to indicate Greeks who are forced to leave and settle elsewhere, especially political exiles), but more precisely colonization (Martinez-Sève 2012). According to some, this word purports to replace the term colonization, which has been almost universally contested since it relates to modern and contemporary events. So the word diaspora, some claim, “decolonizes” the current vocabulary and avoids confusion between ancient and modern historical realities (Osborne 1998; Étienne 2010). Since, however, it seems to me to introduce other precise connotations, making it neither more neutral nor more appropriate than colonization, I will stop for a moment on this question.

The noun διασπορά, it is true, comes from ancient Greek. It is constructed from the verb διασπείρειν (to distribute, disperse, disseminate), which itself comes from the verb σπείρειν (to sow, seed, or scatter like grain). Though the verb is already attested by the fifth to fourth centuries BC in Isocrates (*Philippus* 104; *Letter to Dionysius* 6) to refer to spreading the word and fame, Xenophon (*An.* 1.8.25; *Hell.* 5.1.25) to refer to scattering troops and spreading noise, and Aristotle (*Meteorology* 369a) to refer to releasing heat, the substantive does not appear before the third century BC. It was a neologism invented by Greek-speaking Jewish scribes working on a translation of the first five books (*Torah*) of the Hebrew Bible (*Tanakh*). One should clarify that the word diaspora never translates those terms issuing from the Semitic root *glh* (the verb *galah*, “to exile,” or the substantives *golah/galouth*, “exile”), though we may claim that as a general rule. In the Septuagint, the Greek terms *apoikia*, *paroikia*, and *meitoikesia* translate the words

related to colonization, whereas *diaspora* seems to have always been associated with the idea of “dispersion,” and to notions of dishonor, divine retribution, or banishment. In most cases, this dispersion did not take place, but was only potential (Casevitz 2002; Dufoix 2012a, 2012b). The substantive noun reappeared in Plutarch (*Sol.* 32.4) to describe the “scattering” of Solon’s ashes after his death. Yet other authors use it to describe the “dispersal of the soul” in the body or the “discord of parts” (Philo, *De praemiis et poenis* 115; Clem. Alex., *Protrepticus* 88). Certain Greek Christian authors of the Low Empire used the word to signify “dispersion” or “dissemination,” applying it to ethnic groups, such as the Jews after the annexation of Judaea and the destruction of Jerusalem’s temple by Titus (70 AD), as well as after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (587 BC). Thereafter, one encounters the word *diaspora* in one of the first Modern Greek (Vachos 1659) dictionaries from the seventeenth century to express the dispersal of Greeks in the modern period. After the appearance of the concept of nation-state, the word would come to designate, in many modern languages, all dispersed ethnic and/or religious groups. The diaspora includes all those living outside of national borders, scattered across the world, who share a common feeling of alienation from their homeland, to which they feel close and hope to return (Bruneau 1995, 2005, 2007). In France, the word appears in 1929’s Larousse dictionary, relating once again to Jewish realities. Up until the end of the 1960s, it did not designate those ethnic communities forced into migration by economic or political factors. It was not until the 1970s that it gained this distinct and in many cases unwarranted use, evoking all sorts of migrants, deported groups, and refugees (for an overview, see Avram 2012, 10–12).

Claudia Moatti writes that the notion of diaspora, no matter the word’s historical origins, is today emancipated from that origin (Moatti 2012, 45–46). For her, it is characterized by an initial dispersal, forced or voluntary, from the host community, as well as a persistent social and spiritual link with origins. Since it can be applied to different forms of mobility, it can be applied equally to ancient colonization. Michel Casevitz (2012, 87) remarks that the word diaspora can identify things other than the Jewish diaspora.

The lack of correspondence between the idea of Greek colonization and the term diaspora, already evident in the Septuagint, but even more its association with certain communities (particularly the Jewish community), does not permit us to use this word without causing grave confusion. To me, the wish to “decolonize” Archaic colonization (Osborne 1998) to then “diasporize” it (Étienne 2010), replacing one controversial word with another that raises just as many difficulties, does not seem methodologically correct.

Franco De Angelis (2009, 52; 2010, 252) has proposed using the word *apoikia* to identify the colony and *apoikiazation* for the process of its creation. This way of proceeding, to me more logical, permits us to avoid designating ancient phenomena with words that have taken on precise meanings. One difficulty arises, however; though English permits the creation of neologisms (*apoikiazation*), for other languages (French or Italian) this possibility is hardly conceivable. According to Andreas Morakis (2011, 460 n. 1), it would be better to use *apoikia* for the colony and *apoikismos* for colonization. In his opinion, taking this term from Modern Greek is justifiable since it preserves the use of *apoikiai* for colonies. In fact, this word is already present in Aristotle and Diogenes Laertius to signify the foundation of a colony (Arist., *Pol.* 5.5.3; Diog. Laert., 9.20). Even the word *apoikisis* is attested in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.31). Nevertheless, Morakis

continues to use the words *colony* and *colonization*, proving just how difficult it is to adopt a new vocabulary.

With this all considered, it would perhaps be good to put the terms of the question back in order. After all, in the modern era we took up words that the Latins had already used to define cities founded by the Greeks.⁹ At the same time, the Greeks who spoke of the Roman Empire and its colonies used the words *apoikia*, *apoikoi*, and *apoikizein* (e.g., Dion. Hal. 3.31 on the first cities founded by Rome). These terms already seem to be more or less synonymous, capable of adapting to situations that do not correspond perfectly. The Humanists revived this tradition, and in the modern period we simply reused these same root words and adapted them to yet different realities. I believe, therefore, that once the problem of the lexicon's flexibility is explained to students so that they avoid confusion, for specialists the inevitable parallels between ancient and modern colonization seem in the end more appropriate than those brought to mind by the word diaspora. While this term may permit us to imagine certain elements linked to departure in particular (its violence, its sometimes obligatory character and ensuing heartbreak), it is far less relevant with regard to the causes and specifics of this phenomenon (reasons for departing, the organizing of the expedition with its necessary rituals, the types of establishments across which this phenomenon expresses itself and the different sorts of relations it permits in new territories; the hope of returning one day, if it exists, is less present than the will to go and found other, yet more distant colonies).

The founded settlements have a dominant agricultural character. Far away from the *oikos*, another is recreated where the base element is the *kleros*, for trade and exchange with Greeks and the local population alike. One should certainly not speak of a "colonial empire" in antiquity, even if a certain will to dominate was not totally absent. One should equally not imagine a dependent link between the colony and its metropolis, though connections with the homeland remained privileged and strong (or at least they could strengthen at a given moment, on the basis of temporary necessity rather than sentimental attachment). Moreover, the word *metropolis* first appears in Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.20; *Nem.* 5.8) and Thucydides (1.34; 3.92), underlining that there was already a relation between daughter city and its motherland. Those settlements founded by the Greeks, therefore, are justifiably colonies, so I will use this word regularly and without quotation marks.

Forced Migrations of Populations

Populations are forced to relocate for many different reasons, war being the principal cause.¹⁰ Tyrants are another common motive. According to Thucydides (6.9–23), when evaluating the Sicilian cities before his expedition, Alcibiades remarked that they were not a great power since, populated by a large number of people of different origins, they change and acquire citizens easily (καὶ ῥαδίας ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτῶν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς). For Thucydides, mobility is a typical element of colonial cities and constitutes weakness. The exchange (*metabolai*) and admission (*epidochai*) of new citizens often take place under the constraint of tyrants.

In Sicily, between the fifth and fourth centuries, forced migrations are linked to the policies of the Deinomenids (Maddoli 1980, 67–102; Asheri 1980, 145–158; Vattuone

1994). Herodotus (7.154–156) recounts that Gelon, a brilliant general under Hippocrates's tyranny, took hold of Gela after the tyrant's death. He accomplished this with the help of the *Gamoroi*, who had been formerly driven out (ἐκπίπτειν) by the people and the *Killyroi*, their slaves. In the process of bringing them back (κατάγειν) from Casmenai to Syracuse he managed to take possession of the former as well. From then on, he became tyrant of Syracuse, leaving Gela to his brother Hieron. He fortified the city and brought in (ἄγειν) all the Camarinians after completely leveling theirs, and did much the same for more than half of Gela's citizens. Besieging Megara Hyblaea and forcing its citizens to yield, he brought in (ἄγειν) the *Pacheis* ("fat ones") to make them citizens, and he sold and expelled the rest from Sicily (ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἑξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης). Diodorus relates that Hieron, after expelling (ἀνιστάναι more precisely means "to make stand up") the inhabitants of Naxos and Catania from their cities, sent over (ἀποστέλλειν, "to snatch in order to send off") new inhabitants of his choice, among them five thousand Peloponnesians, and just as many Syracusans.¹¹ He changed Catania's name (μετονομάζειν) to Aetna, and portioned out (κατακληρουχεῖν) his and his neighbor's territories. The Naxians and Catanians, expelled (ἀνιστάναι) from their homelands, were forced to live in Leontini with its original inhabitants (μετοικίζειν). In 461 BC, the Syracusans, allied with Douketios, attacked Catania and chased off (ἐκπίπτειν) those who were settled (κατοικίζειν) under Hieron. So they recovered their homeland, while other Catanians took possession of Inessa, renaming it Aetna.¹² According to Diodorus (12.54.7; 12.83.1), in 424 BC all of Leontini's inhabitants set off to live with (μετοικίζειν) the citizens of Syracuse (on which, see Vanotti 1995). Thucydides (5.4.2–6) writes that the *dynatoi* of the city demanded Syracuse's help in expelling the *demos*, who as a consequence scattered themselves abroad (πλανεῖν, in the passive). A large number of *dynatoi* left Leontini and settled in Syracuse (ἐκπλεῖν, meaning they set out by sea, and then settled in, οἰκεῖν), but they soon decided to go back (according to Thucydides, they left Syracuse and took hold of (καταλαμβάνειν) a part of Leontini's territory).

Other examples of forced migrations exist, such as in Athens, where between 411 and 307 BC several non-democratic regimes succeeded one another, leading to deaths, exiles, transfers, and actual deportations. Thus, during the tyranny of Phocion (322–318 BC) (Bearzot 1985, 1994), after Antipater successfully imposed himself on Athens, many citizens were for reasons of the census excluded from citizenship and forced to leave en masse (μετιστάναι) for Thrace, where Antipater offered them a territory to colonize (Diod. 18.18.4–5). This migration was a true deportation, stimulated by Antipater's political motivations and by his wish for permanent exile. In fact, by the time of the collapse of Phocion's government in 318 the exiles had resettled (Diod. 18.66.5; Plut., *Phocion* 32–34; cf. Bearzot 1994, 155–163). The word that Diodorus uses here, *κάθοδος*, generally indicates a "return," very often for exiles.¹³

The events that displace or transfer populations are therefore expressed with verbs linked to the actions of these tyrants, who chase (ἐκπίπτειν), expel (ἀνιστάναι), send off (ἀποστέλλειν), lead (ἄγειν), bring back (κατάγειν), banish (μετιστάναι), lead settlers en masse (μετοικίζειν), and settle them (κατοικίζειν). The prefixes of these verbs seem to have a certain value which does not always carry into modern translations; they indicate a coercion. Among these verbs, ἀνιστάναι does not simply mean "to expel" but "to make stand up, so as to make leave." The word ἀποστέλλειν does not signify "to send off" but

“to be snatched up and sent away.” In addition, the verbs μεταστάναι and μετοικίζειν carry the idea of mass action. More than simple movement, these verbs express the result of involuntary action imposed by some authority. The nouns for “exodus” or “mass departure” under force of circumstances or of tyrants, ἀνάστασις (Thuc. 2.14.2) and ἐξαγωγή (Hdt. 7.156), are rare. Once again, authors mostly employ verbs, and the prefixes serve to express the violent obligation of leaving, while nominal second elements do not necessarily carry the idea of movement. Those who are forced to leave in exile are normally defined by active or passive participles of the verbs ἐκβάλλειν and ἐκπίπτειν, respectively “those who were expelled” and “those who were driven out,” or by other verbal forms that indicate the action by which tyrants drove out and alienated them (Forsdyke 2005; Montiglio 2005, 30–37; Garland 2014). Often authors use the verb φεύγειν/φυγεῖν as well as the word φυγάδες. This last term appears in Diodorus to indicate all of the “fugitives” of the different Sicilian cities (11.76.2; 12.83.1), but is used by other authors to designate “people in flight” and the “banished” (Hdt. 1.150; 3.138; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.10). Sometimes these people return, and Diodorus again uses the word φυγάδες to indicate all of the Greek exiles that Alexander the Great called back in 324 BC.¹⁴

Personal Mobility

Greeks also had an appetite for travel for pleasure. By Herodotus’s (1.29–30) account, after a sea voyage (the verb ἐκπλεῖν indicating the action of setting sail, leaving by boat) Solon arrived (ἀφίκνεσθαι) at the palace of Croesus, at the time when his reign was at its height and Sardis, flourishing and rich, saw visits from all the sages of Greece. The pretext (πρόφασις) for this voyage was a simple curiosity for knowledge, but more specifically to see the world (θεωρίη).¹⁵ However, as is soon explained, this trip is the means for Solon to avoid revoking one of the laws he instituted in Athens. With Solon’s arrival, Croesus emphasizes his wanderlust (πλάνη) that pushes him to visit new countries.¹⁶ This word expresses travel undertaken for the pleasure of wandering and travel itself. In a chapter of the *Politics* dedicated to natural resemblances, Aristotle speaks of those who tour the world (... τινὲς τῶν τὰς τῆς γῆς περιόδους πραγματευομένων) without going into any more detail (Arist., *Pol.* 2.3.9). During the Hellenistic era, “travel amateurs” existed and are spoken of as such by their contemporaries. The term φιλαπόδημος seems to have been invented by Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.3.2) to describe a Spartan, Dercylidas, sent out all across Greece to announce the victories of his king, Agesilaus. Dercylidas is described as pleased because he is so fond of travel. Thereafter, we encounter this word in Dicaearchus of Messina, who calls the Chalcidians and those living on the island of Euboea, among other things, “travel amateurs,” φιλαπόδημοι (59.30, 261). Pollux mentions this term in his *Onomasticon* (6.168). We find it as well in Artemidorus (*Onirocriticon* 1.80), among a list of professional travelers (navy commanders, pilots, merchants) and vagabonds. Another family of terms, ἄλητης/ἀλάεσθαι, identify the condition of being a vagabond, whether by choice or by necessity.¹⁷

At the end of the Bronze Age, pushed by commercial interests, the Greeks traced Phoenician routes, moving east and west across the Mediterranean (Giangiulio 1996, 497–502; Domínguez 2007, 132–155). Beginning in the Archaic period, by then a world

of cities generated by their own colonization, they traded with other Greeks and locals from the most distant cities. The terms normally used to identify commerce and merchants are ἐμπορία, ἐμπόριον, and ἔμπορος.¹⁸ Ἐμπορία as meaning “commerce by sea” is present in Hesiod (*Op.* 646) as well as Herodotus (3.139), though we find it used in Thucydides (1.2.2) to signify commerce in general.¹⁹ The ἐμπόριον is the “place of commerce,” a site not far from the port or the coast, or on an island, arrived at by ship (Thuc. 1.100.2; Hdt. 1.165). It can also designate a place of commerce farther inland (Dion. Hal. 7.20). An ἔμπορος is “one who travels for commercial activities” (Hdt. 2.39; Thuc. 6.31) but can also signify a “wholesale merchant,” (Pl., *Prt.* 313d) as opposed to a κάπηλος or “retail merchant” (Hdt. 2.41). *Emporoi* get around by boats they do not own and often share with other *emporoi*. The ship’s owner is called a *naukleros* (Vélissaropoulos 1980). The verb ἐμπορεύεσθαι evidently expresses the action of “traveling for business” (*Syll.*³ 1166). All of these words derive from πόρος/πείρειν, which indicates the action of “traveling,” whether it is down a river or across a sound, and not from πορεία/πορεύειν. This word derives from the former, and designates the “path” and thus the voyage, especially by land, but also by sea, and not necessarily for commercial reasons. Thucydides recounts that Athens, short of money and cutting costs, immediately sent back the Thracians who arrived after Demosthenes’s departure. Since they were crossing the Euripus Strait (πορεύεσθαι δι’Εὐρίπου), their commander received the order to use the Thracians during their passage to harm Athens’ enemies as much as possible (Thuc. 7.29).

Regarding modes of transport for traders, travelers on land and sea, Herodotus’s (2.178) text on the Greeks in Egypt contains, besides the verb that expresses their arrival in Egypt (ἀφίκνεσθαι), the verb ναυτίλλεσθαι (“to navigate by sea”), which describes those merchants who are only passing through.²⁰ Based on Herodotus’s text, one understands that Greeks in transit gained certain advantages by merit of their trade, such as the ability to honor their gods at sanctuaries predicated on their mobility, but without any particular term to state so.

The orators inform us on the activities of Greek merchants (Pébarthe 2007, 162–166). Their speeches use terms for commercial travel that are taken from the common lexicon for navigation. Demosthenes, in his *Against Lacritus* (3, 20, 25, 28), reports an action mounted by Androcles against Lacritus over a borrowed ship, whose recovery the orator defends. The loan was granted by an Athenian, Androcles, and a Euboean, Nicostratos, to two merchants from Phaselis, Artemo and Apollodorus. The proceedings, however, only concern Androcles against Artemo’s brother, who was probably deceased. Three thousand drachmas were borrowed to mortgage a boat for a voyage from Athens to Pontus and then back again. The term employed only once to indicate this “roundtrip voyage” is ἀμφοτερόπλους; the term ἑτερόπλους designates a “one-way trip,” either going away or returning. In general, however, the author prefers resorting to periphrases, such as εἰς τὸν Πόντον καὶ πάλιν Ἀθήναζε to say a “voyage to Pontus with a return trip to Athens,” or expressions such as ἀφίκνεσθαι δεῦρο for a “return trip.”

The vocabulary for merchant travel is thus mainly connected to sea journeys. The verbs ἀποπλεῖν, ἐκπλεῖν, καταπλεῖν, and συμπλεῖν suggest the idea of making a trip away or back by sea, and their prefixes impart a more specific character: ἀποπλεῖν and ἐκπλεῖν emphasize the moment of departure, while καταπλεῖν indicates the action of arriving by sea, of approaching and making land.²¹

Mercenaries traveled for work (Tagliamonte 1994; Bettalli 1995, 2013; Baker 1999; Trundle 2004). In Sicily, for example, tyrants called on the services of both foreign and Greek soldiers. Foreign sovereigns hired Greek mercenaries in turn, as was the case with the pharaohs Psammetichus I and Psammetichus II in Egypt, and Cyrus the Younger in Asia Minor. The word *epikouros* is used often in Herodotus and Thucydides, and up to the end of the fifth century to indicate a mercenary.²² Its origin is uncertain, but it is likely that we would find it in a lost verb whose root generated the Latin *currere* (“to run”). The word identifying mercenaries would thus carry the idea of movement within itself. Generally, the sources go about describing mercenaries as soldiers who receive a *misthos* (“a payment”) (*misthophoroi*), or they specify their origin. These include the Ionians in Egypt²³ (such as Pedon of Priene, mercenary under Psammetichus I,²⁴ and the mercenaries of Teos, Colophon, and Ialysos under Psammetichus II²⁵), or the Greeks of Asia Minor in Croesus’s army.²⁶ We also find Arcadians among the mercenaries under Gelon and Hieron of Syracuse (Paus. 5.27.1–7). By the end of the fifth century BC the word *xenos* begins to appear in the literary sources to define mercenaries, even if they were Greek soldiers (Diod. 11.48.3; 11.72.3; cf. Gauthier 1971, 57).

In general, the kings who employed mercenaries compelled them to move about with them (ἀνιστάναι specifically means “to make rise,” to draw them from one place to another: Hdt. 2.154; Diod. 1.66). In his *Anabasis*, Xenophon left us the most important account of the activities of Greek mercenaries, specifically those in the service of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes, successor of Darius, the Great King, to overthrow him and assume power. Cyrus calls on the mercenaries of Asia Minor and reunites them in Sardis:

he also sent word to Clearchus to come (ἦκειν) to him with the entire army which he had, and to Aristippus to effect a reconciliation with his adversaries at home and send (ἀποπέμπειν) him the army which he had; and he sent word to Xenias the Arcadian, who commanded for him the mercenary force in the cities, to come (ἦκειν) with his troops ... (Xen., *An.* 1.2.1–2; trans. Brownson 1922).

As the levying of mercenary troops is described in these terms, their different movements are retraced in stages, which are measured in parasangs (Hdt. 2.6; 5.53; 6.42).

In Clearchus’s first speech to his soldiers, who, suspecting that they were being led against the Great King, did not wish to continue the expedition, the general says:

Then when Cyrus’ summons came, I took you with me and set out, in order that, if he had need of me, I might give him aid in return for the benefits I had received from him. But you now do not wish to continue the march with me; so it seems that I must either desert you and continue to enjoy Cyrus’ friendship, or prove false to him and remain with you (Xen., *An.* 1.3.4–5; trans. Brownson 1922).

The verb πορεύεσθαι expresses the act of Clearchus setting out with the mercenaries, which generally means “traveling on foot,” and making a journey by land, as was already observed. Clearchus’s continuation of the trip with the mercenaries is described with the verb συμπορεύεσθαι, whose prefix underlines the troops’ movement as a group.

The word which serves as the title of Xenophon's (*An.*, 1.4.9; 3.1.1) work merits a few observations; ἀνάβασις indicates the rising expedition from the coast of Asia Minor to the inland. Thus the term only properly suits the first part of the account. Thereafter, the Greeks descend to central Asia toward the Euxine Sea, which they reach at Trapezus (κατάβασις), and walk the length of the sea as far as Pergamon (παράβασις). Xenophon was not the first to use the term ἀνάβασις, but he was the first to lend it this technical sense of a "march toward the interior."²⁷ Xenophon and other authors use it to designate the "act of mounting a horse" (Xen., *Eq. mag* 3.11), the "summit of a mountain" (Hdt. 7.223; Thuc. 7.42; Xen., *An.* 4.1.10), the "ascent of a ramp in a tower" (Hdt. 1.181), or the "waters of a river" (Diod. 1.36.7 referring to the Nile). The term κατάβασις is used by Xenophon (*An.* 5.2.26; 5.2.28; 5.5.4) to describe the mercenary troops' march from central Asia to the coast of the Euxine Sea. Other authors generally use it to indicate a "descent," a "downward path,"²⁸ but also, for example, the "descent to hell" (Hdt. 7.223). The word παράβασις normally defines the act of "marching" and "crossing" (Plut. *Phil.* 60); it can signify "to make a digression" (Strab. 1.2.2) or "a deviation" (Arist., *Pol.* 1307b33); in comedy, it designates the "act of advancing," in particular the staging of the chorus who advance toward the public. In Xenophon the word designates the mercenaries' journey, as they skirt the southern coast of the Euxine Sea all the way to Pergamon (Xen., *An.* 7.8.26).

In describing the movement of those soldiers called on by pharaoh or foreign king, Herodotus and Xenophon borrow verbs that express displacement from one place to another in a common and standard manner, even in different contexts. No particular term, however, is used to describe this type of movement, except perhaps the word *epikouros*, which originally could define someone who marches against an enemy. On the other hand, it is interesting to note how mercenaries become *xenoi*; even Greeks are foreigners, probably in relation to the person who hires them. Certain terms can take on a more technical definition: the words ἀνάβασις, κατάβασις, and παράβασις are used in Xenophon to indicate the direction of his soldiers' march. However, these words, which are not used in this sense by other authors (save Diodorus and Arrian), would never attain the status of terms linked specifically to mercenaries' movements.

Professionals who possess a *techné* and practice their rare and specialized skills everywhere in the Greek world, pass from place to another. Among them are the λιθουργοί ("stonemasons"),²⁹ sculptors and construction workers. The mobility of these craftspeople depends on their reputation, which grows with their travels. Their mobility is propelled by the artisans' own self-promotion and city patronage (Jockey 2009, 139). Can we isolate a specific vocabulary for their movements? We find an interesting reference in Pausanias to the wanderings of the mythical artisan, and stoneworker *par excellence*, the famous Daedalus: because of his art, his taste for travel (ὁμοῦ τῇ τέχνῃ τῆς πλάνης τε εἵνεκα), and his misfortunes, he won fame the world over.³⁰ His voyages, undertaken for the simple pleasure of wandering (πλάνη), figure among the causes of his celebrity.

Nevertheless, the mobility of stonemasons is attested mainly in inscriptions, particularly the texts that record building expenses for the great Greek sanctuaries. Attic records very often reveal the geographic origins of workforces, by way of two clues: the demotic that qualifies the artisan-citizens, and the formula οἰκῶν ἐν for artisan-metics (Feyel 2006, 341–168). In this way we discover that most of the artisans who worked on sanctuaries in

Eleusis and Athens (the Erechtheion) came from Megara, Corinth, and Boeotia, even if there were some exceptions (from Samos or Chios). By contrast, the building records for the sanctuaries at Delphi and Delos mention artisans coming from the most distant regions of the Greek world: a Crotoniate at Delphi (*CID* II, 51, ll. 6–10), and at Delos there was one artisan each from Byzantium (*Délos* 116), Sinope (*Délos* 629), and Mytilene (*Délos* 63). The texts thus inform us that both locals and foreigners worked at these construction sites (Feyel 2007, 90–91, figures 1–2). Despite being named at multiple sites, these artisans are often unknown. However, some very well-known elite artists were also itinerants. Scopas of Paros (fourth century BC) was the traveling sculptor *par excellence* (Palagia 2000, 209–225), as attested in literary sources which permit us to imagine his travels. Ethnic signatures on works found in sanctuaries illustrate the wide demand for these masters, who roam to different building sites (Marcadé 1953–1957), without any specific vocabulary to qualify their movement.

Physicians, another category of Greeks possessing a *techné*, were in demand all across the Greek world (Phillips 1981; Jouanna 1995, 1997; van der Eijk 1999; Samama 2003; Massar 2005). They traveled extensively, pausing for one or several years, before setting off again. In his treatise *The Best Physician is also a Philosopher* (3), Galen of Pergamon teaches us that Hippocrates traveled a lot, saying that all good physicians must travel and visit all of Greece. Travel is thus part of the life and career of a good physician who wants to increase their knowledge and salary (Jouanna 1997, 813). Among the literary sources, Herodotus (3.129–132), writing about an accident suffered by Darius I, recounts how Democedes of Croton became court physician to the Great King in the sixth century BC. He was Aegina's public physician and, because of his renown, he was hired with a much higher salary as Athens' public physician. The next year he was hired by Polycrates of Samos, for a yet higher salary, just before becoming court physician for Darius and Atossa.

Epigraphic texts, however, are our primary source of information on these professional travelers. The Athenian decree for the physician Phidias of Rhodes, dating to 304–303 BC, tells us that this doctor left Rhodes for Athens, where his devotion won him public praise (Samama 2003, n. 7). An honorific decree teaches us that Apollonius of Miletus, at the end of the second century BC, was present as a physician in Tinos (Samama 2003, n. 165), though he had traveled previously and worked as a public physician on other islands (l. 7 : ἀποδημῶ[ν τε] καὶ δημοσι ἐ[ν ἄλλαις νήσοις...]) (Samama 2003, n. 166). The honorific decree in Gortyn for Hermias of Kos informs us that he, after working as Gortyn's public physician, having been elected and sent out by the city of Kos (l. 2–4: χε[ιρ]ο[τ]ονηθὲν ὑφ' ὁμίῳν καὶ ἀποστευνθὲν παρ' ἁμὲ ἰα[τρ]ός), requested permission to return home (l. 17–18: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπευθὼν ἐπὶ τὰν ἐσκλησίαν | ἀξίωσε ἁμὲ ἀφέμεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰν ἰδίαν...) (Samama 2003, n. 126). Just as Herodotus does not use any specific word in reference to Democedes, and describes his movements by listing which cities called for him at different times, in the same manner we find in inscriptions the verb ἀποδημεῖν, which normally indicates the act of “moving away,” or “being away from home” – in other words, traveling (as seen in Apollonius's inscription). We also find the verbs ἀποστέλλειν, “to send off” (there is always the strong idea of separation with the prefix ἀπο-), and ἀφιέναι, “to let go,” to express the act of returning home (such as in Hermias's inscription). Physicians are thus generally called on by somebody, be it a city or a king, and the employer releases them to set out for another destination or return home. The term περιοδευτής, used by

such later authors as Galen and Athanasius, signals the rounds a physician would make from patient to patient.³¹

Athletic contests, especially the Panhellenic games, involved great travel. Athletes, who mostly came from aristocratic families, found their names inscribed on lists of winners or on monuments commemorating their victories in all of the sanctuaries of the *periodos*: Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus of Corinth. *Periodos* to begin with names a “way around” something.³² In Aristotle, the word signifies a “trip around a country” or “world tour.”³³ He also uses it more specifically to name the “tour of sanctuaries” made in Attica by the Athenian *ephebes* and their keepers (Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 42.3) to understand the outline and extent of the territory they will have to defend. So when did the term *periodos* gain the sense of a “complete tour of the four great Panhellenic sanctuaries,” on the occasion of these international gatherings that cycled every four years? It seems to have first appeared in later literary sources, probably first in Arrian (end of the first/beginning of second century AD). In the *Manual of Epictetus* (3.25.5), on the subject of happiness, the author says that the struggle for happiness is not like that of an athletic contest; if you give up, you can begin the fight again as soon as you find your bearings and regain your strength, rather than have to wait four years for the “return of new Olympic contests.” In his *Deipnosophistae*, Athenaeus of Naucratis (10.415a) speaks about Herodorus of Megara, who, during the siege of Argos by Antigone’s son Demetrios, succeeded in exciting the soldiers’ zeal by playing his two trumpets; he had apparently been “ten times the victor in the circuit of sacred games” (ἐνίκησε δὲ τὴν περίοδον δεκάσις).

The word *periodos* also appears in inscriptions. In an Amphictyonic law from 380 BC it refers to the inspection of sacred land and does not yet relate to the tour of Panhellenic sanctuaries (*CID* IV.1). We encounter the latter sense in inscriptions from the Imperial era: one inscription in Athens mentions a sprinter who won at the Panhellenic and Panathenaic games, accomplishing a “complete period” (*periodos teleios/a*) (*BÉ* 1987, 572). The word *periodonikes*, which designates an “athlete who won at all four Panhellenic contests,” is used by Philo of Alexandria (*Virt.* 193). He observes that having noble parents means nothing for whomever is not noble in spirit, as one who suffers a long bout of consumption cannot find any solace in the family reputation for athletic prowess among the victors at Olympia and all the contests of the *periodos* (ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις ἢ περιόδονίκαις). One funerary inscription from the Imperial period honors a Seleucid citizen, whose victories yielded him multiple citizenships and who is the first to accomplish a “complete period” (here the phrase probably refers to the games at Olympus, Rome, Delphi, Nemea, Athens, the Isthmus, etc.) (*BÉ* 1993, 602).

Other forms of movement tied to sanctuaries, such as oracle consultation, did not produce any particular vocabularies. The tablets at Dodona (Lhôte 2006) or the references to Delphi’s oracles in literary sources (Parke and Wormell 1956) simply show that these sanctuaries provoked mobility for many centuries. One significant example from Delphi is the many consultations made with the Pythian oracle preceding the foundation of Cyrene in Libya, as recounted by Herodotus (4.150–156). In the Theraean version of the story, Grinnus, the king of Thera, travels to Delphi twice. On the first occasion, he must provide a hecatomb, as was normal practice when consulting this oracle. Though he probably came to interrogate the oracle on questions concerning Thera, in an unexpected response, the Pythia ordered him to found a colony. The verb indicating his first trip to Delphi is

ἀφικνέσθαι, and his return ἀπέρχεσθαι. For the second visit, Herodotus does not even use a verb for movement and instead, in paraphrasis, he relates how the Pythia responded to the Theraeans by insisting that they found Cyrene. The same words appear in the Cyrenean version, in which Battus leaves three times to consult the oracle.

On the occasion of Panhellenic contests, artists also traveled to sanctuaries. Certain ones are cited as members of associations, and as such traveled all over the Greek world (Hunter and Rutherford 2009). A certain Pythocles, known from an epigram carved into a statue base in the Peloponnese that his brother had erected for Hermione (*IG* IV.682), was a musician who held the position of choral leader for the association of Dionysiac *technitai*³⁴ in several *Soteriae* at Delphi. He also won a combined 12 prizes at the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games, though he achieved victories in musical contests in Boeotia and outside of Greece as well. The inscriptions of the artists' victories permit us to follow their movements from one sacred place to another across the Greek world.

There were also the *theoroi*, traveling sanctuary representatives who were received by the *theorodokoi* of different cities (Perlman 1995, 2000). No specific vocabulary exists for their movements: it is the mechanisms and circuits of their travel that are clues, through a linguistic formula, which puts the name of the city in the dative, preceded by ἐν, and the name and patronym of the *theoredokos* in the nominative. Among the epigraphic documents that constitute the bulk of evidence on this subject, the Hellenistic "Great List,"³⁵ which lists the names of the cities and *theorodokoi* that received Delphi's *theoroi*, is a particularly reliable tool for retracing these officials' itineraries.³⁶ As for ambassadors (Habicht 2001), a third-century BC inscription, which stresses the dangers and difficulties of the voyages these people faced, even during trips of tens of kilometers, such as the route from Istros during the rule of the Getic king Zalmodegikos (*IGLSkythia* I.8), demonstrates how no specific lexicon existed to describe these movements.

The same goes for cultural mobility, the last category of personal mobility. Starting especially in the Hellenistic period, a large number of youths, wishing to broaden their knowledge, made way to the cultural centers of the Greek world (Natali 1996). Teachers, who conducted their lessons in gymnasiums and schools both public and private, traveled as well from all over (*Insc. Perg.*, 12, ll. 7–9, 34–36; *IG* XII.9.235, ll. 9–13; cf. Massar 2007). Athens was renowned for its philosophical schools (Habicht 2000, 123–129). Isocrates (*Antid.* 224, 226) speaks of his pupils who crossed the sea (πλεῖν) to see him, and remarks on how disposed they are to spend money and take risks, coming all the way from Sicily or Pontus for instruction. The Athenian ephebic lists, citing foreigners with their ethnicities after the Athenians, meaning that they did not (or at least did not always) have citizenship (Perrin-Saminadayar 2005, 2007, 470–475), show the importance of this cultural mobility for young people. Among the foreigners cited on the Athenian ephebic lists, between 123–122 and the end of the first century BC, seven Heracleots are recorded, probably from Pontus (Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, 476, table 22). One Heracleot is also found on the list of ephebes for the years 119–118 at Delos, as well as one Sinopean in 123–122, and yet other young people from around the Euxine Sea in the same years (Dana 2011, 51–53). These documents are very important for revealing the cultural rapport between Athens and the Euxine Sea (*IG* II².1008–1009, 1011; *IDélos*, 2593, 2598). It is possible that these youths arrived in Athens from their Pontic cities following a veritable network. Or, for example, we could imagine that they got around because their

families traveled for work (Dana 2011, 51–53). In all cases, the vocabulary used in these texts, which are nothing more than long lists of names with ethnicities, shows that no precise term was prescribed for the movement of these ephebes. The mention of ethnicity permits specialists interested in cultural relations between Greek cities to infer that travel of this category was frequent.

Conclusion

Behind a unifying [modern] vocabulary lies a great diversity of realities ... the multi-dimensionality of travel, and the multiplicity of foreign regimes all implicate the concepts we use to identify these phenomena. Hence the necessity of starting from the ancient vocabulary (Moatti 2012, 42).

The present contribution, born out of a necessity to study the causes of ancient Greek mobility and to understand how conscious these people were of the importance and scope of this phenomenon, is an attempt to learn if the ancient vocabulary on this subject is richer, more varied, and more precise than the modern one.

Through the course of this brief review, the principal elements of the question that have emerged are as follows: the Greeks described in literary and epigraphic sources are in incessant motion and the forms their travel take are as varied as their causes. What is evident right away is that there are two large families of mobility: mass migration and individual travel.

Individuals sometimes moved because of a simple desire for travel, a pure curiosity. Travelers also included sanctuary visitors, Greeks who went, for example, to the sanctuaries at Dodona or Delphi seeking answers from oracles to specific questions. Sanctuaries regularly sent out *theoroi* as well to meet people in different Greek cities and announce the sacred festivals, which attracted athletes and artists. Study trips commonly occurred; however, individual mobility was generally related to specific professions such as merchants, as well as mercenaries, stonemasons, physicians, teachers, and any specialists with a *techné* that gave them renown. With a few exceptions, the lexicon generally consists of banal terms for movement and some formulaic phrases about the individual's relocations. The texts do not normally offer any specific terms to distinguish the movements of categories of people, nor the circumstances and status of these foreign traveling specialists (Lonis 1992; Moatti 2004, 2007, 2012) who submitted to identity checks, a practice which is not well described in the sources but has been lucidly studied (Lefèvre 2004). Descriptions show how citizenship was conferred to them in many cities, that their mobility and skills were regularly controlled (Lefèvre 2010), and that the benefits they procured offered stability.

Mass migrations are ordinarily related to situations of necessity or constraint in the frame of political life in a city, of a community. From the Archaic to Hellenistic periods, colonization is the most significant agent of mass movement. The modern vocabulary on this point has proven to be the most problematic, due to the necessity to find a word that generally describes this phenomenon (diaspora, apoikiazation, apoikismos). But one must concede that the Greeks themselves never felt the need to define a normal part of their

everyday life with one generic noun. The word colony, used since the Romans, as well as the word colonization have the double advantage of raising fewer problems, and are in the end more appropriate than the word diaspora.

Forced migration, exile, and the transfer of populations are linked to a variety of situations generating vocabulary which, unspecifically, shows constraint and necessity. While there is an abundant use of verbs expressing the act of making to leave, chasing out, expelling, and forcing to live with a new city's inhabitants (with a particular importance given to prefixes), corresponding nouns are relatively rare. Exiles and the banished are identified by the same words. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that ancient Greeks did not create a specific vocabulary for each form of displacement. Even substantive nouns for indicating general movement are rare: μεταβολαὶ (the act of tossing/being tossed in the middle), μετοικέσεις (the act of living together), and μεταναστάσεις (the act of making to leave together) are all used in different contexts.

The social and sometimes political consequences of such movements help us better understand this phenomenon. The Greeks did not clarify mobility with words for its different forms and conditions. Today scholars face so many difficulties when endeavoring to find precise definitions that describe the movements and status of migrating people. Yet again, we attempt to pass an ancient phenomenon through today's prism, as the following chapters will reveal. Inevitably, the end result is that the words seem deficient or inappropriate.

NOTES

- 1 Translated from the French by Andrei Mihailiuk.
- 2 Finley 1973, 1975, 1976, 1984: by the end of the 1980s, the model proposed by Moses Finley of ancient societies as "face-to-face societies" considered mobility as quantitatively marginal; we knew that there were population movements, colonization in particular, but we did not yet grasp the scope of the phenomenon, not just historically, but politically, socially, technologically, and culturally as well. Cf. Moatti 2012, 39–40.
- 3 The vision of Braudel 1949 was called into question by that of Horden and Purcell 2000. See also Naso 2006.
- 4 Moatti 2012, 42. Malkin (2012, 224–225) underlines the wide application of the word *mobility*, which covers the phenomenon of colonization, but which is applied equally to the displacement of mercenaries, traders, and even seers and wandering poets.
- 5 I use mostly historical sources, and in some rare instances poetry. I am particularly interested in historical actors, without considering the movements of gods, heroes, and other dramatic characters. My analysis of substantives and verbs is mainly based on Chantraine 1999, *ad vv.*, and Liddell and Scott 1996, *ad vv.*, as well as the volumes of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, *ad vv.*, adding my own personal observations on prefixes.
- 6 André and Baslez 1993, 11. I cannot share the authors' opinion that the Greeks naturally had a "calling for travel, linked indissolubly to adventure" (8), since the Greeks traveled mainly for very practical reasons; but I share their idea that travel is a condition that characterizes their everyday life.

- 7 I refer to just a few essential works. For colonization in the Classical period: Gauthier 1973; Bearzot 1995; Brun 2005; Pébarthe 2009. For the Hellenistic period: Cohen 1978, 1995, 2006; Briant 1998; Capdetrey 2007.
- 8 Here are just a handful of titles from a vast bibliography on Archaic colonization. For different aspects of the phenomenon: Osborne 1998; Boardman 1999; Tsatskheladze 2006–2008; De Angelis 2009; 2010; Malkin 2009, 2011. For different regions: Asheri 1979; Bats 1992; Pugliese Carratelli 1996; Grammenos and Petropoulos 2003–2007; van Dommelen 2005.
- 9 For example: Cic., *Cat.* 1.8 (on the Greek colonies founded by consent of the oracle in Asia, Sicily, and South Italy); Liv. 8.24 (Heraclea, *colonia* of Tarentum, and so a colony of a colony); Sall., *Iug.* 19.9 (Cyrene, *colonia Theraeion*).
- 10 Garland 2014, 88–94, with a final lexicon of the words used. Thuc. 2.14.2: the Peloponnesians were about to arrive at Athens, and so the Athenians withdrew the women and children from the countryside. He relates, however, that since the masses were habituated to living in the countryside, the *anastasis* (exodus) was especially difficult.
- 11 Diod. 11.49.1–3. Haillet 2001 prefers not to insist on the value of prefixes (ἀνιστάναι is “to chase,” ἀποστέλλειν “to send”; I choose to translate μετοικίζειν with “to make live with” rather than his “to reinstall”).
- 12 Diod. 11.76.3. Haillet 2001 translates the text’s ἐκτίσαντο as “to found,” a translation which corresponds better with ἐκτίσαντο, the word given in the footnotes. I prefer to translate it as “to take possession.”
- 13 See also Hdt. 1.60–61, to indicate the return of Peisistratus, taken from power for the first time, and Thuc. 8.81.1 for the return of Alcibiades after he leaves Tissaphernes.
- 14 Diod. 18.8.4. For an example in inscriptions, see the *Diagramma* of Ptolemy of Cyrene (Bencivenni 2003, 105–108).
- 15 Legrand 1970 translates πρόφασις as “admitted reason” and θεωρίας as “curiosity.” I prefer “pretext” and “observation.”
- 16 Legrand translates πλάνη as “curiosity,” but I think that, respecting its etymology, one can translate it as “wanderlust.”
- 17 Hdt. 3.52: Periander addresses his son, who prefers the life of a vagabond (βίος ἀλήτης) over staying with his father; Hdt. 4.97: during Darius’s expedition against the Scythians, Cōes advises the king not to destroy a floating bridge on the Istros in case they’re defeated and need to retreat, and to avoid being forced to wander astray (ἀλάεσθαι).
- 18 On commerce, just a few references in a very rich bibliography: Bresson and Rouillard 1993; Gras 1995; Reed 2003; on movement related to commerce: Giangiulio 1996; Domínguez 2007.
- 19 The word πρᾶξις/πρῆξις (Hom., *Od.* 3.72; *Hymn to Apollo* 397) also indicates commerce (Mele 1979) but does not include the idea of movement.
- 20 On the distinction between resident Greeks and Greek merchants in transit, see Bresson 2000, 13–26.
- 21 On the institutional significance of terms such as ἔισπλους, ἔκπλους, etc., see Bresson 2007.

- 22 For example, Arch. fr. 15 and 216; Hdt. 2.163 for 30 000 *epikouroi* under Apries, on the march against Amasis; Hdt. 3.120, for the mercenaries of Polycrates of Samos; Thuc. 6.55.3 for the mercenaries of the tyrant Hippias; maybe Hdt. 6.39 for the mercenaries enrolled by Miltiades; Xenophon, however, only uses the word twice, *An.* (4.5.1; 5.8.21).
- 23 Greek mercenaries were in the service of the Saites up until Egypt's conquest by the Persians in 525, see Laronde 1995; Agut-Labordère 2012.
- 24 *SEG* XXXVII.994; Masson and Yoyotte 1988.
- 25 Bernand and Masson 1957; Braun 1982, 50 (with a dating error: when Braun says that Psammetichus II ruled from 595 to 589 and dates his expedition, during which he employed these mercenaries, to the third year of his reign, he says 591 and not 593).
- 26 Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.9–11: there were also Thracian, Phoenician, and Assyrian mercenaries, etc.; Xenophon writes that the Ionians, Aeolians, and just about all of the Greeks settled in Asia Minor were forced to march with Croesus (σύν Κροίσῳ ἡναγκάσθαι ἔπεσθαι).
- 27 Arrian uses this word as the title to his *History of Alexander*, probably in reference to the ascent of Alexander's army toward the innermost regions, and certainly influenced by Xenophon, whom he admired and was inspired by; cf. Brunt 1976, xiii–xiv.
- 28 Polyb. 3.54.5 (the route descending the Alps) and 11.15.7 (the slope of a ditch); Diod. 14.25.7 (the path heading toward the sea) and 14.28.5 (the access corridors in villages for beasts of burden), in reference to the same expedition by Cyrus the Younger against the Great King.
- 29 Hellmann 2000; Jockey 2009. The word is found, for example, in Thuc. 4.69.2; 5.82.6.
- 30 Paus. 7.4.5. In Casevitz and Lafond (2000) πλάνη is curiosity for travel; I prefer translating it as “wandering” or “a taste for, pleasure in wandering.” See n. 16 above.
- 31 It is in this sense, rather, that one probably ought to interpret this word, behind which Jouanna (1997) sees traveling physicians with their transfers from city to city.
- 32 Hdt. 1.163: Arganthonius gives money to the Phocaeans so they can surround their city with a wall, the perimeter (περίοδος) of which measures a good number of stades; Hdt. 5.49: “Aristagoras, according to the report of the Lacedaemonians, produced a bronze tablet, whereupon the whole circuit (περίοδος) of the earth was engraved.”
- 33 Arist., *Pol.* 2.3.9 on natural resemblances: “This indeed is said by some of those who write of travels round the world.”
- 34 On these artistic associations (choral leaders, musicians, actors, poets, etc.) that formed after the death of Alexander the Great, see Le Guen 2001; Aneziri 2003. See also *IG* V.2.118.
- 35 Karila-Cohen 2005. Three lists of *theorodokoi* exist in Delphi: the first, fragmentary, is from the fifth century (Daux 1949, 12); the other two are from Hellenistic times, among them the “Great List” of 650 lines, which indexes 300 cities (Plassart 1921).
- 36 See Dana 2011, 91–95, for a very interesting discussion of the route along the coast of the Euxine Sea.

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FURTHER READING

The literary and epigraphic sources that form the basis of the reconstruction put forth in this chapter always repay further reading for the rich insights they offer on individual and mass mobility in the ancient Greek world. Several of the items cited in the References above provide ideal secondary reading on various aspects of the subject. The starting point, as emphasized in this chapter, is all the sole-authored and edited works of Claudia Moatti. Reliable general accounts in English approach the question of wandering among the ancient Greeks in various ways: see in particular Garland 2014; Hunter and Rutherford 2009; Montiglio 2005. On the foundation of cities, see Malkin 2009.