

McDONALD INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS

An Age of Experiment: Classical Archaeology Transformed (1976–2014)

Edited by Lisa Nevett and James Whitley



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with contributions from
Susan E. Alcock, Giovanna Ceserani, Alexandra Coucouzeli, Thomas W. Gallant, Michael Given, Jonathan M. Hall, Paul Halstead, Sturt W. Manning, Ian Morris, Lisa Nevett, Robin Osborne, Sara Owen, Gillian Shepherd, David B. Small, Jeremy Tanner and James Whitley

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Chapter 16

Hellenic Homelands: The Greek Diaspora, Ancient and Modern[1]

Jonathan Hall (University of Chicago)

It is with good reason that Gregory Jusdanis (1991, 209) has noted that 'Greece as a nation-state is to a large extent a creation of the Hellenic diaspora'. With the Ottoman conquest of the Peloponnese in AD 1460, scholars and political and military leaders of the former Byzantine Empire were forced to seek refuge in Europe and especially Italy, where some 10,000 Greeks are attested at Venice by the end of the fifteenth century (Kostantaras 2006, 40; Zakynthinos 1976, 115–7). From the seventeenth century, a new wave of emigration pushed towards Hapsburg territories – notably Vienna, which eventually succeeded Venice as the foremost cultural and economic centre of the Greek diaspora – while by the late eighteenth century, Greek communities could be found scattered from Liverpool to Calcutta (Katsiardi-Hering 2008; Kitromilides 2013, 55–6; Manoussakas 1991; Zakynthinos 1976, 120–8).

Many of the emigrés were prosperous merchants, who used their wealth to fund scholarships for Greek students at western universities, to establish libraries and schools both inside and outside Ottoman territories and to finance printing presses that would disseminate scholarship and information in the Greek language (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002, 158; Koumarianou 1973, 69). In their host communities, exposure to Enlightenment ideas about nationalism provoked among Greek-speaking elites a growing consciousness of a distinctively Greek people (Frangos 1973, 90; Hatzopoulos 2009, 81). One of the better-known examples is Adamantios Korais, born in Smyrna in 1748 to a merchant father of Chiot origins. After an unsuccessful venture as the junior partner in an Amsterdam import-export firm, Korais left for Montpellier in 1782 to study medicine and, upon the completion of his studies six years later, moved to Paris where he spent the rest of his life editing and publishing Greek texts of ancient authors in a series entitled *Elliniki Vivliothiki*. Among his correspondents were Jeremy Bentham and Thomas Jefferson (Augustinos 2008; Kitromilides 2010, 214; Kostantaras 2008, 702). In an address, delivered to the Société des Observateurs de l'Homme on 6 January 1803, Korais declared:

> La nation contemple pour la première fois le spectacle hideux de son ignorance, et frémit en portant ses regards sur l'espace immense qui la sépare de la gloire de ces ancêtres. Cependant cette douloureuse découverte ne jette point les Grecs dans le désespoir: 'Nous descendons des Grecs', se sont-ils dit tacitement, 'il faut tâcher de redevenir dignes de ce nom, ou ne plus le porter'. (Korais 1983 [1803], 60)

Like many other Greek intellectuals, Korais believed that liberation would ultimately be secured through enlightened education rather than insurrection and, when the War of Independence broke out in the spring of 1821, he was among those who thought that it was premature (Clogg 1976 xx; Kitromilides 2010, 223; Mourdoukoutas 2010, 237–8). In this respect, he differed greatly from his contemporary, Rigas Velestinlis. Born and educated in Thessaly, Rigas became the secretary to Alexandros Ypsilantis, *dragoman* (chief interpeter) to the Ottoman Porte in Constantinople, before entering the service of the *hospodar* of the Danubian Principality of Wallachia – a position that, since 1709, had regularly been conferred on 'Phanariot' Greeks, so named because their families resided in the Phanar district of Constantinople, around the seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Kitromilides 2013, 31–2; Kostantaras 2006, 72; Mango 1973, 42–3). Profoundly inspired by the French Revolution, Rigas was one of the first Enlightenment writers to employ the term *ethnos* to denote not only a Greek nation but also a potentially realizable state (Myrogiannis 2012, 112).

While travelling from Vienna, where there is reason to believe that he was engaged in revolutionary activities, he was arrested by the Austrians in Trieste and handed over to the Ottoman authorities, who had him executed in Belgrade in 1798 (Clogg 1976, xxi; Kitromilides 2013, 212–7; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002, 215–20).

As a result of Rigas' widely disseminated revolutionary tracts, his violent death was treated as an early act of martyrdom for the Greek national cause and his legacy loomed large in the foundation, in Odessa in 1814, of the *Filiki Etairia* ('Friendly Society') (Dakin 1973a, 41). Modelled in part on freemasonry and in part on some rather muddled views about the ancient Eleusinian Mysteries, the *Filiki Etairia* was a secret revolutionary society that sought to mobilize Greeks from the diaspora as well as from Ottoman occupied territories. After repeated but unsuccessful attempts to offer the leadership of the society to Count Ioannis Kapodistrias, a Greek from Corfu who had become a foreign minister to the Russian Tsar Alexander I, the mantle was eventually taken up by Alexandros Ypsilantis, the grandson of Rigas' employer, whose proclamation to revolt on 24 February 1821 – strongly opposed by the more cautious Kapodistrias – triggered the War of Independence (Clogg 1976; Woodhouse 1973). Of the more than 1000 members of the *Filiki Etairia* that can be identified, roughly half described themselves as merchants (Frangos 1973, 87). They were, however, largely failing or bankrupted merchants and it may be, as George Frangos (1971, 291) has suggested, that they 'found a solution to their alienation in the promise of a nation-state that would recognize them as its redeeming sons'.

In recent decades the term 'diaspora', initially employed to describe expatriate communities such as the Jews, Africans, Armenians and Irish, has come to be applied to various categories of displaced people, including exiles, political and economic refugees, alien residents and minorities more generally. In an attempt to impose some sort of definitional discipline, Robin Cohen (2008, 18) has drawn up a typology to include what he terms victim, labour, imperial, trade and deterritorialized diasporas. Yet, as William Safran (1999, 265) has noted, 'With this comprehensive typology in mind, one may well ask: What ethnic community that has migrated, or that consists of descendants of those who have done so, is *not* a diaspora?' Furthermore, such a classification can be misleading to the extent that expatriate communities may partake of features that belong to more than one category. As Cohen (2008, 25; cf. Gruen 2002, 3) himself points out, while the Jews are often considered the prototypical 'victim' diaspora, '[t]he voluntarist component in the history of Jewish migration should also not be overlooked'. In the case of the Greeks, the fifteenth-century dispersal would certainly categorize them as a 'victim' diaspora. From the mid-seventeenth century, however, mercantile motives become more prevalent and they could just as easily be described as a 'trade' diaspora: indeed, the Hungarian word for 'a Greek' – *görög* – came to be used of traders in general (Zakynthinos 1976, 121–3) while in Greek prose works of the nineteenth century, 'diaspora is inextricably linked with *emporion*, "commerce"' (Leontis 1997, 181).

There are four respects in which expatriate Greeks of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries qualify as a diaspora in a readily recognizable sense (Table 16.1).[2]

Firstly, there was, as we have seen, a dispersal of Greek-speakers to more than one locality – a vital

Table 16.1. *Characteristics of diasporas according to Safran (1991, 83–4) and Cohen (2008, 17)*

Safran	Cohen
• Dispersal from an original 'centre' to two or more 'peripheral' regions	• Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions or the expansion from a homeland in search of work, trade or colonial ambitions
• Feeling of alienation or insulation from host community	• Troubled relationship with host societies
• Belief that ancestral home is the true home to which, under the right conditions, one's descendants would (or should) return	• Idealization of the real or imagined homeland. Development of a return movement
• Retention of collective myth, vision or memory of original homeland	• Collective memory and myth about the homeland
• Commitment to the maintenance or restoration of the original homeland	• Collective commitment to maintenance, restoration, or even creation of homeland
• Relationship to homeland defines ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity	
	• Strong long-term ethnic group consciousness based on distinctiveness and a common history, culture, religion or fate
	• Sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries
	• Possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism

criterion that distinguishes the diaspora from the more vague, and often more restricted, phenomenon of migration. Secondly, there are indications that Greeks of the diaspora experienced a degree of alienation within their host communities. On the one hand, Korais' address to the Société des Observateurs de l'Homme (see above) appears to have been provoked by what he regarded as slanders perpetrated against co-nationals by Corneille de Pauw's *Recherches philosophiques sur les Grecs* of 1788 (Kostantaras 2008, 710–11). On the other, his penchant for westernizing fashions – much criticized by Stamatis Petrou, his clerk in Amsterdam (Augustinos 2008, 180–1) – could be read as an attempt to avoid being stigmatized. Interesting in this respect is a tract, published in Italy in 1806 under the title *Elliniki Nomarchia*, which lambasts diaspora Greeks: 'so little do they care for our homeland (πατρίδα) that most of them make every effort to imitate the bad morals of foreigners (ἀλλογενῶν), so as not to be recognized as Hellenes'. The anonymous author goes on to claim that, despite desperate attempts at assimilation, such Greeks are despised by their hosts and scorned, dishonoured and robbed by their foreign wives (Anonymous 1957 [1806], 4.7; cf. Clogg 1976, 106–17; Kostantaras 2008, 705–6).

Thirdly, diasporas tend to charter their ethnocommunal consciousness through a spatial conceptualization of core and periphery, wherein the core – i.e. the homeland, real or imagined – is deemed to exert a centripetal force that ideally encourages the desire to return. In reality, many of the wealthier Greeks of the diaspora – including Korais – did not return to Greece after independence (Clogg 1973, 16; Frangos 1973, 93; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002, 201; Kostantaras 2006, 138–40) but the expectation was certainly there. The *Elliniki Nomarchia* bluntly calls upon Hellenes to 'return home immediately' (Anonymous 1957 [1806], 4.7) while, in his proclamation to revolt, Ypsilantis called upon those 'fellow kinsmen (ὁμογενεῖς), serving as soldiers and statesmen in foreign courts' to 'rush towards the great and illustrious contest that has now opened up and pay the tribute that is owed to the homeland (τὴν πατρίδα)' (Xodilos 1964, 24–8; cf. Clogg 1976, 202).

Finally, the homeland's centrality to diaspora identity is recurrently proclaimed through myths and collective memories, however fictive. In the case of the Greeks of the diaspora, these myths almost invariably revolved around the classical past. Thus, at the end of his proclamation, Ypsilantis asks his followers 'to summon anew freedom to the classical land of Hellas' and invokes the memory of a host of ancient heroes, including Themistokles, Leonidas and the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The importance of the classical past to Greeks of the diaspora is already attested almost a century earlier in the *Geographia Palaia kai Nea* of Metropolitan Meletios, originally published in Venice in 1728. In reference to ancient Athens, Meletios notes:

> To her ran a multitude of men, whether to learn or to teach; for Hellas occupied the central place of the world and Attike the centre of Hellas and Athens the centre of Attike, since this city was truly the residence of the wise, the Hellas of Hellas'. (Meletios 1807 [1728], 305)

This pastiche of Isokrates' *Panegyrikos*, Aelius Aristeides' *Panathenaïkos* and the epitaph that is supposed to have surmounted Euripides' grave offers a clear example of what I have elsewhere (Hall 2002, 202–3) termed an 'Athenoconcentric' conception of Greek culture that first emerges in the fifth century BC. What interests me more here, though, is that Meletios' concentric circles not only zoom in spatially on Athens and Attike but also spiral back in time, orienting his readers to the Hellenic heartland of a golden age.

While it would be grossly misleading to suggest that the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Ottoman occupied territories were unaware of the classical past, there are indications that it played less of a role in their collective identity than it eventually would among Greeks of the diaspora. For many, the hegemony of, first, the Makedonians and, then, the Romans constituted an unbridgeable gulf that separated contemporary society from the classical age – a challenge that would only be resolved definitively in the middle decades of the nineteenth century with the more 'continualist' histories of Johann Gustav Droysen and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (Koubourlis 2009; Mouritsen 2009). Most Greeks under Ottoman rule thought of themselves not as 'Hellenes' but as 'Romaioi' – that is, the Roman and Christian inheritors of the (Byzantine) Eastern Roman Empire. Initially, a similar mode of self-identification is attested among Greeks of the diaspora. So, for example, Ioannis Pringos, a Greek from Thessaly who became a successful merchant in Amsterdam, writes in his diary entry for June 12 1768: 'Raise up, my God, another Alexander, who, as he drove the Persians out of Greece [sic], may expel this tyrant so that Christianity will once again shine in Greek lands, as of old' (cited in Clogg 1976, 42–3). Similarly, Emanouil Xanthos, one of the founders of the *Filiki Etairia*, discusses the impending War of Independence as 'the golden opportunity… that Divine Providence has actually defined through the fulfillment of all the predictions and oracles as far

as they concern the liberation of the people and the rekindling of Orthodoxy' (Xanthos 1845, 238). In both cases, it is the Roman Christian past – rather than the classical age – that will be resurrected by means of an almost messianic intervention (Hatzopoulos 2009, 84–8). Indeed, until about AD 1800, Korais himself tended to use the term *Rhomaios* alongside *Christianos*; it was only subsequently that he preferred terms such as *Graïkos* and *Hellen* (Myrogiannis 2012, 140).

Already, however, from the middle of the eighteenth century, there were some diaspora Greeks who were anxious to rehabilitate the ethnonym 'Hellenes' and to construct a direct lineal relationship between past and present. In his *Geographical Grammar*, printed in Venice in 1760, Grigorios Fatzeas had used the term 'Hellenes' to describe contemporary Greek-speaking Christians (Myrogiannis 2012, 97) and in their *Geographia Neoteriki*, published in Vienna in 1791, Daniel Philippides and Grigorios Konstantas (1791, 142) complained that 'today's Hellenes (Οἱ τωρινοὶ Ἕλληνες) are quite improperly named Romans'. The problem was that the term 'Hellenes' – despite some noble attempts to resurrect it in previous centuries by, among others, Gemistos Plethon – had generally become synonymous with 'pagans' (Kaldellis 2007); its adoption, therefore, was symptomatic of a growing secularism among intellectuals of the Greek Enlightenment. Interesting in this respect is a study by Catherine Koumarianou (1973), which shows that, while roughly three-quarters of all Greek books published outside the Ottoman Empire at the start of the eighteenth century concerned themselves with religion, the figure had dropped to 53 per cent by *c.* 1800.

In tandem with the declining importance of the Orthodox faith for some Greeks of the diaspora, there was an effort to invest the Greek language with a greater saliency so that it might serve as a boundary marker, dividing Hellenophones from those of the Sultan's Christian subjects who spoke Slavic or Vlach dialects. In the preface to his *Lexikon tis Gallikis Glossis*, published in Paris in 1809, Grigorios Zalikoglou warns his readers:

> We must guard our language, fellow countrymen (ὁμογενεῖς), if we wish both our race (γένος) and our faith to exist healthily through the ages…Certainly, with all its powers intact, it makes it easier to assume once more the light of our ancestors (προγόνων). It is the only ancestral (πατρικὸς) treasure that remains to us, the only strong core that draws us together and embraces us, the only natural bond that unites us. Countless others share the same faith, but not having the same language, they will never become one body with us. (Zalikoglou 1809, xxx)

Indeed, Rigas had dreamt of a Hellenic Republic with universal citizenship, regardless of race or religion, but bound together by a common (Hellenic) language that would be spoken by Greeks, Turks, Slavs and Vlachs alike (Kitromilides 2013, 220–7; Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002, 219; Myrogiannis 2012, 116–19). Korais also regarded language as the most salient feature of a nation's identity (Myrogiannis 2012, 142). The promotion of language as a diacritical marker of Hellenic identity was to have significant repercussions not only as to how Greek citizenship would be defined in the early years of the fledgeling state (Dakin 1973b; Livanios 2008; Vogli 2009) but also with regard to the long-running debate as to whether the everyday idiom (*dhimotikí*) or a purified, archaizing form (*katharévousa*) of Greek should serve as the national language (Kostantaras 2006, 80–1; Mackridge 2010; Van Dyck 2009).

The word that is most commonly used in texts of the time to describe the Hellenic homeland is *patrís*/*patrída*. Prior to the early nineteenth century, it had almost exclusively been employed to denote one's place of birth or native village. So, in the records of initiation into the *Filiki Etairia*, a certain Dimitrios Mamounis names his *patrída* as the eastern Aegean island of Psara, while another initiate, Ioannis Kaphareus, notes how he was born in Parga, but was 'forced to abandon my most sweet *patrída* and emigrate here to Corfu' – at that time, a British protectorate (Frangos 1973, 96). Yet, in an agreement drawn up with the *Filiki Etairia*, the powerful clans of the Mani peninsula, after first referring to Sparta as their *patrída*, then widen the scope of the term by swearing to 'put into action all that the distinguished leaders of our *genos* order us to do for the common benefit of our Hellenic homeland (πατρίδος μας Ἑλλάδος)' (Frangos 1973, 97; Hatzopoulos 2009, 82). As Paschalis Kitromilides (2013, 89) observes, '[t]he intellectual experience of the Enlightenment involved not only a discovery of secular time in the shape of social and cultural history, but also an expansion and secularization of the consciousness of space'.

Indeed, there are clear traces in the writings of diaspora intellectuals of what, in an entirely different context, Ian Morris (2000, 257–306) has described as 'space-time compression'. The concept was first developed by David Harvey (1989) to explain changes in practices that defined new conditions of capitalism and postmodernity but it is, I would suggest, a common feature of mythical discourse and especially myths that function to charter collective identities and memories.

Take, for example, this comment from Philippides and Konstantas (1791, 126):

> And how much have things now changed so that those who could have been the first nation (ἔθνος) of the world have now been reduced to a pitiful condition on account of civil discord (τὸ στασιῶδες)…almost nothing remains of their homeland save for the discord (τὸ στασιῶδες) which is everywhere their first characteristic.

Time has been compressed here: the authors do not specify exactly when civil discord is supposed to have divided the *ethnos*, only that it is a transhistorical tendency that serves to fuse past and present. But the use of the word *stasiódes* deliberately collapses space because, outside of philosophical prescriptions (e.g. Plato, *Republic* 5.470a–b) or the wistful nostalgia of Second Sophistic authors such as Aelius Aristeides, the ancient Greeks typically used the word *stasis* to describe warfare not *between* individual Greek *poleis*, but *within* them. Much as with the word *patrís*, a term with an originally local meaning has been invested with a more global signification in order to construct a collective memory of a singular Hellenic homeland– a notion that may have been a utopian ideal for some in antiquity but that was never politically realized.

This space-time compression and the rhetoric of 'civil discord' could also give rise to the notion that the diasporic experience was itself a primordial component of the Hellenic condition– in other words, that Hellenes had always been a people of the diaspora:

> The place that the Hellenes of old inhabited was not continuous but interrupted by seas; and this was precisely because a nation (ἔθνος) that was commercial, civilized and free grew to excess and extended itself to other parts; with its colonies around it, it laboured as one (Philippides and Konstantas 1791, 124; cf. Kostantaras 2006, 180).

What Philippides and Konstantas have in mind is evidently the foundation of Greek settlements overseas from the second half of the eighth century BC onwards and, in fact, the notion that this experience constitutes an early example of a diaspora is one that has been suggested by a number of historians and archaeologists in recent decades (e.g. Boillet, Barat and Costanzi 2012; Dominguez 1991, 139; Dominguez 1999, 73; Doukellis 2008; Garland 2014, 34, 49; Irmscher 1991, 2; Kyriakidis 2012; Sakellariou 1991). But is the suggestion correct?

The noun *diaspora* appears for the first time in the Septuagint, the third-century BC Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible (Dufoix 2012). The Jews are warned that, if they turn aside from God's commandments, they will be scattered (ἐν διασπορᾷ) among all the kingdoms of the earth (Deuteronomy 28.25). The warning is subsequently repeated in slightly different words: 'your Lord God will scatter (διασπορεῖ) you among all nations, from one end of the earth to the other' (28.64). For some, the concept – as much as the term that defines it – derives from Alexandrian Judaism (Mélèze-Modrzejewski 1993, 70). Cohen, however, while recognizing that the term is first used in reference to the Jews, emphasizes that it is a Greek word: '[f]or better or for worse, the ancient Greeks launched this conceptual vessel'. (Cohen 2008, 18) This somewhat cryptic comment can only really be understood by reference to the first edition of *Global Diasporas*, where Cohen claimed that

> For the Greeks, the expression was used to describe the colonization of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the Archaic period… Expansion through plunder, military conquest, colonization and migration were the predominant features of the Greek diaspora'. (Cohen 1997, 2)

The omission of these sentences from the second edition was presumably due, in part, to a reviewer who objected not only that the term was never used by ancient authors to refer to Archaic settlements overseas but that, when it *was* used, it carried negative, not positive, connotations (Baumann 2000, 316; cf. Dufoix 2012).

We can, I think, go further. The reason that there was no Archaic Greek diaspora is because, for much of this period, there were no Greeks: in fact, there is credible evidence that the term 'Hellenes', employed to designate a singular, collective ethnocultural identity, did not make its appearance until the early sixth century (Hall 2002, 125–34). Nor does the situation change drastically after that. Although reference is often made to Sokrates' comment in Plato's *Phaido* (109b) that 'we live around the sea like ants or frogs around a pool', Sokrates nowhere implies that he is talking only of Greek cities; his point concerns the enormity of the inhabited earth rather than a commentary on the nature of Greek settlement overseas. One could, perhaps talk about a 'Chalkidian diaspora' or a 'Korinthian diaspora' in the sense that each city is said to have founded multiple settlements throughout the Mediterranean from an early date (Martinez-Sève 2012); to judge from Thucydides (1.25.3), there may– at least in the fifth century–have been especially close

bonds between Korinthian settlements. But we hear of no sense of cultural alienation on the part of these Greek-speaking settlers in their host communities, nor of any expressed desire to return home to the 'Old Country'.

This is not to say, however, that the diasporic *experience* was necessarily alien to the ancient Greeks. While the noun may make its first appearance in the Septuagint to refer to the Jews, a verbal cognate is attested about a century earlier in Plato's *Laws* in connection not with Greeks generally but with Athens specifically. Here, the Athenian interlocutor imagines what would have happened at the time of the Persian invasion of 480 BC had the Athenians not put their trust in their gods, themselves and their ancestral laws:

> They would not have come together in self-defence, nor would they have defended their sanctuaries or tombs or homeland or each other, relatives as much as friends, just as they did; but each one of us would then have been dispersed into tiny units and scattered (διεσπάρε) in all directions. (Plato, *Laws* 699a–d)

Here, the dispersal of the Athenians, as violent and traumatic as it may be, is merely a figment of Plato's counterfactual imagination. But even earlier, Thucydides uses similar language and imagery to describe the Athenian expulsion of the Aiginetans from their island at the outset of the Peloponnesian War: 'And some of them settled there [Thyrea in the eastern Peloponnese], while the others were scattered (ἐσπάρησαν) throughout the rest of Greece'. (Thucydides 2.27.2; noted in Leontis 1997, 181) The concept of the diaspora did, I would suggest, exist in ancient Greece but it did so at the level of the *polis*. And one of the best examples of an ancient diaspora is, despite the protestations of Luraghi (2008, 167–71), that of the Messenians.

Towards the end of the eighth century, the Spartans embarked on a campaign of conquest against neighbouring Messenia; some of the region's inhabitants were enslaved as 'helots' while others managed to escape (Tyrtaios Frg.s 5–6). The Messenians then largely fade from view until the 460s BC when, perhaps capitalizing upon an especially devastating earthquake at Sparta, some of the Messenian helots rose up in revolt and captured Mount Ithome (the so-called Third Messenian War); after a lengthy stalemate, the Spartans permitted them to leave Messenia on condition that they never return. At this point, the Athenians settled some of them as their allies in the Lokrian city of Naupaktos (Thucydides 1.103.3; Diodoros 11.84; Pausanias 4.24.6–7), though Diodoros elsewhere notes that others made their way to the island of Kephallonia as well as to Sicily (15.66.5). Following the Spartan victory in the Peloponnesian War, the Messenians were driven out of Naupaktos: some 3000 fled to Euhesperides in Libya while others sought shelter in Italian Rhegion and in Sicily, some of them earning a living as mercenaries for Dionysios of Syracuse (Diodoros 14.34.3; Pausanias 4.26.2).

At the very least, we can say that there were communities of Messenian expatriates in West Lokris, Kephallonia and Sicily by the 450s BC and in Rhegion and Euhesperides by the end of the fifth century. But refugees seldom choose their place of exile at random. Pausanias (4.26.2) actually states that the Messenians who were expelled from Naupaktos went to Sicily to be 'among their kinsmen' (παρὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς).[3] Many of these would have been settled in the formerly Chalkidian settlement of Zankle, which was captured by Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegion, *c.* 490 BC and renamed Messene/Messana in honour of his own ancestral homeland (Herodotos 7.164.1; Thucydides 6.4.6). The fact that the legend on the city's coins changes from the Ionic form 'Messene' to the Doric form 'Messana' in the middle of the fifth century is probably the reflection of a large influx of Doric-speaking Messenian refugees after the Third Messenian War. But this does not mean that a Messenian community did not exist at Sicilian Messene earlier, especially since diaspora expatriates rarely constitute more than a minority in their host communities (Safran 1991, 83). We hear of no opposition to Anaxilas' decision to change the name of the city from Zankle to Messene, which might lend some credence to Pausanias' testimony (4.23.6–9) that Anaxilas' conquest of the city was aided by Messenian exiles, even if the chronology is hopelessly confused (Musti and Torelli 1994, 237–8). Whether a Messenian community had been resident at Rhegion since the First Messenian War of the eighth century, as both Herakleides Lembos (*Excerpts* 55) and Strabo (6.1.6) – perhaps following Antiochos of Syracuse (Frg. 9 Jacoby)– say, is harder to confirm. But the tradition that the Messenians had spent either 230 (Plutarch, *Moralia* 194b) or 287 (Pausanias 4.27.9) years in exile is clearly not based on generational calculations and cannot be peremptorily dismissed. Certainly, the Messenians who fled Ithome upon the Spartan conquest (Tyrtaios fr. 5) must have found shelter somewhere.

Pausanias (4.27.11) notes that, during their long period of exile, the Messenians 'evidently abandoned none of the customs of their homeland, nor did they cease to speak the Doric dialect, but even in my own day preserve it more accurately than any of the other Peloponnesians'. In fact, linguistic analysis of the Messenian dialect indicates that it was one of the least

innovative of all the West Greek dialects (Bartoněk 1972, 91, 159, 185). If this is not due to a deliberate attempt to archaize the written dialect in the fourth century, then it represents a remarkable propensity on the part of Messenians of the diaspora to safeguard consciously their linguistic inheritance as a fundamental property of their identity (Hall 1997, 180). Quite what other 'customs of the homeland' Pausanias has in mind is less clear, though we do hear of the establishment of a Messenian cult to Herakles Mantiklos at Sicilian Messene (Pausanias 4.23.10, 4.26.3). One of the most important symbols that the Messenians maintained throughout their exile abroad, however, was their name.

Although *hoi Messenioi* is often interpreted as denoting the inhabitants of the region of Messenia, it is more properly a city-ethnic – that is, an adjectival form derived from the name of a *polis*, Messene (Hansen 1996, 195). The reason why the term has been so consistently misinterpreted is that, aside from a possible earlier settlement that stood beneath Mount Ithome and was destroyed in the course of the eighth century (Luraghi 2008, 112), from the seventh century through to its 'refoundation' in 369 BC the city of Messene existed only in mythical discourse (e.g. Pherekydes fr. 117 Jacoby; Hellanikos fr. 124 Jacoby; Euripides fr. 727e Snell). But that is precisely the point. Just as, in the early nineteenth century of our era, evocations of the Hellenes articulated professions of future statehood projected back onto a largely imagined past, so too the Messenians of the diaspora constituted a political community-in-waiting, united not only by collective memories but by their shared commitment to the restoration of their homeland.

Furthermore, as with the nineteenth-century analogue, there are some hints of a difference in nomenclature between Messenians of the homeland and Messenians of the diaspora. The latter certainly referred to themselves as Messenians. The best known example is the massive statue of Nike, dedicated by the Messenians of Naupaktos in front of the temple of Zeus at Olympia to commemorate a victory over the Spartans; the dedicatory inscription (Meiggs 1969, no. 74) is deliberately written in the Doric script, marking it out from the Ionic signature of the artist, Paionios of Mende. For the indentured residents of Messenia, we have– perhaps unsurprisingly – little evidence,[4] but non-Messenian authors do seem to draw a distinction between the Messenians of the diaspora and the helots of Messenia (Thein 2014). Thucydides is the most explicit: in describing the failure of the Peace of Nikias of 421 BC, he describes a Spartan proposal that the Athenians should withdraw from Pylos the 'Messenians and the helots'. That this is not simply hendiadys can be demonstrated by what he continues to relate: 'they persuaded the Athenians to withdraw from Pylos the Messenians and the others – both the helots and those who had deserted from Lakonia'. (5.35.6–7) In other words, the historian draws a clear distinction between 'the Messenians' – i.e. the Messenians of Naupaktos, who had been fighting alongside the Athenians at Pylos – and 'the others', by which he denotes the helots of Peloponnesian Messenia as well as renegade 'perioikic' communities.

This distinction recurs in other passages of Thucydides' work. In describing Pylos, he notes that it lies '400 stades from Sparta… in the land that *once was* Messenia' (4.3.2; cf. 7.57.8). A similar chronological disjuncture appears in his brief description of the helot revolt of the 460s BC: 'Most of the helots were descendants of the old Messenians (παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων... ἀπόγονοι) who were then enslaved, and it is for this reason that all are called Messenians' (1.101.2). One suspects that the need to explain current terminology is also an attempt to correct what Thucydides regards as lax usage and one does not need to search far for an offender: Herodotos twice (9.35.2; 9.64.2) refers to the rebels who revolted in the fifth century as Messenians *prior* to their departure from the Peloponnese (cf. pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.11). Similarly, again in connection with the fifth-century helot revolt, Diodoros (11.84.8) writes:

> For at this time, the Lakedaimonians had been waging war for a considerable period of time against the helots and the Messenians and had finally prevailed over both. They let the latter depart from Ithome under truce, as has been said, but they punished those helots who were most involved in the revolt and enslaved the rest.

I suspect that Thucydides' objection was that those who were allowed to depart from Ithome under truce only began to call themselves Messenians *after* their departure (Hall 2003, 140–2). It still, however, remains the case that Diodoros draws a sharp distinction between the Messenians and the helots.

In 371 BC, the Spartans were decisively defeated on the battlefield of Leuktra and the victorious Theban general Epameinondas proceeded to liberate the helots and re-found the city of Messene. Pausanias (4.26.5) recounts how

> The Thebans dispatched messengers to both Italy and Sicily and to Euhesperides and to any other location where there might be Messenians and summoned them back from every side (παντα χόθεν) to the

> Peloponnese. And they gathered together faster than one might have expected, both out of a yearning for their homeland (τῆς πατρίδος πόθῳ) and on account of the hatred they had always held for the Spartans.

The widespread dispersal (παντaχόθεν) of the Messenians by 369 BC as well as the enthusiasm with which they flocked back to their ancestral homeland should dispel any lingering doubts as to whether they constituted a diaspora. Similar information is presented by Diodoros (15.66.6), whose acknowledged source, Ephoros, was probably in his 30s when the Messenians were repatriated:

> And so finally, at the time under discussion, the Thebans founded Messene at the instigation of Epameinondas, who gathered together the Messenians from every direction (παντaχόθεν), and they restored to them their ancient land.

Regrettably, Diodoros does not go on to explain how the integration of the repatriated Messenians of the diaspora and the recently liberated helots was achieved, but it cannot have been easy. Interesting in this respect is a myth, recounted by Ephoros (fr. 116 Jacoby), which describes the arrival of the first Dorians in Messenia at the end of the Heroic Age:

> Ephoros says that when Kresphontes captured Messene, he divided it into five cities so that he should declare Stenyklaros, which lies in the middle of the territory, his own royal capital while he sent kings to the other cities – Pylos, Rhion, Mesola, and Hyameitis – making the Messenians of equal status (ἰσονόμους) with the Dorians. But because the Dorians became angry, he changed his mind and designated Stenyklaros the only city and gathered together all the Dorians there.

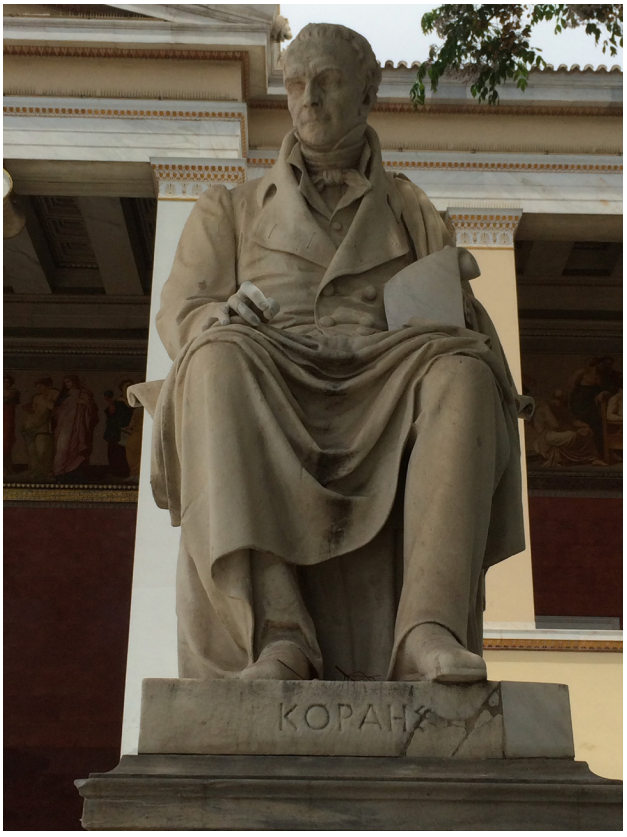
Nikolaos of Damascus (fr. 31 Jacoby) elaborates further, noting that a conflict between the Dorians and the indigenous inhabitants of Messenia (ἐγχώριοι) over equality of landholdings (ἰσόμοιρον) escalated to the point where the Dorians finally killed Kresphontes and all but one of his sons. We cannot, of course, be sure that this myth was a coinage of post-liberation Messenia but it is difficult to imagine what function it may have served earlier and, for what it is worth, Euripides seems to know a different version of the Kresphontes myth (Harder 1985; cf. Pearson 1962, 405). It is, then, tempting to read Ephoros' mythical account of how Kresphontes 'gathered together' (συναγαγεῖν) the newly arrived Dorians in Stenyklaros alongside Plutarch's historical notice (*Life of Pelopidas* 24..9) that the Thebans 'settled together' (συνοικίσαντες) the repatriated Messenians in Ithome – the mountain that seems to be associated with Stenyklaros (Herodotos 9.35.2).

Certainly, integration proved difficult for the newly independent Greece of the 1830s and 1840s (Kitroeff 1991, 234–5). The concept of a Greek nation may have been the creation of diaspora Greeks but, as Marios Hatzopoulos (2009, 82) notes, 'the nationalist call for insurrection was an agenda conceived by intellectuals, financed and propagated by merchants, but left to be executed by peasants'. Some glimpses into the mindset of those who had borne the greater part of the sacrifices during the War of Independence but were inadequately compensated in its aftermath are provided by the memoirs of General Makriyannis.

Yiannis Triantaphyllos – Makriyannis was a nickname, meaning 'Long John' – was born in Avoriti in central Greece (Roumeli) in the last decade of the eighteenth century. A member of the *Filiki Etairia*, he joined in the uprising against the Ottomans in August 1821 and sustained a total of eight war wounds, including two to the head and one to the throat. Although barely literate prior to the outbreak of the war, he settled down in Argos in 1829, taught himself the remainder of the Greek alphabet and began writing his memoirs. In truth, he was often as engaged in factional struggles with other Greek *kapetanioi* – especially Theodoros Kolokotronis, the 'Old Man of the Morea' – as he was in a struggle for liberation from the Turks but he reserves a particular venom for co-ethnic 'outsiders' such as Kapodistrias, whom he describes as a 'cannibal' (ἀνθρωποφάγος). In a passage that uncannily echoes the situation in Messenia in 369 BC, Makriyannis complains about

> All the filth from Constantinople and Europe – carriages, balls, luxuries and fine clothes in abundance. These men are our masters and we their helots (εἵλωτες). They took the better properties, the better locations for building their houses and the fat salaries in the ministries. (Makriyannis 1947 [1907], 93)

Elsewhere (1947 [1907], 132), he criticizes Joseph Armansberg, the Regent for the underage Otto, 'and the other Bavarians [who] gave all these things to those fellow countrymen of ours, who have gorged at a feast they never deserved (τῶν δικῶν μας τῶν χαραμοταϊσμένων)'. It is little wonder that



Makriyannis should have supported Resolution II of the National Assembly of 1844, which placed restrictions on the holding of public office for those who were not born in the Greek kingdom (Delivoria 2009, 112; Vogli 2009, 99).

In the end, posterity has generally favoured the Greeks of the diaspora over many of their autochthonous compatriots. The statue of Adamantios Korais, the visionary who never returned to Greece, sits resplendently outside the old buildings of the University of Athens, which itself bears the name of another diaspora Greek, Ioannis Kapodistrias (Fig. 16.1).

In stark contrast, the house where Makriyannis wrote his memoirs, opposite the former cathedral of St John the Baptist in Odos Gounari, Argos, lies roofless and abandoned, its hollow shell daubed with a sullen καλημέρα μαλάκα (Fig. 16.2).[5]

Figure 16.1. *Statue of Adamantios Korais outside the old Kapodistrian University of Athens (photo by author).*



Figure 16.2. *House of General Makriyannis in Odos Gounari, Argos (photo by author).*

Notes

1 In its engagement with issues of cultural identity, colonization and state formation, as well as in the adoption of a comparative approach, this paper clearly owes an immense debt to Anthony Snodgrass. Whether or not the internationally dispersed community of Snodgrass students itself constitutes a 'diaspora' remains to be seen. I am most grateful to Dean Kostantaras and Lieve Donnellan for bibliographic suggestions.

2 Most theorists consider the defining characteristics of a diaspora to be something of a Weberian 'ideal type' or else a polythetic category – i.e. one in which no single criterion is either necessary or sufficient for defining the set. At the risk of etymological pedantry, I would insist that there needs to be some sort of geometric or spatial conception of core and periphery, even if I agree with Stuart Hall (1990, 224) that such a conceptualization imposes 'an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation'.

3 It is tempting to wonder whether Messenian emigrés were among those 'Peloponnesians and Kretans' whom Demonax of Mantineia assigned to the same *phyle* as part of his tribal reform at Libyan Kyrene in the sixth century (Herodotos 4.161). Diodoros (14.34.5) says that most of the Messenians who fled to Libya after the Peloponnesian War were killed in battle during a civil war at Kyrene, yet there were apparently sufficient numbers of Messenians still resident there in the early 360s (Pausanias 4.26.5).

4 Unless, that is, Bauslaugh (1990) is right to identify the 'Methanioi' who dedicated two bronze spear-butts at Olympia and the sanctuary of Apollo Korythos, near Korone in Messenia, as 'Messanioi' (i.e. Messenians). There are, however, grave epigraphic and linguistic – as well as historical – objections: see Hall 2003, 144–7.

5 The house was listed as a preservation site in 1982 but the past three decades have seen a protracted legal dispute between the Archaeological Service and the owner of the property, who disputes its identification as the Makriyannis house. See Koumadorakis 2007, 567–8.

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