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**Cross-Cultural Anthropology: The Role of Translation in the
Emergence and Development of Greek Culture**

اسم الأستاذ(ة) المشرف(ة):
ذ. عبد الرحيم القرفة

إعداد الطالب(ة) الباحث(ة):
غسان كومية

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لجنة المناقشة:

الدكتور حميد النفيسي (كلية الآداب سايس) رئيسا
الدكتور كبير صندي (كلية الآداب ظهر المهرز) عضوا
الدكتور الرضواني ادريس (كلية الآداب مكناس)
الدكتور عبد الرحيم القرفة (كلية الآداب ظهر المهرز) مشرفا ومقررا

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation to my family and many friends who accompanied me during this journey in Cultural Anthropology. A special feeling of gratitude to my loving parents, Aicha Chakir and Brahim Koumiya, whose unlimited support and encouragement could allow this dissertation to become a reality.

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✓ Jan Bouzek, <i>Studies of Homeric Greece</i> (Czech Republic: Charles University, 2018).	212
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List of Symbols

Symbol	Designation
Kyr	1000 years
Myr	1000000 years
BC	
CAH	The Third Series of Cambridge Ancient History
Linear B	
<i>Tomb A1K1</i>	Tomb of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna

Introduction

Translation Studies have achieved a tremendous development since the second half of the twentieth century. However, the study of translation activity in antiquity is still an arid field. Most of the historical accounts and studies in Translation history take the Byzantine age as a departing point in their historical undertaking of both translation activity and translation theories. Surely, there are several studies which acknowledge an earlier translation activity in archaic Greece as well as in other parts of the world (mainly East Mediterranean, Eastern Asian and Chinese cultures). Nevertheless, those scattered pieces of research are still confined into commentaries, remarks and marginal notes that emphasize the void at this area rather than fill the gape. They are manifest expressions of the lack of scholar undertaking of the way communication and transmission of cultural content used to be undertaken in a region which is considered as the dawn of scholarly recognized human civilization.

Therefore, this quest is an attempt to approach these hidden parts of history. It seeks to shed light on the roots of translation in Ancient Greece and how it impacted Greek culture based on the tremendous multidisciplinary development of Translation Studies, Linguistics, History, Archaeology and Anthropology..

From an anthropological and archaeological point of view, this quest seeks to bring the most updated studies in order to scientifically construct its arguments. Therefore, the most accurate studies and scholar achievements in the field of Humanities will be valuable to lay the ground for a coherent contextualization of the evidences as well as consistent assessment of available literature.

In June 2018, archaeologists and researchers of anthropological biology discovered the oldest world known Homo sapiens fossil in Jebel Irhoud in Morocco. The hominid is 300kyr year old and documents the early stages of Homo Sapiens with modern morphological features¹. This fossil did not attract attention in Moroccan academic circles as much as it did for international researchers who acknowledge its important relevance to the assessment of existing theories and thoughts about human ancestors.

Additionally, the fossil, which is still unnamed, has also raised anthropological questions upon which exist less contemplations today. This includes the origins of human language, the process of human communication and cultural transmission within which translation played a crucial role.

On the other hand, it is widely known that Language was developed in a time much later than human existence. However, language history is still a controversial issue which is crucial to this quest. The premises of language go back to the first instances of human symbolic cognition. According to evidences which had been discovered in Africa, this symbolic cognition is believed to date to the Middle Stone Age (80kyr ago)².

Biological anatomy shows that Human linguistic property has a pre-existing communication system of cognitive, vocal and auditory organs. However, many

¹Hublin, J., Ben-Ncer, A., Bailey, S. *et al.* New fossils from Jebel Irhoud, Morocco and the pan-African origin of *Homo sapiens*. *Nature***546**, 289–292 (2017) doi:10.1038/nature22336

²Ian Tattersal, “Paleoanthropology and language” in *New Perspectives on the origin of the language*, ed Claire Lefebvre and Bernard Comrie and Henri Cohen, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co, 2013) ,129.

researchers point out that those organs and systems may be necessary for language but not sufficient for it³.

Bernard Comrie (2013) emphasises that despite the fact that communication has been performed before the establishment of language, anthropological explanation of language should go beyond communication to other social realms (cognitive and social aspect of language origins⁴). He also points out that this question is twofold: on the one hand it deals with the evolution of human communication. On the other hand it deals with linguistic complexities or what he qualifies as full language. He argues that although the important role of communication, biological organs (neurological, auditory organs and other anatomical factors), music, kinship all play in the evolution of language mythology impacts this process no less than all those aforementioned; it explains the language complexity.⁵

The first significant hominid cognitive advance comes first in the form of 3.4 Myr old stone tool market fossil animal bones⁶. Shannon (2019) provides in his essay "Perspectives on stone tools and cognition in the early Palaeolithic record"⁷ a comprehensive account of paleanthropological studies that dealt with archaeological finds not in terms of the end product object but rather in terms of their interpretation regarding the human cognitive conditions that lead to their intentional creation. These studies have emerged now as a part of cognitive archaeology.

³ Ibid, 131

⁴ Ibid, 54

⁵ Ibid, 67

⁶ McPherron, S., Alemseged, Z., Marean, C. et al. "Evidence for stone-tool-assisted consumption of animal tissues before 3.39 million years ago" at Dikika, Ethiopia, *Nature* 466, 857–860, Published August 12, 2010, Accessed November 2018, doi:10.1038/nature09248

⁷ S. McPherron, "Perspectives on stone tools and cognition in the early Paleolithic record" In C. Sanz, J. Call, & C. Boesch, Ed. *Tool Use in Animals: Cognition and Ecology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 286-309.

These advances in archaeology lay the ground for the analysis of the past development of human civilisation for which we have no material Historical evidence. For this reason, the investigation of ancient Greece takes several forms in this quest according to the methodological approaches adopted at a certain level of the inquiry.

The methodology adopts a dual approach which is both qualitative and quantitative. In addition to the statistics provided by linguistic studies on Greek Literature, recent anthropological and archaeological data is implemented to trace the points of transmission between Greece and the other civilisations in ancient times. As a result, the geography of the quest includes different parts of the Mediterranean, especially Ancient Greece, the Near Eastern civilisations as well as Egypt.

Moreover, this quest investigates different forms of cultural transmission in order to trace translation activity and make comparisons which supply this analysis with significant facts. Additionally, this study is based on assessment and evaluation of available data, as well as analysis of arguments in order to draw a synthesis of translation activity.

In history, facts are stated and analysed in order to make a consistent picture of a past events, contexts and phenomena. The objective is to reconstruct the pre-existing situation in a specific ancient time. Nevertheless, this quest is more aligned with Anthropology which studies how people communicate, connect and interact with each other.

As this study draws on questions and issues which have been already treated in academic circles, its methodology relies on different studies, comments and reflexions from Anthropology, Archaeology, Philosophy, History as well as Linguistics.

Moreover, for the sake of comparative analysis, this study adopts a critical attitude towards the references and works upon which the arguments are being constructed. In some sections, brief summaries of pivotal works are provided to justify the logic of the conclusions. Besides, most of the comments are directly tied to the topic of each section.

Therefore, the first chapter deals with the methodology and the challenges which have been encountered during this quest. It focuses more on different problems and difficulties to explain the shifts in method and methodology in the course of this dissertation. It starts with a brief historical background of Ancient Greece from the Neolithic age to the archaic period in order to shed light on the early human activity in the Greek region.

The second section of this chapter assesses the cultural and linguistic development of Ancient Greece. This includes the history of Greek language from the pre-Hellenistic age to the establishment of the old Greek alphabet. The shift to the literary history is discussed in the last of this chapter.

The second chapter traces Translation and Cultural Transmission in Ancient Greece and identifies their forms of and impact. The focus sets on the roots of Greek culture as well as different economic, social and cultural exchanges between mainland Greece and its neighbouring civilisations. The second section of this chapter focuses on the cultural transmission. At this point, the Oral tradition is addressed as a main form of literature that has dominated from the ancient times until the end of the fourth century. The third section of this chapter assesses the forms of cultural and literary transmission

which rely more on translation. It provides different linguistic proofs on translation activity in ancient Greece as a form of the impact of the Near East on ancient Greece.

The third chapter aims at depicting a brief history of translation theory. The first section departs from drawing a historical genesis of translation activity with its main scholars and moments. Besides, the second section discusses translation studies which developed into an independent academic field and established varied connection with other fields of humanities. In Chapter 5 of this chapter, the study reflects on the dilemmas of translation studies and the questions such as how turning a blind eye to translation activity in Ancient Greece helped construct mainstream Greek Historiography which developed into a complete paradigm of Greek Supremacy.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 : Methodology in Ancient History: Periodization, Method, sources and interpretations.

Introduction:

This study seeks to carry on a historical and anthropological investigation into moments which are considered as the dawn of History. Therefore, different forms of difficulties raise as challenging issues. On the one hand questions such as which Method to adopt, the periodization of the historical periods and the assessment and interpretation of sources lay down more controversial discussion than one single field of study can assimilate. On the other hand, Ancient history raises its own challenges as with regard to the lack of written materials.

The historian who undertakes a quest in the Ancient civilizations often has to go beyond the basic historical materials, especially the unavailable written documents, to assess different archaeological and anthropological evidences that may construct a “pre-historical’ picture of the ancient times.

Nevertheless, the reliance upon archaeological research is not devoid of complexities. Once historians shift to archaeology, they encounter dual difficulties related to their respective subjects of investigation. For example, archaeology requires assessment and interpretation of material evidence of varying forms (Tombs, Palaces, tools, inscriptions of different material). Besides, undertaking a comparative study of the archaeological data, as well as the historical accounts on the period, stand as an indispensable task in order to depict a comprehensive picture of the past.

Therefore, researchers rely on archaeology to build this “pre-history” based on the assessment and analysis of material culture as well as comparison with existing

evidences from different places. Besides, scientific methods have been introduced in order to make more precise dating, especially with the use of radio-carbon isotopes. However, available archaeological evidences may be challenging as their dating may show dating periods different by centuries earlier or later than the events of their reference. Therefore, this study also relies on archaeological researches to prove the veracity of some stories of the past based on materials which are not directly linked to their subject events.

1.1. The problem of Chronology

Most scholarly recognized historians assume that one of the major problems in ancient history is that of chronology. There has not yet been established any complete agreement among historians on ancient history, particularly 3000 BC⁸. Comparison of scholarship on this field lacks consistency. It provides only approximate results which can be highly controversial. Therefore, this quest maintains its consistency by critical assessment of the chronological order as well as archaeological analyses.

The assessment in this section would be based on Oxford and Cambridge Universities' resources, especially the works of the fifty-seven authors who contributed to the fourteenth volumes of Cambridge Ancient History.

As far as ancient history is concerned, many researchers in ancient Greece assumed that the task of historians dealing with surviving materials from Hellenistic Greece is "to recreate the past so that it conformed to the needs of a complex world and at the same time to preserve the past exactly as it was"⁹. However most attempts with

⁸I.E.S.E., C.J.G. and N.G.L.H. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pXIX

⁹Sarah B. Pomeroy and others, *a Brief History of Ancient Greece: Politics, History and culture* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2004), p8

this regard result in the construction of a Past which is conformed with the needs of the Current Eurocentric discourse rather than a past concrete reality.

Additionally, the written inscriptions do not help solve this lack of evidence in ancient history. There is no Greek historical record before Hecataeus (500 BC). For example, in order to provide a date for the Greco-Phoenician contact, most Historians rely on Homer who said that from the 9th century BC, there was an increasing number of Phoenicians and Egyptians trading in Greek waters. However, archaeological and anthropological studies attest the existence of Phoenician and Egyptian influence much earlier than Homer's assumptions.

Conversely, Oxford resources on ancient Greece have no traces of Near eastern influence on Greece in the Bronze Age. They maintain the same Eurocentric supremacy of Greece which they qualify as "one of most improbable success stories in world history"¹⁰. They usually use Homeric epics as main sources but refused to accept the western influence regardless of direct acknowledgement in the Homeric scripts as well as other written sources from the archaic period.

Cambridge Ancient History makes the same distinction: Asia, Europe, etc. as if the region had the same names and political division thousands of years ago. In contrast, these distinctions have no relevance in ancient times. They are meaningless as with regard to this period.

¹⁰ Ibid, pXIII

1.1.1. The Problem of Periodization

One major difficulty in historical research is the problem of Periodization. Many scholars put into question the linear approach of history and doubtfully ask if history actually follows a developmental logic and if it can be arranged into epochs and periods. They raise the issue whether periodization is a matter of formal convention of a specific historian or it is an official discourse counting events from one side's point of view and pushed by a state guided agenda.

On the other hand most scholars do not pay much attention to the periodization. Their studies start with the date available on their sources. Sometimes they merge sources from different periods to make their point. Consequently, they neglect different contexts and run the risk of failing to identify key historical moments.

Despite this confusion of periods, this study aims at building a historical analysis of translation activity which is not only based on available historical resources but also relies on methodologies and techniques brought from social sciences to make a comprehensive view.

1.1.2. Historical periodization:

Periodization constitutes a challenging issue in historical research, partially in pre-historical ages referred to as Ancient Times. Therefore, the methodological perspective adopted in this study draws on the Archaeological Three Age System that basically divides the ancient times to three successive stages: The Stone age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. This chronological order is widely accepted in archaeological research conducted in academic centres worldwide. In this study, other concepts are used to refer to some specific historical periods such as the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic,

Neolithic and dark times. This section presents a brief description of these periods and the ways they fit in the historical framework of this study.

For better understanding of the historical stages, this study reflects on different chronological orders and periodization. To this end, it describes the most relevant historical periods, namely the Stone Age, The Palaeolithic age, the Mesolithic age, the Neolithic age; the Bronze Age, the Dark Age, the Iron Age and the Geometric Age.

1.1.2.1. The Stone Age:

This period constitutes the first stage in the Archaeological Three Age System. It refers to a long pre-historical period when stone was used as instrument. The oldest uncovered stone tool goes back to about 3.4 million years ago. It was used by ancient human relatives mainly for hunting animals and eating. This period finished around 2000BC by the advent of the Bronze Age. Additionally, the Stone Age is divided into five subdivisions: The Geologic Pliocene–Pleistocene period, The Palaeolithic period of archaeology, the Geologic Pleistocene–Holocene period, the Mesolithic or Epipalaeolithic period and the Neolithic period.

1.1.2.2. Palaeolithic Age:

The Palaeolithic Age is considered as the longest of the stages of the Stone Age. It covers the period when the Human ancestors "hominines" used rudimentary chipped stone tools in hunting and fighting around 3.3 million years ago. The Palaeolithic age is assumed to end by the fall of 11560 BC. This study takes the Palaeolithic age as a starting period.

1.1.2.3. The Mesolithic Period

The Mesolithic Period is also called the Old Stone Age which the post-Palaeolithic human started to gather in broader groups and started to organize their hunting method. Its dates varied according to each continent between 20000 and 8000

1.1.2.4. The Neolithic Age

The Neolithic age denotes the new Stone Age and the last subdivision of the Stone Age. The date of the Neolithic period goes back to 1200 BC and ended by the introduction of metallurgical instruments. During this period, Humans domesticated animals, cultured plants and used more advanced stone tools in collective hunting.

1.1.2.5. The Bronze Age

The Bronze Age refers to the period around 3000 BC when metal, mainly copper, was used. This age was also characterized by the invention of the wheel and other instruments. This period was put into an end when humans mastered the techniques of heating metals and discovered iron.

1.1.2.6. The Dark Age

The concept of the Dark Age was invented by the scholarship of the 1970s. It refers to the period from 1200 BC to the 9th or late 8th Centuries BC¹¹. The Dark Age starts with the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation and constituted a period in Greek history widely qualified as a great recession on all levels of political, economic, social and cultural life.

¹¹Ed Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, 1st ed. (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2013), pages 1929–1930

1.1.2.7. The Iron Age

The Iron Age denotes the period when humans used carbon to smelt iron and steel to produce their tools. The Iron Age started around 1200 BC. It marked the collapse of the Bronze Age's great civilizations such as the Mycenaean and the Hittites. This also corresponds with the Dark Ages in Greece when social life regressed significantly. The Iron Age is considered as the final period of the Archaeological Three Age System. It ended around 600 BC. which is considered as the beginning of the Protohistoric Period.

1.1.2.8. The Geometric Age

The Geometric Age denotes the Dark Ages when new materials were introduced. The term Geometric refers to the use of Geometric shapes on pottery vessels, monumental kraters and different materials used in graves and monuments.

1.1.3. The Dilemmas of Cambridge Ancient History:

In this quest, the historical investigation draws upon the multivolume work of Cambridge Ancient History series. This series, which is published by Cambridge University Press, intends to substantiate historical research on ancient history from Prehistory to Late Antiquity.

The purpose of CAH works was to present the history of antiquity in a set of volumes (about fourteen) and to provide scholastic work which would cover the entire history of European civilization starting from the series of the Cambridge Medieval History and that of the Cambridge Modern History.¹² The first series consisted of 12 volumes and published between 1924 and 1939. This study draws upon the third

¹²Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Jun., 1928), Academy of Political Science, New York, 266

series, which is a revised edition of the 14 volumes in 19 books published between 1970 and 2005. In this respect, Cambridge University Press describes CAH as:

« A brilliant achievement for undergraduate, scholar and informed layman alike; up-to-date, authoritative, readable but never complacent. In an age of specialisation - when the magisterial survey is often regarded (not least by scholars) with some sort of suspicion - it can be counted on as a major triumph. 'Peter Jones, Sunday Telegraph 'This new edition retains and reinforces all the old authority of the Cambridge Ancient History. It is obviously standard reference stock in any historical or major reference collection. »¹³

Despite its academic prestige, several critical comments on CAH are represented in the present study. For example, from the beginning of the series, it can be noted that CAH makes the same geographic distinctions of today's world order with respect to ancient times. They refer to Asia, Europe, and Africa etc. as if these names were the same thousands of years ago. Conversely, these distinctions have no relevance or any meaning as with regard to ancient times. Additionally, different authors of the same series do not only make linguistic and stylistic differences, they also pose the problem of contradicted archaeological speculation regarding pottery, Walls, and scribes etc.

¹³ "The Cambridge Ancient History", Cambridge University Press, Accessed 20/10/2018, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/series/cambridge-ancient-history/010C506409EE858277F898C129759025>

1.2. The Problem of method

In any historical quest, the controversial issues of the method stand at the core of the historian's activities. Questions such as: what's at stake in historical work, how to do it, which techniques to use in historical analysis and are all important questions that put history into a certain theoretical framework? On the other hand, most of ancient Greek states left no historical records because the only existing historical evidence draws on the works of Hecataeus from the 5th century BC¹⁴. Besides, earlier data mainly consists in Epics, poetry and lyric from the 8th century. Written Laws and treatise go back to the 7th century BC. Therefore, the investigation holds that the discussion of method is indispensable to any theoretical understanding of History.

1.2.1. The Study of Ancient Languages: Historical Linguistics, Comparative Linguistics and Language Philosophy

From a linguistic perspective, most writings on language are arranged either as a part of linguistics or philosophy of language. Classical linguistics deals with language within the framework of the tripartite distinction: Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. On the one hand, the long study of classical languages as well as the discovery of the Sanskrit language could allow the linguists to develop a method to study ancient language. It is Comparative linguistics which focuses on language as a historical phenomenon. It aims to provide a reconstruction of a parent language from its derived languages.

On the other hand the Philosophy of language focuses on the semantic and essence of language as an object of philosophical reflexion. The approach adopted in

¹⁴T. F. R. G Braun, "The Greeks in the Near East", *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed John Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond^{2nd} ed. (United Kingdom: University Press Cambridge, 1982), p4

this quest holds that the basic idea that the origins of language as well as its development are interrelated with the cultural and social development of the population.

1.2.2. History as an empirical science

History follows a path which is determined by many conditioning social forces. There are general laws governing the development of history. These laws can contribute to the explanation and understanding of other historical events. Therefore, researchers in ancient history seek to establish a universal hypothesis similar to any scientific theory. Nevertheless, they reject the view which regards History as a description of the past. Therefore, the professor of ancient history, Carl G. Hempel, advocates that history is not different from other scientific disciplines. He also treats history as an empirical discipline which has its own rules and laws. In terms of its scientific character, history is built upon explanatory hypotheses, which are no less scientifically relevant than any hypothesis of other empirical sciences¹⁵.

Hempel provides evidences supporting his positivist thesis when referring to many scientific techniques used in historical research. For example, historians explain some event where an army is defeated by the weather conditions, the economic crisis and diseases. He also mentions the use of tree rings by historians to specify the date of a certain event or era they are dealing with, which is regarded as a scientific assessment of the tree's historical age. Many chemical, geological and biological techniques are also used to assess historical documents, papyri, and different historical evidences.

¹⁵Carl G. Hempel, "The Function of General Laws in History," *The Journal of Philosophy* 39, no. 2 (1942):29

In this regard, Hempel summarizes this view on the tasks of historian stating that “For the object of his studies would be the past-forever inaccessible to his direct examination. He would have to establish his knowledge by indirect methods: by the use of universal hypotheses which connect his present data with those past events”¹⁶ These interacting boundaries of different disciplines reveal the scientific character of the hypotheses underlying historical research. Based on this statement Hempel concludes that the question of method is not only restricted to natural sciences, but that there is a methodological unity between all such disciplines including history. Therefore, Hempel calls for the establishment of a historical method based on social scientific law and methodology as any other empirical science.¹⁷

1.2.3. History as a multidisciplinary theory

The question of whether and how researchers in ancient should make use of modern theories and concepts in interpreting ancient material in fact raises fundamental questions about ancient history as a discipline and about the status and authority of its accounts of the past. However, the development of historical studies, the huge amount of accumulated historical data, and comparative studies led to the emergence of academic disciplines such as historical criticism which deals mainly with the question of method and data collection.

On the other hand, despite the complexities of theorizing historical research, this study applies methods of diverse discipline in order to compare and contrast different history theories and to evaluate their strengths and weaknesses. Therefore the outcomes prove to be possible once they are assessed in the course of the application of concrete

¹⁶Ibid; 29

¹⁷Ibid, 30

methods to historical problems. As to the assessment of ancient evidence, this also includes a critical attitude not only to the interpretation of historical evidence, but also to put into question its original data in terms of its relation to the reality. In this respect, M.I. Finely states that: “we have no good reasons for taking the speeches to be anything but inventions by the historians, not only in their precise wording but also in their substance.”¹⁸

History can be controversial in terms of analysis of facts and events within a political and social framework. Therefore, the investigation of evidences from different sources and forms seem to be vital to the accuracy of historical research. However, different methodologies and perspectives make the interpretation and classification of these evidences provide different results or different histories of the same event, even for the most recent or contemporary history on which written material, media coverage and direct testimonies are available.

1.3. Objectivity and subjectivity in historical research

Research on historical issues and periods encounters complex and controversial questions regarding their objectivity and subjectivity. They have to investigate different accounts of events. With this regard, Neville Morley asserts that History is not only about telling facts or counting events but also providing explanations. He states that: "I begin from the basic assumption that the historian's task is to explain past events, rather than simply to record them, and to understand past society in terms of the underlying structures that shaped people's lives rather than simply describing the diversity of their

¹⁸M.I. Finely, *Ancient History, Evidence and Models* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books, 1986), 13

experiences."¹⁹ This focus on explanatory nature of historical research raises the issue of objectivity and subjectivity in historical research, which is not an easy task within this perspective. In this line of reasoning, researchers in history find themselves walking on a tiny line between subjectivity and objectivity. However, in this quest, the work of historians is considered from a wider perspective which goes beyond the binary distinction of Subjectivity and objectivity Judgments. In this context, the task of historian should be interrelated with the framework of the whole society. In this sense, Historical research turn to be a professional activity performed by state functionaries, rather than explaining the underlying socio-cultural nature and structure of historical phenomena, seeks to explain state or the Empire actions and aspirations.

This conception of the nature and aims of historical research implies that objectivity in history is a far reaching goal within this framework. The tiny nature of subjectivity and objectivity makes historical researches, in most cases, closely related and deeply rooted in their socio-cultural conditions. They are mostly professionals or state functionaries who need to fulfil the requirement of the state in their historical undertaking. They do not aim to provide an explanation but rather to explain state or the Empire actions and aspirations.

Likewise, history shifts from being subjective or objective as such evaluations can be maintained only within the spheres of an isolated academic circle. Therefore, history turns into a narrative providing explanation or justification of state interests. In this regard, the historian (and anthropologist) Finely goes farther to state that these distinctions are a mere illusion. He explains that:

¹⁹Neville Morley, *Theories, Models and Concepts in Ancient History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004),6

"the mere allocation of space, the ineradicable series of imperial reigns as the containers of post-Republican Roman history , the loud silences on great chunks of human behaviour are proof enough the 'objectivity', freedom from 'subjective values', is pure illusion. the barest bones of any historical narrative, the events selected and arranged in a temporal sequence, imply a value judgment (or judgments)²⁰.

Within this respective assessment, history becomes histories which are produced according to the social context within which historians live and perform their activities. Consequently, even History as a discipline becomes affected by this reality and turns to follow the official line of the profession. Finley states that:"The study and writing of history, in short, is a form of ideology. That blunt statement would shock, and I must make my meaning explicit."²¹

This conclusion manifests itself in the bases of historical methods which were adopted since ancient times. It holds that History is based upon collection and evaluation of evidences. In this line of thought, many questions raise such as which kind of evidences and which framework for the evaluation. This is what lacked the study of history for centuries.

Charles C Gillispies, the prominent historian at Princetown University and the founder of the Program in History of sciences, said regarding the study of history: "All

²⁰ M. I. Finley, "'Progress" in Historiography", *Discoveries and Interpretations: Studies in Contemporary Scholarship* , Volume I (Summer, 1977), pp. 125-142

²¹M.I. Finley, *Ancient History, Evidence and Models* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books, 1986),4

that we students of history were taught to do was to go look at the sources, all of them."²²

1.3.1. Evidence assessment as an object of history construction

The assessment of evidence is at the core of each historical research. This implies that historians need to collect data, analyse it and make a synthesis of the work where they can construct a comprehensive view of the historical event. For this reason, historians should have a theoretical framework within which they make this assessment. They need a framework which guides their questions and examination and drives their conclusion into a systematically constructed narrative.

Throughout history, historians have adopted a certain theoretical frameworks that could make sense of their scattered data and reinforce the veracity of their conclusions and justifications. For this reason, the quest for the method is indispensable to any historical undertaking. With this respect Finely states that:

“A few, notably Herodotus and Thucydides, distinguished between eye-witness who could be carefully cross-questioned and all later testimony that was beyond such personal control, but they failed to develop techniques of source criticism or ways of dealing satisfactorily with derivative authorities”²³.

²²Charles Coulston Gillispie, “Essays and Reviews in History and History of Science,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series 96, no. 5 (2006): XI

²³M.I. Finely, *Ancient History, Evidence and Models* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books, 1986), 8

He also affirms that “Records and documents, record keeping and archives are a function of the society which produces and preserves them, or which largely fails to do one or the other”²⁴.

1.3.2. Archaeology and history: Controversy or complementarity

Dealing with a multidisciplinary historical subject lays the ground for use of different methods in counting past events and documents. Existing data are assessed from historical, archaeological and anthropological perspectives. therefore, it is very important to the methodology of this quest to highlight the difficulties encountered in any quest of historical character. In history, there has been a longstanding distinction between primary sources and secondary source. Archaeology provides information that can be used to assess the quality of the sources and establish a historical framework of the evidences. In his discussion on the relation between archaeology and history, Finley assumed that it is a false issue as it does not deal with two qualitatively different disciplines, but rather two different kinds of historical evidence. He stated that "there can thus be no question of the priority in general or the superiority of one type of evidence over the other; it all depends in each case on the evidence available and on the particular questions to be answered."²⁵

Archaeological evidences elucidate important parts of the missing information history of ancient world. Besides, the vast archaeological research which has been undertaken in the last two centuries could accumulate specialized methods based on scientific techniques as well as comparative studies of ancient literature. Nevertheless, Archaeologists tend to regard literary evidence as imprecise source of history.

²⁴M.I. Finely, *Ancient History, Evidence and Models* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books, 1986),15

²⁵ *Ibid*, 20

On the other hand, not very little of what is regarded today as a history of ancient civilizations is mainly due to accounts of stories and epics. Therefore, both anthropologists and historians try to take advantage of the literary tradition in order to construct a picture of past events. This was the case for example for the history of Mycenaean civilization. Most parts of it were constructed based on literary tradition upon which Thucydides relied to make his accounts. The same goes for Homeric epics which are widely approved as historical events. CAH advocate that: “The Iliad provides in the Catalogue of Ships a political map of Mycenaean Greece to which excavation has added little but confirmation and the poem tells us more of Mycenaean ideas and aspirations than the walls of the citadel can do.”²⁶

Nevertheless, CAH acknowledges that the coordination of archaeological evidence and literary traditions encounters many difficulties particularly those related the absence of the precise sequence of chronology. For example, there have been attempts to date the sack of Troy upon archaeological evidences which depended more on the records found in Egypt. These records suggest that the sea raids took place between 1190 and 1180 BC.²⁷ In this context, CAH argues that the accuracy and the continuity of such tradition have been preserved by the recitation and oral transmission of the epics for several centuries. They also state that their faith in the veracity of this orally transmitted tradition has been strengthened by many specific archaeological finds.

²⁶ DESBOROUGH V. R. D'A, “End of Mycenaean Civilization”, in the Cambridge Ancient History, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 678

²⁷ Ibid, 706

1.4. History of Translation

Approaching the Genesis of Translation theories constitutes a challenging quest for various reasons. In the first place, the difficulties lying behind this subject arise from the fact that in antiquity, the literature was based on an oral tradition which constituted the main source of literary works for centuries. Being dependent on an oral production, the form of literary works in antiquity did not provide any source or target content for most of the translated works upon which researchers can assess the losses and gains in translation as well as the techniques and procedures. Thus, the margins between transmission and translation were hard to define to the extent that the oral translation commentaries were the only testimonies on translation shifts in most of antiquity works. Besides, there is no exact historical period that researchers can assume to be the start of a translation theory and any quest on this issue encounters the same objective difficulties encountered by archaeologists, anthropologists and Classics scholars when dealing with antiquity. However, as any theory is subsequent to its subject matter, translation theories are consequent to translation practice itself. Thus, many scholars assume that the history of translation theories is the history of translation practice itself.

in order to shed light on the early reflections on translation from a spatial and temporal perspective, this study goes back in history to the earliest translation moments or, at least, to those moments on which sufficient resources are available. According to many translation history researchers, the Roman Empire knew a huge translation activity in late antiquity that basic reflections and ideas on translation were primarily a Roman intellectual undertaking²⁸. However, this assertion is controversial as it deals

²⁸ "The romans appear to have been the first to theorize about translation." Siobhán McElduff. *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source. Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies*, 14. New York: Routledge, 2013. Pp. 11

only with translation as a Western tradition. It neglects a long history of translation activity in Eastern cultures especially Chinese and Indian civilisations.

Nevertheless, what may be referred to as Translation Theories are not a pre-defined or systematized sum of ideas. Researchers can hardly find a specific theory on translation in the works of the early known philosophers who set the corner-stones of philosophy and its sub-fields that would emerge and develop into independent fields of exact sciences or humanities. Translation was secondary to the subject matter of the translated texts. There was no completely established framework once translation emerged and took its distinguished place at the highest levels of intellectual activity in antiquity. conversely, reflections on translation have been conditioned by a long process of historical circumstances and can only be traced back to the early commentaries and remarks made on translation and interpretation in antiquity.

Conclusion

Historians usually refer to some generalizations of scientific character in order to offer explanations, judgments or interpretations of a historical event. The interpretation of these historical events maybe propagated as psychological, sociological or economical facts. Besides, many historical explanations are based on methods and techniques brought from empirical sciences such as physics, biology and chemistry.

On the other hand, the new historical research does not only rely on written materials but also on different kinds of evidence which do not belong to the same field nor seem to be all coherent. Data on Ancient History has increased significantly by the new archaeological discoveries, the decipherment of the unknown inscription and the

https://books.google.ch/books?id=YRaYAAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs_ge_summary_r#v=onepage&q&f=false

different scientific methods used to set the dates and assess the quality of historical inscriptions and evidences.

Consequently, the convergence of multidisciplinary fields as well as dual methodologies could combine the scattering pieces of available archaeological and anthropological data. For the context of the present study, these clarifications establish a framework for the assessment of translation activity in non-literate societies. Besides, this could provide tools of different disciplines that allowed this quest advance on different issues it is dealing with.

Consequently, the methodological challenges of Translation in Ancient times require a multidisciplinary method to absorb all the difficulties that have been encountered during the preparation of this quest. Translation in Ancient Greece addresses calls upon both historical and linguistic investigation. Besides, translation researchers lack source texts and can only rely on references written hundreds of years after the events or sources to which they are referring.

Therefore, this quest is based on two interrelated approaches, one is comparative and the other is multidisciplinary. It combines the interpretation of available references by comparative literary studies, and also attempts to use variety of literary, historical, archaeological and anthropological resources to approximately establish an overview of the social, economic and cultural situation as much closer to reality as possible. This contextualization of the subject of study provides a framework for analyzing available resources as well as evaluating the contradicting views and controversial issues.

This quest heavily relies on the second approach in order to carry on the investigation of the premises of Translation in Ancient Greece as well as its impact on Greek culture. However, this approach raises several issues with regard to the periodization, the chronology and the method to be adopted in order to construct the general framework of this quest. Therefore, Chapter 1 serves as a space to set the tone of this study and build a coherent crystallization of different methodological components into its framework. In other words, Chapter 1 defines the key concepts, sets the scales of periodization and specifies the boundaries of the multidisciplinary method which is adopted for the purposes of this study. A special discussion is attributed to the concept of History and its relevant issues, mainly, Objectivity and Subjectivity, Evidence assessment, and Archaeological investigation. By the end, the conclusion makes the orientations that set the focus of this quest.

In the following Chapter, this study applies the concepts and methodology above to make a brief historical background of Ancient Greece. This undertaking seeks to contextualize the historical, social and cultural circumstances of Translation in Ancient Greece.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2: Brief historical background of Ancient Greece

Introduction

This Chapter deals with the history of Ancient Greece from the Neolithic Age to the Archaic period. The first section draws upon the history of Greece from the Neolithic Age to the Minoan civilisation. It aims at tracing back the first communities of the Greek ancestors in the Aegean islands from the regions of Thessaly, Elatea, Chaerona, Boeotia and Cnossus in Crete, based on different excavation works. The first subsection describes the Social Activity in the Neolithic Age which consisted mainly in farming, hunting and grinding grains. The second subsection traces the foreign colonies and settlements in Neolithic Greece and their impact on the mainland. At this point, This study assesses the attitude of available references, especially Cambridge Ancient History which is regarded as one of the main Academic references on Ancient Greece.

The second section of this chapter investigates the periods from the Bronze Age and the rise of Achaeans to the Trojan War and the Dark Ages. Greece entered into radical transformation during these periods as a result of their encounter with their neighbouring civilizations.

In the third Section of this Chapter, this study focuses more on the proliferation of the tribal communities and gradual political and economic awakening of the country. By the end of this period, Greece would collapse and lost most of its historical achievements. The forth section draws upon the aftermath of the collapse and the awakening during the Archaic Period which would lead to the classical Greece.

This historical overview is crucial to the purposes of this study as it traces the development of economic and political life in Greece as well as investigates the material

conditions which laid the ground for cultural exchange and present the social conditions for the study of translation activity in Ancient Greece.

The name Greek is derived from Graeci, the western name for Hellenes who had arrived at Greece since 9th century BC. However, it would be misleading to talk about the existence of the term Greek in prehistory. Archaeologists assume that there is no evidence to support the identification of a specific ethnic group which is called “Greeks” in prehistory Europe neither in terms of a population nor in terms of a cultural entity as there was no Greek language.

The forefathers of the Greeks were called Ionians by their Eastern neighbours with whom they were in direct contact especially in the eastern parts of Greece, the Aegean region and Asia Minor. In several works from the Ancient Near Eastern civilisations, the Greeks were referred to as the Yawan or Yauna in Persian resources and Yaman which used to be their Akkadian equivalent. They were also called “H3w-nbw” by the Egyptians from the 7th century BC on.²⁹

Additionally, the Greeks were called Yunani by the easterners, peoples of the Levant and Mesopotamia, in reference to the Ionians who had inhabited the eastern part of Greece, mainly the Aegean Islands and western Asia Minor³⁰. Greek references suggest that the term Ionian comes from the archaic Iawones or Iaones which is derived from Yawan the term used in the Hellenistic translation of the Septuagint to designate Hellas of Helens.³¹

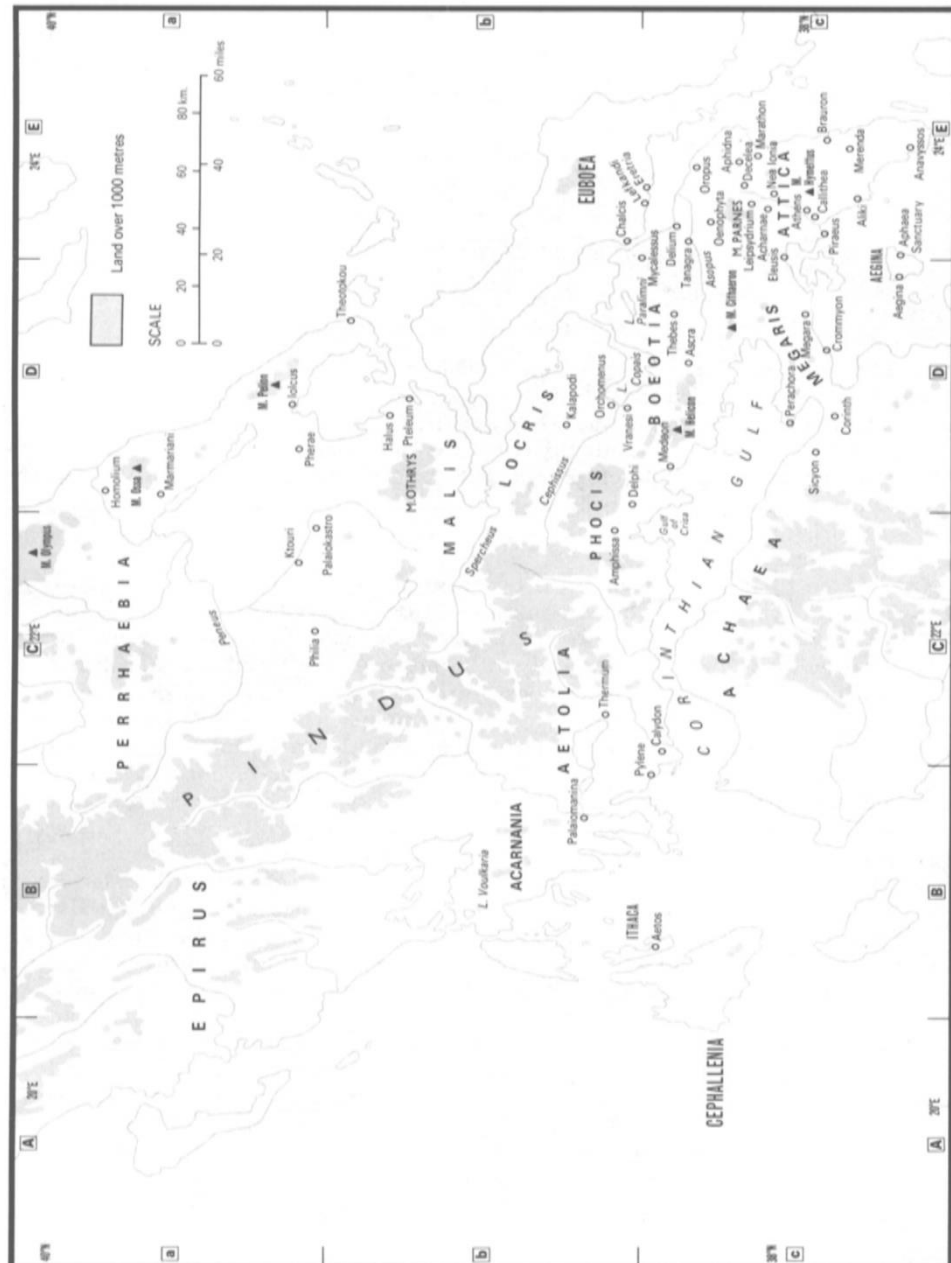
²⁹Braun T. F. R. G, “The Greeks in Egypt”, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed John Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: University Press Cambridge, 1982), 3.

³⁰Ibid, 1

³¹(see Greek map in Ap10).

In this quest, most of the cultural and historical events took place in mainland Greece and the surrounding Islands. It is difficult to draw a map of the historical Greece as the area has been going through continuous change. However the geographical boundaries of most of the events included in Cambridge ancient History can be set in between the Valley of Tempe in the north regions. In the south it was limited by the Megarid while in west by Mainland Greece , the Gulf of Acium and the mouth of the rived of Achelous. The eastern zones comprised Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, Doris, Malis and Thessaly.³²

³²S N O D G R A S S A.M., “Central Greece and Thessaly”, in the Cambridge Ancient History, ed John Boardman and N.G.L. Hammond, 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2008),657



Map 20. Central and northern Greece.
Cambridge Histories Online © Cambridge University Press, 2008

The geographic position of Greece made it open and in constant communication with different Anatolian, Levantine, Egyptian and Mediterranean peoples.

2.1. Greece from the Neolithic Age to the Minoan civilisation

Since the beginning of the 20th Century, several archaeological studies have attested that the existence of Human communities in the Aegean islands can be traced back to the Stone Age. From the regions of Thessaly, Elatea, Chaerona, Boeotia and Cnossus in Crete, different excavation works provided the material proofs of a human social activity. Stone artefacts manifest existing human activity in the pre-Palaeolithic age while ceramic materials found in the cites prove that there was a social and cultural production in the Neolithic era.

2.1.1. Social Activity in the Neolithic Age

More excavations provide that the Aegean areas were inhabited during the Neolithic and Mesolithic. The materials, made of stone, ceramic and bones, suggest that there was a strong social activity mainly framing, hunting and grinding grains. In many discovered settlements there were huge quantities of wheat barely, lentils and other food which suggests that there was a farming society where communities used to culture lands and domesticate animals. Thousands of archaeological finds have been found in different locations. However, only three main cites provided more interpretable results: Arise, Seiko and Soupier.

On the other hand, CAH have found that among the three cites only the Argissa provides evidence of earlier existence of human activity. They assume that there is a gap between these periods which need more through archaeological work to be explained. In this regard S.S. Weinberg, the professor of ancient history, advocates that: "We are thus left at present without any indication of relationship between the

Mesolithic and the Ceramic Neolithic cultures. Only excavation at sites yet to be discovered can show whether there was a gap or if the one directly followed the other.”³³

The material evidences manifest a discontinuity rather than a continuity of these periods in ancient Greece. Therefore, there is still a gap in the history of Greece yet to be filled. The early period of the Neolithic age is characterized by wide use of pottery and clay materials which were used mainly as weapons. This culture would change significantly by the end of the sixth millennium due to the arrival of new settlers in Macedonia and northern Thessaly. New forms of painted pottery have been discovered; new forms of stone introduced and a whole shift in material culture took place in what became known as the Sesklo Phase.

From the 5th millennium on, the number of the inhabitants of Greece increased gradually. This was mainly due to the development of the communities which lived there since the early Neolithic age. This also happened because of the arrival of new settlers who built more settlements and centres. They began to accumulate and develop new cultures and practices.

From the third part of the Neolithic period, increasing number of people settled in mainland Greece and its surrounding islands. By the end of the fourth millennium, the Aegeans would settle permanently in many islands Aegina, Ceos, Myconos, Antiparos. The Aegean communication and interaction with other peoples was reflected in different archaeological finds. New materials and techniques were introduced

³³WEINBERGS. S., “T H E STONE AGE IN T H E AEGEAN”, in the Cambridge Ancient History, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008),571

including the maritime travel which would grow significantly in the Bronze Age.³⁴ In the following subsections, this study seeks to identify the foreign colonies and the economic transmission in Neolithic Greece.

Despite recognizing the existence of foreign Traders and merchants, CAH historians could hardly accept the accounts on Phoenician settlements and colonization in Greece. Herodotus is considered as the main source on Phoenician colonization. He stated that the European continent had not taken the name from the daughter of Phoenician king Age nor whose name is "Europa". She was the sister of the King Cadmus who arrived at Thera, to look for her, and colonized this Greek island for eight generations. Cadmus is known to be the cofounder of the temple of Heracles at Thasos. He had also settled in other parts of Greece such as Boeotia, Thebes etc. Herodotus reported also that Cadmus had introduced Dionysus worship and the Phoenician alphabet to Greece. all over Greece described Those accounts are told by prominent Greek historians such as Thucydides who talked about the Phoenician pirates in the Aegean islands, the Rhodian historians who described that the Egyptian king Danaus had constructed the Temple of Athena at Lindus. He also described how Cadmus had later come from Phoenicia to establish the temple of Poseidon which was a Phoenician colony. There are also accounts about cities which were Phoenician colonies such as Lalysus, Rhode and Melos etc. CAH historians neglect all these documentations for the only reason that there are no archaeological evidences. They state that:

"Archaeologists have found little substance for any of this. French excavation of the temple of Heracles at Thasos has produced no evidence for Phoenician foundation. There is none at Thebes except for a hoard of

³⁴L.H. Jeffery, *the Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 60.

Near Eastern cylinder seals in the Mycenaean Cadmeia. Recent attempts to prove early Semitic influences on Greece by providing etymologies for place names, and through interpretations of Linear A tablets, are mostly speculative."³⁵

Such claims hold no interest for CAH historians when dealing with Minoan presence in Crete and other Aegean islands between 1600-1400 BC. The Minoan civilization is considered as the first European civilization regardless of the fact that most historians consider it as a lost civilization on which no complete archaeological evidences can be proved.

The Minoans are derived from the King Minos, and used to speak a language much different than Greek despite that it was always considered as a prehistoric phase for ancient Greece. At this point it is important to note how the existence of Minoan civilization was highly emphasized in CAH³⁶.

Minoan civilisation spread in the mainland during the Sixteenth century BC. Despite the lack of archaeological evidences, CAH Historians assume that the political power shifted from Crete to Mycenae by the C. 15th BC. No reasons could be provided for the causes and ways this shift had taken place³⁷. However, they advanced that by the dawn of the 14th Century BC, Mycenae had acquired complete political control over Greece and Aegean regions. Since then, it had become the centre of cultural domination.

³⁵ B R A U N T, F. R. G., "The Greeks in the Near East", in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed John Boardman and N.G.L. Hammond, 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 7.

³⁶ WAGE A.J. B., "CRETE AND MYCENAE", in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed J. B. Bury, S. A Cook and F.E. Adcock (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 431

³⁷ Ibid, 455

2.1.2. The Bronze Age and the rise of Mycenaean civilisation

Mycenae was inhabited in the early Bronze Age³⁸. It was composed of several independent kingdoms that controlled vast areas surrounding Thessaly and Dimni.

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Fig. 1. Map of Greece, showing proposed Mycenaean kingdoms (after Galaty and Parkinson 2007b, fig. 1.1).

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CAH historians state that almost nothing is known about the political and administrative organization of Mycenae and that no evidences on Mycenaean goods that could take part in economic activity and trade with neighbouring civilizations.

However, the decipherment of Linear B tablet attests that there was a central role in Mycenaean Greece and that this rule exerted vital political, administrative and

³⁸Panagiota A. Pantou, "Mycenaean Dimini in Context: Investigating Regional Variability and Socioeconomic Complexities in Late Bronze Age Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 114, no. 3 (2010), 196.

³⁹*Ibid*, 382

economic institutions. Linear B tablets records of the distribution of goods all over the region. The Hittite tablets also include stories on a Great Power in the west which they called Ahhiyawan which is thought to correspond with Mycenaean Greece as explained in the work of Kelder J. M. who combine Linear B tablets, Hittite inscription and Egyptian references to prove the existence of Mycenaean civilisation.

Both Kelder and CAH considered Mycenae as a triumph of the Greek predecessors over the non-Greek peoples and that the most flourishing period of Mycenae was between 14th and 15th Century BC. They also believe it was an advanced civilization which had established close relations with Egypt.⁴⁰ For again unknown reasons, Mycenae declined during 12 BC and most of its cities were perished. In the following subsections, the development of the Homeric Greece is manifested although a brief critical commentary of the accounts reflects a comparative assessment of the events. This brings to the quest valuable information on the formation of Ancient Greece.

2.2.3. The rise of the Achaeans and the Trojan War (1200-1100BC)

2.2.3.1. The Achaeans in Ancient Greece:

The Trojan War is considered as the most remembered event of the Mycenaean civilisation⁴¹.it is central point to the Greek ancient history. Both Herodotus and Thucydides gave it major importance in their historical accounts. Besides, almost all references on the Achaeans and late Bronze Age Greece are extracted from the Homeric epics: the Iliad and the Odyssey. Unlike the Egyptian and the Sumerian civilizations,

⁴⁰WAGE A.J. B., "CRETE AND MYCENAE", in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook and F.E. Adcock (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1991),465

⁴¹L.H. Jeffery, *the Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963),342

there are no scribes or records from that period or centuries later which can confirm what happened or to draw the line between historical facts and what can be considered as mere literary legends.

By C. 1200 BC, Achaeans ruled Crete and many Greek municipalities. CAH criticised the view which holds that they were not Greeks, but northern invaders who had descended from Danube regions to the Aegean island⁴². They assumed the Greek oral tradition should have preserved historical accounts of such invasion. Additionally, they believe that the Achaeans were considered as natives of Greece who were living in the north region of Spercheus valley and that they were influenced by the eastern civilisations in a time, 1500 to 1200 BC, when the north had no significant influence on them. Achaeans destroyed the Cnossus palace, expelled the Greek kings and established themselves in different parts of Greece. They are also believed to forget their language by the course of time, married Greek women and turned in few generations to be Greeks.

2.2.3.2. The Trojan War

One of the Greatest Achaean leaders was Atreus, the son of Pelops, who ruled Mycenae after Eurystheus. His son Agamemnon is one of Homer's heroes, he invaded Sicyon and made Mycenae at its full strength and exercised a sense of supremacy all over Greece. He launched a war against the Trojans for the abduction of Helen who was the wife of his brother Menelaus. After that, Agamemnon besieged Troy for a period of about ten years. The besieged city would then fall and then the Achaeans slaughtered the Trojans and destroyed their gods and cities.

⁴²WAGE A.J. B., "CRETE AND MYCENAE", in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook and F.E. Adcock (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1991),474

The destruction of Troy was a landmark Achaean victory for it opened the gates for the Greek extension towards the east, mainly Anatolia and the Asiatic coasts. They established colonies and settlements in Tenedos, Antandrus, Cilia, Cyme, Pitane and Lesbos which turned to be Greek territories.⁴³ CAH assumed that such extension was called Aeolic migration in a reference to the name Aeolis that those regions would take later and would be considered as the first instances of the Hellenization of Asia Minor.

The precise date of the Trojan War is still a subject of controversy. Herodotus stated that it took place in 1250 BC. Duris of Samos, the historian of the 3rd Century BC suggested that it was in 1334 BC while Parian Chronicle said it was in 1209-8 BC. Other historians suggested that it had taken place in dates much later such as Timaseus (1194-3 BC), Eratosthenes (1183 BC), Sosibius (1171-0 BC) and Ephorus (1136-5 BC).⁴⁴

Most historians consider that the 13-11 c. BC is a period of great transformations in Greece. The wars and events which took place at this era were told in the Homeric epics and Hesiod's accounts. The Greeks called this era the "Heroic age", its kings turned to be legends while their lives and accounts were adapted in Myths and epics. Although CAH have little to say about the language of the Achaeans, which was not Greek, they believe that at their age poetry reached an international level and old Greek mythologies and oracle institutions and major deities (mainly the Olympian Gods such as Zeus, Hera, Athena, Apollo, etc.) were established propagated all over the world.⁴⁵

The relevance of the Bronze age consists in the fact that it was time where Mediterranean societies were engaged in strong political interactions as well as complex

⁴³WAGE A.J. B., "CRETE AND MYCENAE", in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook and F.E. Adcock (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 496

⁴⁴ Ibid, 497.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 485.

dynamics of economic and social exchange. This would lay the ground for the development of the Dark Ages.

2.2. Greece from the Dark Ages to the Archaic Ages:

2.2.1. Greece in the Dark Ages

Most researchers in ancient history assume that there is a gap in Greek history between 1100 and late 8th centuries BC. Besides, Archaeological researches support this claim and stress that there is a lack of relevant cultural or archaeological materials from this era which is widely known as the Dark ages.

The rule of the Mycenaeans is believed to be ended by the Dorian invasion in the geometric age. Later, there was a deterioration of the social and cultural conditions inherited from the Mycenaean civilization. Once the central rule of the Mycenaeans was broken, their whole social and political power in the region declined. With this respect, Wadr Gbry H.T states that:

“To sum up. From the fall of Troy to the beginning of Dorian Sparta is at least two centuries (say 1180-950 B.C.) 2. between them comes the long transitional period when the material resources of the Aegean are wasting, the communications gradually breaking, the craftsmanship declining.”⁴⁶

He also argues that many historians believe that there was an invasion from the north which resulted in whole destruction of the Mycenaean civilisation which would be strengthened by the second half of 1100 BC. Most known Mycenaean cities were destroyed including Thessalian cities, the Corinthian port at Korakou, Tiryns...

⁴⁶ Wadr Gbry H.T. « THE DORIANS », in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed J. B. Bury, S. A Cook and F.E. Adcock (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 524

The Dorian invasion contributed to the decline of the Mycenaean civilization as well as a break in the social and cultural development in mainland Greece. As a result the population became divided on what Herodotus had categorised as the pre-invasion settlers called as Pelasgians and who are composed of tribes that most known of them are the Ionians. The second category was the migrants or the Helens from whom the Dorians were best known.

During the Protogeometric period, especially from the second half of the 11 century to the end of the 10th century BC, Greece is believed to have been divided to 4 areas, each of which had its own historical development. By the time of the Trojan War, there were several migrations to mainland Greece. The Boeotians who were driven from Thessaly to Cadmeis where they established Boeotia. The Dorians and Heracleida settled in Peloponnese.⁴⁷ Several invasion waves took place especially after the break of the Mycenaean central power.

These series of invasions and migrations, which took place after the collapse of the Mycenaean power, introduced several cultural and social changes in the Mycenaean society. On the one hand, the Mycenaean language was altered in many parts by the settlers' languages while the population was displaced outside the main centres such as Thessaly. However, in other parts the invaders adopted the Mycenaean dialects as attested in the Elis and some Corinthian colonies.⁴⁸

Regarding the social division, Greek society was divided on the basis of the relationships of kinship. The family "Phylon" was the basic social unit. Families occupying one specific were organized into clans which themselves were grouped into a

⁴⁷See L.H. Jeffery, *the Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 682-683

⁴⁸L.H. Jeffery, *the Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 703

phrateris “Phretre”. The bigger division is the tribe which was composed of several phrateris and constituted the main formation of the cities and the village clusters.⁴⁹

During the Dark Ages, social and political conditions deteriorated increasingly. The military was weakened, the political rule was broken and the country went through a series of devastating upheavals. As a result, the mainland Greece divided into small powers hostile to each other. Greece was fallen into what is considered as the worst situation in thousand years. Besides, the population also declined for the deteriorating conditions, mainly the wars and invasions.

On the other hand, different material advances which marked the rise and expansion of Mycenae were abandoned. In Mainland Greece, trade activities, literacy, writing and all signs of cultural progress were lost for unknown reasons.

2.2.2. Greece in the Geometric Age

The name Geometric is derived from the forms of pottery discovered in different archaeological sites dealing with this specific period of history. The geometric period lasted from 900 to 700 BC and marks the end of the dark Ages. It is considered as crucial to Greek history for the reason that the interacting communities, existing cities and the events which took place would shape the whole history in the 5th Century and Hellenic period.

Most of what is known of the geometric age is based on archaeological evidences which consist mainly in pottery vessels, buildings and different paintings on the monumental objects. Archaeological research provides that there was an increasing stabilization of social conditions in the geometric period. Cities grew in terms of the

⁴⁹Walter Donlan, “The Social Groups of Dark Age Greece”, *Classical Philology*, Vol. 80, No. 4, (The University of Chicago Press, Oct., 1985), 293.

population number as well as their vast extension due to the construction of more houses and building. Later this city became known as the city polis in Greek centres such as Athens the connection with the highly developed civilizations of the east were established again. This is manifested by the increasing number of the copper materials and golden jewellery which were brought as gifts from neighbouring near eastern states. Boardman John states that:

«The proliferation in the eighth century of 'deme' villages in the countryside of Attica, the Argolid and Corinthia, and in some islands, could indicate some such process at work and help account for the size and prosperity of cities like Athens, Argos, Corinth, whose kings could dispense resources far greater than their capital's farmland alone could guarantee.»⁵⁰

Despite the deteriorating conditions of late Bronze Age Greece, the Geometric period characterizes a gradual awakening of the country. It constitutes a stage when the old Greek communities started to establish contact with their developed neighbouring civilisations and learn from them new materials, techniques, and industries. By the end of the 8th century, Greece turned into a growing regional power whose territory and political rule would soon expand into different regions of the Mediterranean.

Later 8th century BC constitutes a moment of transformation in Greece. New technologies were brought from the east, the Phoenician writing system was adapted to the requirements of the Greek dialects and prosperity was manifested among the communities who had advanced on agriculture. Therefore, there were growing

⁵⁰Boardman J O H N, "The Geometric culture of Greece", in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed John Boardman and N.G.L. Hammond, 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 781.

economic activities and accumulation of wealth based in trade centres and agriculture areas which became big cities and territorial communities. Later Greece would enter into a stage of expansion led mainly by East Greece and the Aegean islands.

2.2.3. Archaic Greece

By the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 7th century, Mainland Greece turned to be an important political and economic region. One of the reasons for this development in the social conditions consists in the geographic location of Greece which made it to link between the eastern and western scattered areas of Greek communities. Besides, land farming was developed rapidly with the growth of the population which started to be more concentrated in the cities and formed big territorial areas. Additionally the small states underwent a process of unification into a united greater power. On the other hand, the accumulation of technologies, industries and trade techniques which had been brought from the eastern civilizations could lay the ground for economic prosperity and fast social development in different areas of Greece.

The peoples of Aegean Islands built the most powerful naval force in all of the Greek states. They mastered sea trade especially in the coastal states of Miletus and Samos in the east and Chalcis and Eretria in the west.⁵¹ They could take advantage of trade with the Egyptian, Anatolian and Levantine civilisations. They reached a high level of wealth accumulation and prosperity.

By the 6th century, the Greeks developed from Linear B an increasingly used writing system with more Greek vowels. They also adapted architecture techniques

⁵¹J B and N.G.L.H., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed John Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: University Press Cambridge, 1982), XIV.

from the Egyptians as attested by Diodorus on Theodorus of Samos, the most famous architect of the 6th century BC as well as different construction techniques brought from Mesopotamian and Levantine towns.⁵²

The territorial arrangement of the towns and cities from this period reflects a resemblance to those in their much developed neighbouring civilisations. Later, different small states started to be organized in a hierarchical structure that would mark the emergence and development of the cities such as Athens whose populations was composed of 4 tribes: Geleontes, Aigikoreis, Argades, Hopletes. They later were replaced by the ten local tribes of Cleisthenes in 507.⁵³

Although the growing prosperity, there had been wars on land, resources, trade routes and political power. These wars have changed the political power of the mainland Greece and could contribute to the unification of the whole region.⁵⁴

⁵² Ibid, 55.

⁵³ Ibid, 366.

⁵⁴ For a comprehensive chronology of Ancient Greece see apt11

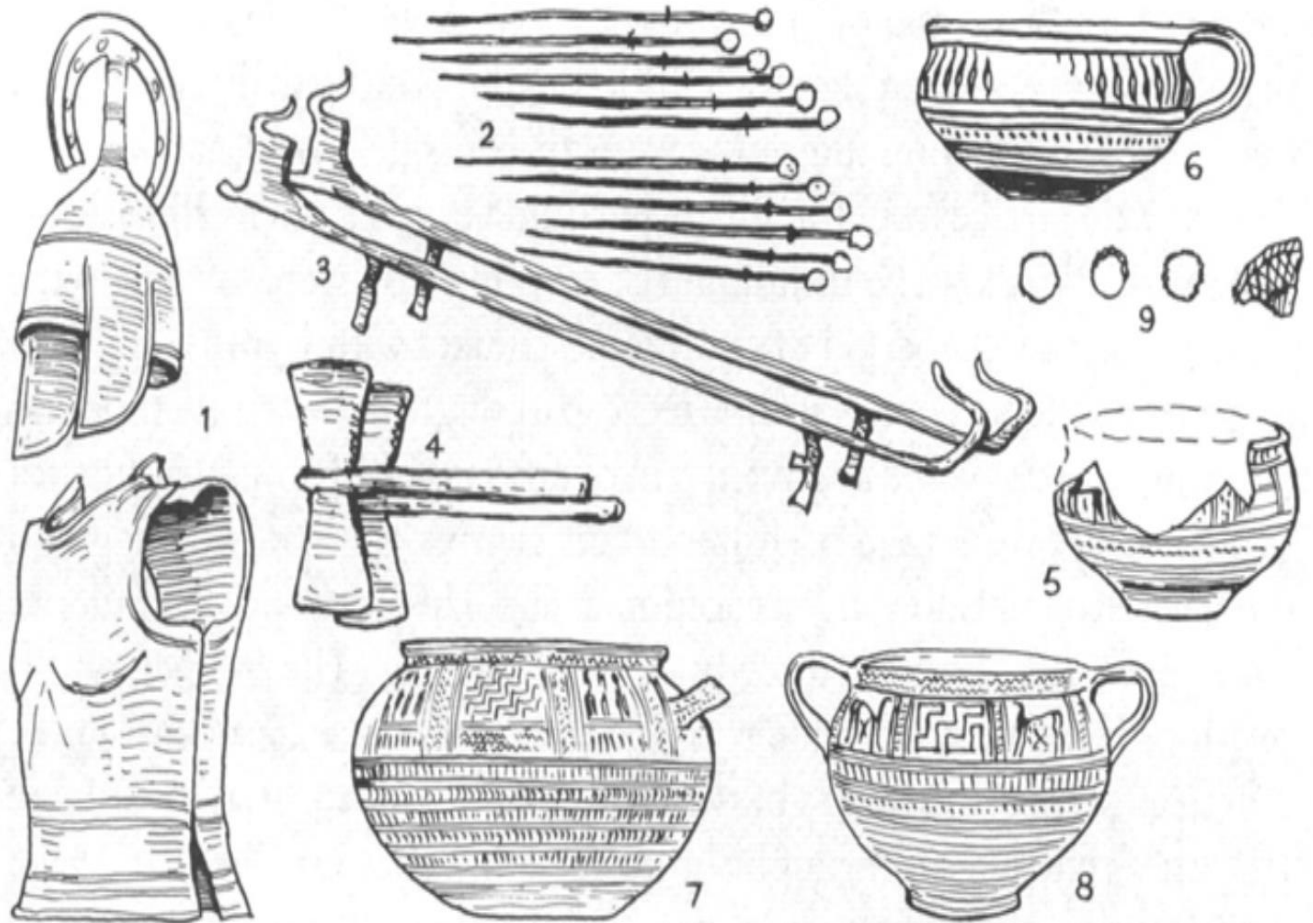


Fig. 86. The 'Panoply Tomb' at Argos (Grave 45). The contents include a bronze helmet and corselet (1), twelve spits (2) and firedogs in the form of warships (3), two iron axes (4), Late Geometric pottery (5–8), gold rings and impressed plaque (9). Not to scale. About 710–700 B.C. (After *BCH* 81 (1957), 322ff.)

⁵⁵BOARDMAN John, "The Geometric culture of Greece", in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed John Boardman and N.G.L. Hammond, 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 781–49

Conclusion :

Human civilisation went through significant development during the Bronze age as agriculture had been widely practiced and trade centres had been established. As Economic activities, mainly agriculture and metallurgy, required more stability and centralized production, human organization took the shape of collective communities and then urban cities emerged. Besides, trade required more complicated skills and techniques, there had been an unprecedented development in both economic and social life. The trade of bronze tools used to make benefit for both those who produced them and those who traded them in the region which had contributed to the emergence of more exchange networks and trade colonies. The Bronze age holds a special importance as it is recognized as the time when writing systems had been developed, centralized governments had taken control of the empires, as well as many other developments had occurred (rituals, religion, administration).

In this chapter, the main focus sets on the historical formation of Greece which is the result of different waves of migrations and invasions. It departs from the first waves of the Minoans who are considered as the early forefathers of the Greeks. Then it traces rise of the Achaeans resulted from the waves that settled in the mainland Greece. In addition to that, the last subsection of the second part deals with the Trojan War. It concludes that the Trojan Wars reflect the political and economic aspirations of a set of tribes looking for a common identity based of mutual interests. These wars imply that Greece was in permanent communication with its neighbours which could impact it in different ways. In the following chapter traces the impact of the development of ancient Greece as a united territory on the linguistic characteristic of the Greek historical areas.

Nevertheless, investigation of CAH views identifies a systematic resistance to acknowledge the existence of colonies in Ancient Greece despite the statements of the Greek Historian Herodotus on Phoenician colonization. Besides, CAH considers the Mycenae as a prehistoric phase for ancient Greece regardless of the lack of archaeological evidence and the fact that The Minoans used to speak a language much different than Greek. At this point it is important to note how the existence of Minoan civilization was highly emphasized in CAH and how, without any material bases, it was assumed that the political power in the region shifted from Crete to Mycenae by the 15th century BC. These controversial assumptions of CAH reflect a common attitude among Western scholarship on ancient Greece. They systematically reject any intervention or existence of a foreign power in Ancient Greece. More examples will be provided in the coming chapters, and a detailed analysis of this attitude and its impact on the study of Translation in Ancient Greece will be provided in Chapter 4 and chapter 5.

After this brief historical background which contextualized the political and social circumstances in Ancient Greece, the following chapter will seek to depict an inclusive view of Language and literature at that time. The exposition of how Greek language emerged and how it interrelated with neighbouring languages lays the ground for a comparative investigation of translation activity. Besides, the cultural transmission provides the material condition for literary translation to fill the cultural Gap between Ancient Greece and the other civilizations.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3: Language and literature in archaic Greece

Introduction

The lack of resources regarding the translation activity in the Pre-Hellenic society can be solved by more projection on the existing languages at that time and the way they interacted all with the local ones. Besides, Translation constituted a major vehicle of the cultural exchange between Ancient Greece and its neighbouring civilizations. Therefore, making an overview of the history of ancient Greece seems to be vital for this quest on the history of translation activity. Accordingly, this study starts from tracing the outset of the earliest cultural transmission in order to draw a comprehensive framework of translation in this period. Additionally, identifying the underlying social and cultural conditions at this moment of development of Greek civilization would be of a great importance for contextualizing the events.

In terms of Human existence and distribution, archaeology suggests that Traces of human being in Southern Europe and North Africa back to the Palaeolithic age⁵⁶. Besides, there are archaeological finds dated to 7000 years BC. This indicates that there were Peoples who lived in the Mediterranean in collective communities and established a communal system of living. Evidences with this regard point out to the economic and cultural development in cities such as Huyuk in Anatolia, Jericho in Jordan, Jamro in Iraq, Ras SHarma in Syria, khirokitia in Cyprus, etc.

⁵⁶ CLARK J. G. D., “ In Mesolithic Times”, in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 14

They were inhabited by peoples who had produced their living by the domestication of animals and agriculture. Fishing was also undertaken in coastal cities as well as hunting in other areas. However, what is at stake here is that the mode of living created some kind of stability that provided necessary condition for economic and cultural development.

This chapter is based upon the anthropological, archaeological and linguistic studies of the ancient languages. The raw material of this quest is the inscriptions and corpus of texts found in different excavation sites as well as all the materials and finds which survived until now. In the 21st Century, a huge number of finds has been discovered in Mesopotamia, the Levant and Egypt. These archaeological evidences provide researchers with materials that would improve the understanding of the relationship between old languages and cultures.

The lack of resources regarding the translation activity in the Pre-Hellenic society drives this quest towards more projection on the existing languages at that time and the way they interacted all with the local one. Greek society was in a dynamic relation with its neighbours especially the eastern Mediterranean and eastern Asian regions. The study of the significantly flourishing Anatolian and Mesopotamian Languages provide a fertile land of enquiry about the origin of Greek culture and language.

However, what is at stake in this chapter is the emergence of Greek language and the roots that shaped its origins and developments. The main focus sets on identifying the ancient languages which used to be spoken in Mainland Greece and its neighbouring areas. According to the historical background in Chapter 2, the ancient

Greek communities were the result of waves of migrations, occupations as well as the settlement of peoples of different origins.

Therefore, it seems better to investigate the spoken dialects rather than languages in ancient Greece. However, while ancient Greece was composed of scattered communities who spoke different dialects, there had been well established civilizations in the east that would shape the Greek language and provide it with basic roots of its Alphabets as well as essential knowledge and techniques. The study of this history aims to shed light on the origin of the Greek language, the Greek alphabet as well as Greek oral tradition.

For this reason the first section of Chapter 3 deals with the origins of Greek language. It traces the family tree from which Greek has derived and its interrelated families of languages, especially the Hittite which impacted Greek significantly. The second subsection discusses the impact of translation on the formation of Greek language. It identifies the vocabulary which does not fit into Greek etymological and morphological structure. It also analyses the vocabulary which does not fit with Greek linguistic framework and draws a comparative etymological and morphological assessment that traces the roots of these words. The results represent a fascinating influence of Greek vocabulary by its neighbouring languages to the extent that up to a quarter of Greek language can be traced back to Semitic origins⁵⁷. The third subsection deals with the origins of the Greek Alphabets. It attempts to date the origins of the Greek alphabets and the origins of each letter. Assessment of available data suggest that the earliest form of Greek writing was inscribed on a Dipylon vase dated to around 740

⁵⁷Lejeune Michel, "Linguistique préhellénique," *Revue des Études Anciennes*. 49, no. 1-2 (1947)

BC. Besides, literature from ancient Greek historians, such as Herodotus, suggests that the Greeks brought their alphabet from the Phoenicians.⁵⁸

The second section of Chapter 3 addresses the forms of literary production and the ways they used to be transmitted. It covers the earliest forms of literary production which use to be called Orality. The oral form does not only constitute the basic form of literature in ancient Greece, but it also represents the ways literary production used to be transmitted and reproduced from one generation to another. This whole process of orality leads to the elaboration of the Oral Tradition, a concept much wider in signification and impact. The second subsection of section 2 draws upon the material forms of preserving and transmitting literature. These materials mainly include pottery, clay, stone, metal, papyrus and parchment. Besides, the written texts were preserved and transmitted in forms of Codex, Roll and books. Understanding how literary languages were preserved in antiquity, which materials were used and which forms they were written is important to identify the material conditions for undertaking translation in Ancient Greece.

3.1. The origins of Greek language

Greek language is considered as a sub-branch of Indo European languages which historical linguists have divided into two main branches: European and Eurasian. The European branch is constituted of Greek, Italic, Germanic and Celtic languages. On the other hand, Eurasian branch includes the Balto-Slavic, Indic and

⁵⁸ J E F F E R Y L. H. "The earliest alphabetic writing", in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed John Boardman and N.G.L. Hammond, 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 819

Iranian languages.⁵⁹ Many works on old European languages suggested that many Anatolian groups of languages do not belong to the Hittite languages, but they constitute a part of old Indo-European languages. This proves that there was a strong contact between the Indo-European branch and the Hittite language which dominated in Asia Minor during the 2nd millennium.

Anatolia constituted the main intermediary space between ancient Greece and the eastern civilizations. They were in direct contact with Mesopotamia and the Levant culture especially the Phoenicians, the Akkadians and the Assyrians. There had been also the closer neighbours of Greece to Egypt.

The main languages which were spoken in Anatolia are the Hittite languages which are considered as a part of the Indo-European language family. The Hittites settled in Anatolia in the third millennium BC and spoke two major languages: the Luwian, in the west and south, and the Hittite language which was spoken around the old Assyrian colony “Kanesh” which was destroyed in 1835 BC⁶⁰.

Proto Hittite is believed to establish itself in Asia Minor as early as the 24th century BC. The same happened with Luvian culture which was influenced by its Anatolian neighbours.

For example, the Lydian language, which is considered as an offshoot of the Anatolian language, had strong influence on the Aegean language and culture⁶¹. In this respect, Margalit Finkelberg (2005) explains that : "Spectacular results have been achieved

⁵⁹ ALBRIGHT W. F. and LAMB DIN T. O., “ THE EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE”, in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008),138

⁶⁰ Mary R. Bacharova, *from Hittite to Homer: the Anatolian background of Ancient Greek Epic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 6.

⁶¹ Albright W. F. and Lamb Din T. O., “ The Evidence of Language”, in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008),141

during this period in the discovery, decipherment and interpretation of documents written in Hittite, Palaic, Luwian, Lycian, Lydian and other Anatolian languages, and a new scholarly discipline, that of Anatolian studies has emerged."⁶²

According to CAH, Greek speaking communities are believed to go back to the eighteenth century BC as a result of their irruption from the northern parts into the south. Meanwhile, two other Indo-European irruptions took place: the irruption of the Indo-Aryan into India and the irruption of the Iranians into Iran few centuries later. However, there are no solid evidences proving the dates of these irruptions. Besides, CAH maintains the question of the time of the irruptions is still unanswered, which puts into question not only the time but also the veracity of the irruptions as a whole. Therefore, CAH makes an unbalanced claim when they assume that Greek language goes back to the 18th century BC.

Nevertheless, one big challenge that may rise when dealing with ancient languages is the complexity of language history itself. As language serves as a means of communication, it becomes closely connected with the different components of its culture. Language changes according to the variations that may take place within its community. Otherwise, it would fail to serve its basic purposes.

3.1.1. Prehellenist languages: overview of languages from the second millennium to the Bronze Age

Greek language is a branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Before, archaeologists believed that Greek was one of the oldest languages in the region. However, the decipherment of Hittite language, by B. Hronzy, could lead to the discovery of a powerful empire in Anatolia between the second millennium and 1200

⁶²Margalit Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre- Greeks* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4

BC. The language of this empire was classified under Indo-European family by Hrozný. Then after his grammatical study of Hittite in 1915, Hrozny, confirmed Knudtzon' opinion regarding the Indo-European origins of Hittite Empire language. Hronzy published his authoritative work on the analysis of Hittite grammar and vocabulary in 1917⁶³. Studies on Hittite language have multiplied since then and provided a sophisticated linguistic understanding of this language.

Greek society was in a dynamic relation with its neighbours especially the eastern Mediterranean and eastern Asian region. The study of the significantly flourishing Anatolian Languages provided a fertile land of enquiry about the origin of Greek culture. In this context, Margalit Finkelberg (2005) explains that: "Spectacular results have been achieved during this period in the discovery, decipherment and interpretation of documents written in Hittite, Palaic, Luwian, Lycian, Lydian and other Anatolian languages, and a new scholarly discipline, that of Anatolian studies, has emerged."⁶⁴

Writing was introduced to Anatolia by the Assyrians. They used Old Assyrian cuneiform in commercial treatises, administrative archives and diplomatic correspondences⁶⁵. Although the Hittite language developed as an Indo-European language, its writing system did not differ much from the Babylonia cuneiform. However, Gary Beckman (2001) provided a comparative linguistic study in which he showed that despite the fact that Hittite follows Babylonian language usage, there were

⁶³ Beckman Gary, "The Hittite Language: Recovery and Grammatical Sketch " in *Ancient Anatolia*, ed Sharon R. Stea and Gregory McMahon, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 521

⁶⁴ Margalit Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre- Greeks* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4

⁶⁵ Michel Cécile, "TeKārum Period on the Plateau " in *Ancient Anatolia*, ed Sharon R. Stea and Gregory McMahon, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 327

phonological, morphological and lexical distinctions caused by its adaptation into Greek⁶⁶.

Archaeologists have identified Linear B as the early written Greek language form. Evidences on this language consist in syllabary inscribed on tablets that were found in Greece between the 13th and 14th Centuries BC. Those Linear B scripts, which belong to Minoan and Mycenaean era, suggest that there was a huge economic effect of Mesopotamia and Syria on Aegean Greece. They also indicate that there were craftsmen and merchants from the Near East and Egypt as well as traders from this latter living in the Levantine and Egyptian cities. The last statement constitutes an essential reason for understanding the linguistic effect of Near eastern and Egyptian languages on Greek.

Accordingly, Martin Bernal (2006) argues that those Linear B tablets serve as archaeological evidences on the contact between Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Levantines and Aegean Greeks since the 3rd millennium BC. Besides, the expansion of the Egyptian power in the 15th Century BC had more intense contact with the Greeks from whom they used to receive tributes. Furthermore, documentary evidences suggest that this close contact and documented tributes turned into an Egyptian colonization of some parts of Greece and had a great impact on the Greek culture.

According to CAH, spoken languages were well developed 100000 years ago⁶⁷. Additionally, they assume that beside Sumerian, two families of languages dominated the Mediterranean civilizations in early history, which are Hamito-Semitic and Indo-European languages. In Hamito-Semitic family, CAH identify five groups of languages:

⁶⁶ Ibid, 517

⁶⁷ ALBRIGHT W. F. and LAMB DIN T. O., "THE EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE", in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 130

1.Semitic, 2.Ancient Egyptian, 3. Berber, 4.Cushitic and 5.Chadic. The Semitic and Ancient Egyptian are the only groups of languages on which important linguistic and anthropological evidences are available. Archaeological evidences show that the language of ancient Egypt backs to the third millennium. They have been identified as hieroglyphic inscriptions which refer to the early dynastic period.⁶⁸

CAH classified Egyptian language according to five written forms. The first form is the Old Egyptian which is found in inscription from 3100-2160 B.C. The second form is Middle Egyptian which is developed version of the Old Egyptian. It is considered as a standard literary form which lasted until the early stages of the first millennium B.C. The third form is the Late Egyptian, which became widely used as a standard form at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The fourth form is called Demotic which is different in its morphological structure. It was adopted during the first half of the first millennium. The fifth form is Coptic⁶⁹ which is considered as the last standard form of Egyptian language. It comprises up to 20 per cent of Greek words and used to be written in a modified Greek alphabet. The Semitic group is represented by the Akkadian language which dominated in the north-East from the middle of the third millennium to the Christian era.⁷⁰ In this regard, Albright W. F. and Lamb Din T. O. (2008) explain that : "During most of the 2nd millennium, Akkadian was the lingua franca of the entire civilized Near East excepting Egypt". It took the form of cuneiform script which was borrowed from the Sumerian language.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 133

⁶⁹ in fact Roger states that there is no trace for the word Coptic in ancient documents. He advocates that it was an Arab term designating the native Egyptians who remained christian after the Arab conquest.

⁷⁰ Albright W. F. and Lamb Din T. O., "The Evidence of Language", in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 134

At the beginning of the second millennium BC, the Old Akkadian was transformed into different languages such as old Babylonian (2000-1500 BC), Old Assyrian (2000-1500 BC) and Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian (1500-1500). Later, Standard Babylonian dominated in the South until 500 BC when it took the form of the Neo-Babylonian. Neo-Assyrian dominated in the North until the fall of Assyria 600 BC. ⁷¹Comparative studies of the old Akkadian texts manifest strong influence between Akkadian and neighbouring languages. For example the analysis of the Nuzi tablets suggests that there was a strong Amorite influence. Besides, the Amarna letters show influence of the Canaanite and Hurrian languages. Canaanite is classified into two branches: the first includes Biblical Hebrew, Phoenician and Moabite while the second includes the Aramaic. The old texts of these languages go back to the 10th century BC. While for the Ugaritic there are texts from the 1st millennium.

CAH dressed a timeline of the development of Semitic languages from the North West region as follows:

2000-1750: Amorite, which is a dialect continuum which was common from northern Mesopotamia to Syria-Palestine.

1750-1400: the division of the Canaanite in Syria-Palestine while Amorite remained dominant in the South.

1400-1000: division of the Canaanite into Hebrew, Phoenician and Proto-Aramaic.

1000 BC and after: development of Hebrew, Moabite, Phoenician and Aramaic.

⁷¹Ibid, 135

Assessing the linguistic history of these languages shows that their development did not take the form of a linear process. Many forms of the old languages persisted centuries after the appearance of their sub-languages.

What is at stake here is that old languages went through a process of linguistic transformation as well as intercultural transmission. For example, the old Egyptian went through different levels of transformation in its basic structure. Linguists identify that its verbal structure was transformed twice in the second half of the fourth millennium BC (between pre-dynastic times). This transformation brought into being new languages and led to the disappearance of old ones.

On the other hand the transmission between languages resulted in an exchange between neighbouring civilizations that went beyond the linguistic structure of the language into an intercultural influence. The results of this inter-culturality are manifested in different parts of literature from that period and would constitute the base of the assessment of translation impact on Greek culture.

3.1.2. Translation and the formation of Greek language

Linguists assert that Greek language contains a surprising portion of vocabulary which does not fit into Greek etymological and morphological analyses. In his essay "Linguistique Préhellénique"⁷², Lejeune observes that those words cannot be classified under Greek etymological indexes and cannot be analysed on the light of Greek inflectional segmentation. He provided examples of "linguistic fossils" and words which are not close to any Indo-European vocabulary and cannot attest the languages from which they were borrowed. However, Lejeune, who was so inclined to study sound

⁷² Lejeune Michel, "*Linguistique préhellénique*," *Revue des Études Anciennes*. 49, no. 1-2 (1947)

changes or his favourite discipline "Phonétique historique", had developed a linguistic method which would trace the history of the word formation. It makes a comparative analysis on both the morphological and phonological levels in order to recover the word origins.

The basic idea is that Greek contains specific morphological and phonological items. The derivational and inflectional changes should respect those rules which govern Greek Grammar and syntax. Such rules are similar to other Indo-European languages that the existence of a foreign word would imply differences in those rules. Lejeune observes the existence of such words in Greek and classified them according to their semantic categories. Then, the classified data could specify the loan words and how their integration into Greek affected their morphology and phonology. They can also provide information on the toponymy and localisation of their origins as well as phonological information which would lead to specify the time of borrowing.

Lejeune published his article in 1945 when the decipherment of Linear B and the Hieroglyphic language had not yet delivered their secrets. Besides, attempts to analyse the data they provide was still going on. However, by the second half of the 20th century, the archaeological achievements provided illuminating data regarding the relationship between Greek vocabulary and Near Eastern Languages and unlocked many etymological gapes in archaic Greek.

Martin Bernal (2006) assumes that up to a quarter of Greek language can be traced back to Semitic origins. He added that this portion, 40-50 per cent seem to be Indo-European, while a quarter to a third of the Greek vocabulary is left unexplained, then he pointed out that from 20 to 25 per cent of Greek is borrowed from the Egyptian

language, in addition to the names of most Greek Gods as well as the names of many places.⁷³

Bernal considered that Semitic language contains both Hebrew and Phoenician. That the researchers regarded the East Mediterranean as a cultural whole while the role of Phoenician in the formation of Greece was denied out of anti-Semitism. He exposed his presumption of the two models of Greek history: the "Aryan model" which regarded Greece as European or Aryan, and the "Ancient model" which regarded it as Levantine and influenced by Egyptian and Semitic cultures.

Archaeological finds show an intense impact of the orient on Greek geometric life⁷⁴. A brief account can be found in Burkert's prominent book "the orientalising revolution". Burkert (1995) provides few examples of what advances in archaeological, anthropological and philological fields proved of the wide existence of imported materials and tools brought from Middle Eastern empires. Then he traced the process of literary transmission from works appeared in archaic Greece, Mycenae, Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Egypt.

Lexicographers who are trying to trace the origins of Greek vocabulary recognize the existence of traces of Egyptian and Babylonian languages at the beginning of Greek lexicography. How the loan words were adapted in Greek inflectional system? How they were phonologically adapted? How orthographic changes have shaped their consonantal roots?

In his article "Egyptian loan-words in ancient Greek" Richard Hilton Pierce (1971) includes an index of Egyptian loan words in Greek with a scrutiny of

⁷³ Martin Bernal, *Black Athena, the Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2006), XIV

⁷⁴ Ibid

lexicographic, orthographic, morphological and phonological scrutiny of about 20 loan words from old Egyptian to archaic Greek.⁷⁵

Linguists and Anthropologists can hardly provide any evidence on the existence of a Greek dialect before the Bronze Age. Besides, there is no epigraphic evidence on the existence of such as dialect before the 5th century BC. From the fourth century BC on different Ionic dialects were inscribed in public tablets. In Prehellenist Greece, Doric Aeolic, Ionic, and sometimes Attic dialects constituted the four traditional groups divided on different parts of historical Greece. Besides, there are several dialects which are:

- Arcado-Cypriot, which is a continued form of Mycenaean dialect.
- Attic-Ionic which had a close contact with west Greek
- West Greek which had a conservative character compared to East Greek.
- East Greek

After the conquest of Eastern Mediterranean by Alexander the Great, Greek language became the international language spoken in the whole region. However, many local and regional languages in the Near East and Egypt survived and developed as both spoken and written languages next to the Greek. One of the main languages with which Greek interacted spoken and written during this period is Egyptian. There were many dialects of Egyptian in Late antiquity.

Despite the fact that the Egyptian language developed hundreds of years before, Greek language gained the floor as a language of political affairs, business and legal issues during the rule of the Ptolemaic dynasty. The writers of hieroglyphic script

⁷⁵Richard Holton Pierce, “*Egyptian Loan- Words in Ancient Greek*,” Symbol Osloenses: Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies 46, no. 1(1971)

declined in number while the script became confined between the walls of temples and funeral writing.⁷⁶ Its derivative form which was called Hieratic had declined in use and become more practiced in writing on Stela and the inscription of religious texts. However, Hieratic did not disappear, but it was developed into a more abstract form known as Demotic, which would remain side by side with the Greek.

Demotic is considered as a derivative form of Hieroglyph. It has developed an abstract writing system which combines alphabetic and complex script, syllabic morphology and ideographic structure⁷⁷. By the second half of the 2nd century, the use of Demotic script declined significantly while Greek dominated as a language in Political and economic affairs⁷⁸.

In the third century, different attempts of reviving and developing the Egyptian script resulted in the emergence of the Coptic language. It was a new form of the Egyptian language written in Greek characters. Coptic language could combine both some of the characteristics of Demotic Egyptian and the abstraction of Greek alphabet.

Therefore, Greek was improved by different phonological component which had been introduced by this new combined language. Coptic was derived from Hieratic Egyptian language. The main aim behind its invention was to translate the Bible for the Egyptian speaking population.

⁷⁶ Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 14

⁷⁷ Ibid, 14

⁷⁸ An extensive collection of Demotic texts and papyri is provided in: *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions*, ed Koenraad Donker van Heel, Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk and Cary J. Martin (Boston: Brill Publishing, 1982)

In addition to a discussion on the last Demotic inscription which is believed to go back to the 5th Century AC

Despite the imposition of Greek as the language of state and administration in Ptolemaic era, Coptic could survive in the regions mainly in a form of religious inscriptions in temples and then became also common for private letters and literature.⁷⁹

Byzantine Egypt was a bilingual society, with Greek and Latin at the official and administrative level while Egyptian was spoken in different dialects by the majority of the population. Therefore, translation and interpreting flourished and could become an organized practice as many document used to be written in two languages at the same time. Therefore, there were many translator who occupied with the task of translation. Besides, translators and interpreters were of imminent importance for the communication between the Latin/ Greek administration and the population. Examples of bilingual scribes can be found in Roger's *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*⁸⁰.

Translation could only be done by scribes who mastered Egyptian, Greek and Roman languages. Although Egyptian was replaced by Greek in the administration and business affairs, there are several papyri records of text receipts, property certificates, sales and accounts of commodities written in both Demotic and Greek. Most translators were scribes who used to write inscriptions for different purposes. By the domination of Greek language in Ptolemaic rule, translated documents are the only inscriptions containing Egyptian languages. This latter has almost disappeared by the 3rd century because of the imposition of Latin and Greek in state affairs for centuries. Romans could allow only religious text to be translated into Greek. As a result, Egyptian almost disappeared from public life and could only be preserved in some monasteries and

⁷⁹ Roger S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 236x

⁸⁰ Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 24

Christian institution that used it to propagate Christianity.⁸¹ Then, Priest and Christian groups propagated the written Coptic in several region of Egypt in order to fulfil their religious mission. Therefore, Coptic use in writing was mainly restricted to translation of the bible and postbiblical theological writings⁸².

Religious literature grew significantly during the second half of the fourth century, thus, translations of these texts were massively undertaken. The church lead the translation activity. As a result, most monks became literate and practiced translation as a learning tool as well as a part of their missionary task. Consequently, Translation flourished significantly in the Monasteries which became a school for learning languages and writing system as well as religious institution.

The most translated religious books were mainly the poetic and prophetic books, lectionary books and manuscripts which were found in the monasteries. However, translation was still practiced in different level of the society. As any legal, official or economic transaction should be done in Greek or Latin, both spoken by only limited number of Egyptians, translators and interpreters were of imminent importance for both statesmen and the population. Translation used to be as much important in the rural area as it is in urban regions. Bilingualism was common mainly to the scribes and intermediaries between the state and the population. Literal translation was more practiced in administrative centres where most of the papyri inscriptions were found.

Translators were mainly bilingual scribes who used to write papyri documents in two or three languages. They were not professional translation in today' sense. But they were mainly the elite of the society or the church. They could be the wealthy elite of

⁸¹ Ibid, 238

⁸² Roger S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993),240
69

urban areas who performed highly state functions such as city councillors, magistrates and upper class of the army. Besides, this highly privileged profession was not a job of men only. Many women used to write inscriptions, like Aurelia Charite of Hermopolis, who was a bilingual writer dealing with business and private letters⁸³. In the villages, they were mainly the big landowners, high officers and liturgy men. Translation has provided Coptic script with large amount of Greek vocabulary. This translation process borrowed into Coptic many word forms such prepositions and conjunctions⁸⁴. Roger (1995) describes the mutual impact of Coptic and Greek language saying:

"The Coptic alphabet enriched the Greek with signs derived from Demotic in order to represent the phonology of Egyptian better than unaided Greek letters could, but the language also borrowed large numbers of words from Greek to enrich the Egyptian vocabulary. The result was a written embodiment of Egyptian with both simplicity and power."⁸⁵

By the Arab conquest, Coptic spread to different level of political, economic and administrative spheres and became on the same level of use as for Greek language which would decline few centuries later.

3.1.3. The Greek alphabet

The origins of the first attested writing system go back to the 3rd millennium BC in the Levant. The invention of writing resulted from a process generated by both the

⁸³ Ibid, 247

⁸⁴ Ibid, 253

⁸⁵ Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995),15

Mesopotamians and the Egyptians who were the earliest users of the Alphabet⁸⁶. Their writing varied from vertical columns to horizontal lines whereas the text direction was from right to left.

Concerning the Greek writing system, attempts to date the origins of the Greek alphabets resulted in different dates. The earliest form of Greek writing was inscribed on a Dipylon vase dated to around 740 BC. However, there is a widely known assumption that the Greek alphabet system appeared between the 8th and 9th centuries BC. Herodotus said that the Greeks brought their alphabet from the Phoenicians.⁸⁷

Although the date of the adoption of the alphabet is still a subject of controversy, recent archaeological researches have confirmed that the origins of the Greek writing system can be traced back to the Proto-Canaanite alphabet of 1700 BC⁸⁸. Both archaeologists and epigraphists provide incontestable data that the Greeks learned the alphabets from their eastern neighbours, the Phoenicians, and called them “Phoenician Letters”.⁸⁹

On the Archaeological level, the earliest known evidence on Greek writing goes back to around 750 during the Geometric period. This suggests that the alphabet was introduced in earlier decades. The first Greek alphabets were inscribed in the Aegean eastern part of mainland Greece and their respective colonies.⁹⁰ Before the second half of the twentieth century, researchers in ancient writing system believed in the widely known view that the Greeks adopted the Phoenician alphabets. However, as the Phoenician alphabetic system was

⁸⁶ I S S E R L I N B. S. J., “The earliest alphabetic writing”, in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed John Boardman and N.G.L. Hammond, 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 794

⁸⁷ J E F F E R Y L. H. “The earliest alphabetic writing”, in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed John Boardman and N.G.L. Hammond, 2nd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 819

⁸⁸ Joaquim Azevedo, THE ORIGIN AND TRANSMISSION OF THE ALPHABET, cited in Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Wisconsin: the University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 11 June 1994

⁸⁹ See appendix 12, the Greek alphabet.

⁹⁰ For more information on early Greek Alphabet see appendix 13

comprised of only consonants, the Greeks changed some consonantal letters into vowels which lead to the development of a new writing system. This view has dominated the studies on ancient writing systems for long time. However, the recent development of Epigraphy and the accumulation of new archaeological and anthropological data could allow the epigraphists to find that the Phoenician alphabetic system contained vowels as well as consonants, and that without taking into consideration the existence of vowels in the Phoenician alphabet, it would be difficult to explain important parts of the origins and history of the Greek Alphabet.

3.1.3.1. Linear B and the Mycenaean alphabet

Before the rise of Greece, Mycenaeans used to write in Linear B scripts. Those first attested forms of Greek language continued to be the Greek writing system until the end of the late Bronze Age. The 1400 BC constitutes an important stage of Greek ancient history for two main reasons. On the one hand, this was the date when Maceaneans expanded in Greece and replaced the Minoan civilization. They exercised a cultural hegemony until the late 1200 BC. On the other hand, 1400 BC constitutes the date of the earliest existing traces of the transmission of the Phoenician alphabet to the Mainland Greece. In Ugarit, the alphabet was used in cuneiform style. In this period both Archaic Greek and Anatolian writing systems were adaptations of the Phoenician script. In the beginning of this period, the Cuneiform and Hieroglyphs alphabet was spread in Syria-Palestine. By the end of the Bronze Age, the Phoenician writing system

gained the floor⁹¹. Then, by the 8th century BC the Greek alphabet started to incorporate more letters.⁹²

3.1.3.2. Chronology of the Greek Alphabet:

So far, the earliest known evidence on the existence of alphabets in Greece goes back to the 5th century BC. In the first half of this century, the alphabets used to be called ‘Phoenician’ by the Ionians. The epigraphist L. H. Hamilton notes that both the inscriptions from the 5th century BC as well as the stories of Herodotus confirm that the Ionians borrowed the Northern Semitic writing system including the names of the letters, their order and their form. For example, Greeks adopted the use of Semitic sounds such as ‘Aleph, he, ayin, etc. from North Semitic language.⁹³

Hamilton (1963) provides a detailed study of the origin of the Greek alphabet and the way it developed from the eighth to the fifth century BC. In his book “the Local Scripts of Archaic Greece”, he assumes that the Greeks adopted the language as well as the writing orientation from the eastern Semitics, namely the Phoenicians. He states that the direction of the Greek language took the same orientation as the direction of all north Semitic inscriptions, which was from the right to left. He also provides many examples of Greek inscriptions which manifest this orientation especially those who were inscribed on pottery

⁹¹ALDRED CYRIL, “EGYPT: THE AMARNA PERIOD AND THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY”, in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008),95

⁹²A concise summary on the history and development of the Alphabet in general see Ap9 the palaeographic chart.

⁹³More detailed discussion can be found in GOETZE A. “THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DOMINATION”, *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1-20

shreds found in Hymettus, Rhodes and the inscriptions on the rocks found in Thera, Smorgos and Pithekoussai⁹⁴.

Hamilton advocates that for the inscriptions which were composed of a single line, the “more than one line” or the Boustrophedon system was adopted to arrange the lines. The Boustrophedon method consists of writing multi-lines texts with a bidirectional method: from left to right and from right to left. Still, there are several inscriptions with retrograde lines but Hamilton disregards them for the reason that they are scattered examples and not confined to the earliest period. The Boustrophedon system would be used in coexistence with the right to left method in Greek writing system during the archaic period.

3.1.3.3. Palaeographic Analysis of the Greek alphabet:

Understanding the origins and development of the Greek alphabet brings into discussion Palaeography which is the study of ancient texts, their creation, processes and forms. The palaeographic analysis of the Greek alphabet, which was undertaken by Azevedo Joaquim (1994), traces the development of Basic Greek alphabets and their origins. Throughout his analysis, alphabets can be assessed one by one in order to shed light on their epigraphic construction as well as how they have developed⁹⁵. In the following paragraphs, this study assesses the palaeographic analysis of each Greek alphabet alone in order to identify their concrete origins based on the comparative examination of their original forms in ancient languages.

(Ψ)	(Ϝ)
1- (Ϝ)	(Α . Α . Α . Ϝ . Α)

⁹⁴C. J Gadd “Assyria and Babylon c. 1370-1300 b.c.”, in *the Cambridge Ancient History*, ed I.E.S. Edwards, the late C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008),44

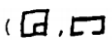
⁹⁵Azevedo, Joaquim, "The Origin and Transmission of the Alphabet" (1994).*Master's Theses*.

Starting with the first letter, Azevold provides that the Greek Alphabetic order starts with $\alpha\lambda\phi\alpha$ (Alpha). This letter comes from the Egyptian Hieroglyph and was depicted in the form of an ox head (the picture of ox in this doc).

Once the writing system became standardized, the Alph took many forms: sometimes like the old Raddana form, in other inscriptions like the Lachish form. By the end of the Seventh century, it became standardized as an upside down form: This Greek form of the Aleph would be adopted later by the Romans for Latin alphabet. Joaquim concludes that the Greek Alpha resembles the proto-Canaanite aleph of the sixteenth to the twelfth centuries BC.

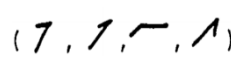
2- The second letter is $\beta\eta\tau\alpha$

It was derived from the Egyptian sign for House. It also resembles some prototypes of the proto-Canaanite alphabet ()

()

3- the third letter is $\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$.

Palaeographers believe that it was an adaptation of the proto-Canaanite sign and the

Egyptian sign () ()

4- The fourth letter is $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\alpha$ which is believed to be derived from the Phoenician Dialect

()

(𐤔)

and the Egyptian PH sing

5- the fifth letter is $\epsilon\psi\iota\lambda\omicron\nu$. It corresponds to the Canaanite script

this is also similar to the Egyptian

(𐤔)



Fau

6-the sixth is Fau

is corresponds to the Phoenician sign waw

(𐤕 , 𐤖)

7- The seventh letter is $\zeta\eta\tau$

$\zeta\eta\tau\alpha$

it is close to the Phoenician sign (I)

8- the eighth letter is $\eta\tau\alpha$, its archaic Greek was formed by a het with a cross bar and a stroke on the top and the bottom as derived from the Egyptian sign

(𐤓)

(𐤓)

9- the ninth letter is $\theta\eta\tau\alpha$.it took different forms in archaic Greek.

(𐤔 , 𐤕 , 𐤖)

10- the tenth letter is $\iota\omicron\tau\alpha$, its archaic Greek form was

(𐤔)

it is derived from the Phoenician sign

Κ Α Π Π Α ,

11- the eleventh letter is

it was a result of a series of derivations of the letter

(ϣ, ϝ)

λαμβδα

12- the twelfth letter is

its signs are believed to be borrowed by the Aegean's 900-800 BC

(μ)

13- the thirteenth letter is μν, it corresponds to the Semitic sign for water

from about 900 BC it started to be written by the Phoenicians like

(ν, ς)

later the Greeks eliminated the strokes and kept the long arm

(η, θ, ι)

14- the fourteenth letter is ν, its archaic form corresponds with the Phoenician nun from 1000 BC .

15- the fifteenth letter is

ξ ε ι

composed of the Greek sigma

ϛ

this corresponds to the Phoenician

(Ξ)

of the 1000 Century BC

ο μ λ κ ρ ο ν

16- the sixtieth letter is

which came from the letter 'ayin which was borrowed about 1100 BC.

17- the seventieth letter is

π ε λ

which is believed to be slightly different from the Phoenician ancestors. The assumption is that tau was developed in Archaic Greek and transmitted thereafter.

18- the eighteenth letter is

σ α ν

for it there are still no sufficient evidences.

19- the nineteenth letter is

κ ο π π α

its earliest form goes back to 1200 BC.

20- the twentieth letter is

ρ ο

it corresponds with the Phoenician

(ρ)

21- the twenty first is

σ ι γ μ α

composed by the archaic letter

(ς , ζ , ξ)

which was derived of the proto-Canaanite form earlier than 1100 BC.

22- the twenty second letter is

τ α υ

Azvedo assumes that the Phoenicians never developed this form. He believes that it was most probably derived from the Anatolian scripts.

23- the twenty third letter is

υ ψ ι λ ο ν , φ ε ι , χ ε ι , ψ ε ι

He suggests that these letters were also derived from the Anatolian script which had been developed before the Greek alphabet.

24- the twenty forth and the last letter is

ωμεγα .

it is less common in archaic Greek than other letters and its source cannot be fully defined.

The table in the following page provides a clear comparison between the Phoenician and the Old Greek alphabet.

Table 1 A table comparing the Phoenician and the early Greek alphabets

Phoenician alphabet		Greek alphabet	
Sign	Name	Sign	Name
𐤀	'āleph	Α	alpha
𐤁	bēth	Β	bēta
𐤂	gīmel	Γ	gamma
𐤃	dāleth	Δ	delta
𐤄	hē	Ε	epsilon
𐤅	wāw	Υ, Ϝ	wau, digamma
𐤆	zayin	Ζ	zēta
𐤇	ḥēth	Η	ēta
𐤈	ṭēth	Θ	thēta
𐤉	yōd	Ι	iōta
𐤊	kaph	Κ	kappa
𐤋	lāmed	Λ	lambda
𐤌	mēm	Μ	mu
𐤍	nūn	Ν	nu
𐤎	sāmekh	Ξ	xi
𐤏	'ayin	Ο	omicron
𐤐	pē	Π	pi
𐤑	ṣādē	Ρ *	san
𐤒	qōph	Φ	qoppa
𐤓	rēš	Ψ	rhō
𐤔	šin	Σ *	sigma
𐤕	tāw	Τ	tau

* The signs Μ and Σ are probably derived from the sign 𐤔. See §11.1.1.2.

Comparison between the Phoenician and Old Greek Alphabets 96

⁹⁶IP Lup Ng & YAN Pui Chi, "writing systems abc", Accessed on November 22, 2018.<http://writingsystemsabc.com/public/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Contents-Page-for-The-Origin-of-the-Greek-Alphabet-2.pdf>

Although both archaeologists and epigraphists agree that the Greek alphabet was direct adaptation of the Phoenician, the questions when, where and how this adaptation took place is still a controversial issue. Burkert (2016), the German historian and scholar of Greek mythology and cult, noted that many archaeologists suggested that these alphabets were introduced by traders and merchants while others suggest that it was adopted by messengers. Still most existing studies hold that this adoption was a result of coexistence of the Greeks and the Phoenicians at the same place. Therefore, the idea that there were Phoenician settlers in the Greek areas seems to be the most convenient reason.

The cultural impact of the Phoenician culture on the Greeks consolidates the view which states that there was an orientalising period where Greece was influenced deeply by its neighbouring cultures. Thus, Burkert assumes that this orientalising period was a direct consequence of the Assyrian conquest of the Greek mainland as well as parts of its islands.⁹⁷ He advocates that the Greek culture flourished after a huge influence of the Semitic east between 750 and 650 BC.

Nevertheless, these conclusions provide only half answers on the questions raised above. Bacharova (2016) holds that recent studies suggest that the cultural transmission from the Assyrians to the Greeks took place through the Hittite culture which played an intermediary role during the orientalising period. Therefore, Bacharova advocates that many prominent researchers such as Walter Burkert for his omission of the Hittites important role in transferring the Mesopotamian works into Greece. With this regard, she states that:

" I do not believe that the Orientalizing period as defined
by Burkert was the most important period of Near Eastern influence
on Homeric poetry; and I am sceptical of direct contact between

⁹⁷Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans Margret E. Pinder and Walter Burkert (London, Harvard University Press, 1992)

Assyrians and Greeks as a crucial vector of transmission of Mesopotamian literature, as opposed to a more indirect route that passed plots and motifs from Akkadian through the Hurrian, west Semitic, non-Greek language(s) of Cyprus, and/or Anatolian languages before they reached Greek-speakers."⁹⁸

3.2. Literary forms in antiquity: Orality and literacy

The Oral tradition used to be the main form of creation and propagation of literature. However, the cultural and economic exchange between ancient Greece and its neighbouring civilisations provided necessary materials and techniques for writing. With the adoption of the Phoenician scripts, writing gained the floor gradually while the oral tradition ceased to be the main form of communication, mainly in the official and economic transactions. In this context, investigation of literary forms in antiquity as well as the shift from Orality to Literacy constitutes basic start departure point for this quest in order to understand the impact of the written word on the Greek Heritage as well as the relation between translation and the shift of literacy in Hellenistic Greece.

In the following subsection, the examination begins by the oral tradition then moves to writing and its different forms focusing on the Codex and the book as writing forms which influenced most human literary history.

3.2.1. The Oral tradition in Antiquity

Some anthropologists claim the existence of writing in a society whose encounter with the alphabet is assumed to take place in before the 8th century BC. However, many scholars advocate that Athena was generally an oral society until the

⁹⁸Mary R. Bacharova, *from Hittite to Homer: the Anatolian background of Ancient Greek Epic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 5

fourth century⁹⁹. Recent researchers make strict statements about this issue. For example, Kennedy (1963) assumes that reading and writing using different materials (bronze, clay, papyrus, stone, wood or wax) were difficult and unnatural during the fifth and fourth century in Athens. Greeks used oral tradition to communicate, propagate literature and history of the past. Still, written records were a supplementary to the communication and transmission processes.¹⁰⁰ Most inscribed literature was written to be heard, "even when reading to himself a Greek read aloud"¹⁰¹.

3.2.1.1. Definition of the Oral Tradition:

It seems hard to provide an accurate definition to a concept which grew and developed in a context which is different in both language and culture. Still, this study provides general definitions of its subject matter and clarifies the aspects in which it is different than the current linguistic and contextual understanding.

One of the most influential attempts which provide a study of oral tradition was Vansina's prominent work (1965) *The Oral Tradition*¹⁰². His work constitutes a cornerstone in classical studies and provides a systematic quest in this subject. Vansina defines oral tradition as "all verbal testimonies which are reported statements concerning the past"¹⁰³. It is a verbal communicative process in which information is transmitted by words of mouths over time. This definition emphasizes the form of the information as well as the process of transmission. However, Vansina's focus on the verbal aspect of

⁹⁹ Ibid, 2

¹⁰⁰ ROSALIND THOMAS, "Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens", ed Peter Purke and Ruth Finnegan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989),

¹⁰¹ George Kennedy, *the Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 3

¹⁰² VANSINA J., "Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology" (Harmondsworth). (Originally publ. in French, 1961, first Engl. edn 1965.), 16

¹⁰³ ROSALIND THOMAS, "Introduction", *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*, ed Peter Purke and Ruth Finnegan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

the concept brings some linguistic hindrances as it does not reflect the function performed by the orator. Being a Lexicographer, a political discourse writer or even a story teller, the orator plays a social function that makes him much different from other people who speak "by word of mouth".

Vansina will extend his view considered that the Oral Tradition can refer to the process of message transmission, which is the main object of communication, as well as a product of this transmission; the Oral messages are transmitted by words of mouth to other messages over generations. This process implies both the transmission of the message and the various changes that may occur to it in the course of this process. Vansina goes further with this description to the extent that he asserts that the original message would be disappeared as other messages would be generated by the transmission.¹⁰⁴

Otherwise, R. Jebb (1999) suggests that the equivalent word of orator in Roman provides more clearances on the word than does the English one. He holds that:

" The Roman term orator, 'pleader', had this advantage over ours, that it related not to a faculty, but to a professional or official attitude... but the Greeks had a word which presented the man of eloquence, not a man of genius, nor like the Roman word, as an official person, but simply as a speaker"¹⁰⁵

Jebb does not only identify a clear connotative difference between the uses of the term orator in English, Roman and Greek, but he also makes distinctions in terms of

¹⁰⁴Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Wisconsin: the University of Wisconsin Press, 1985),3

¹⁰⁵Richard Claverhouse Jebb, *Attic Orators from antiphon to Isaeos* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009),LXX

the functions of the oral tradition in its early ages in the Greek city Sicily, where orators were mainly those who taught people how to speak, and Athens where orators were mainly professional speakers in the public assembly. Later the term was attributed to the students of the emerging art "Rhetorics"

3.2.1.2. The veracity of the oral tradition

Orators used memory to tell and propagate literary works. Although the act of memorising and recalling depended on memory; they were not all conscientious of how the process worked. Homer and Hesiod brought back the veracity of the stories they had been telling to the Muse, child of Zeus, who was not a source of inspiration but as a proof of exactitude of the facts¹⁰⁶. The oratory act was considered as a speech flow and the orator considered himself as a messenger who is inspired by the Muses.

During an assessment of oral tradition in both Greek and Roman culture, Jebb (2009) made a controversial assumption that the art of oratory was originated in Greek and adopted by the Romans. The evidences upon which he owed the beginning of oratory to the Greeks were twofold. The first is internal evidences which are the ancient orations that had been finely arranged and attentively composed in terms of form and content. The second is external evidences which are the appreciations and effects manifested by the hearers of the oral manoeuvre.

Nevertheless, those evidences, both the external and internal, may not unequivocally imply Jebb's assumption regarding the Greek origins of oratory. The "fastidious nicety of diction, of composition and of arrangement" would not directly imply the origins of orality. The artistic excellence of the oral tradition in the Attic

¹⁰⁶Thomas (litoral), cited in Jocelyn Penny small Wax tablet of the Mind: Cognitive studies of memory and literacy in classical antiquity. London and Newyork, 218

culture would conversely imply that it had gone through a long process of maturity to arrive at the form and content discussed by Jebb. Likewise, the external evidences can be considered as objective testimonies on the existence of a well-established oral tradition in archaic Greece, not its origins.

Nevertheless, the implications of Jebb's analysis may be much more concerned with the shift in the function of orality between the Attic oratory and the Athenian oratory which would be adopted later by the Romans. The identification of this shift allowed Jebb to build concrete basis to depart from when analysing the Ancient oratory, the ancient prose and the modern oratory. He made an important point regarding the close relation between oratory and prose in the pre-Hellenistic age. Ancient artist considered oratory as much a fine art as poetry, painting and acting¹⁰⁷. Oratory was a natural creation of artistic character that may express realities, ideas and aspirations. Later, it developed to an art of speaking before the official structure of Athena and Roma. The Development of oratory in the public instances of the state, led to the emergence of a new art, that of "Rhetoric"¹⁰⁸.

Anthropologists have developed advanced measures and tools which allowed them to find out more on orality in antiquity. However, they all assume that there is a lack in historical and literary evidences for the nature of the quest itself being related to oral information which was hard to preserve and could also be influenced by posterior content which was inscribed in records. Available content of the Oral tradition was mainly from the fifth century BC for the only reason that it is the era on which exist more documented material. Accordingly, as the period was characterized by growing

¹⁰⁷Richard Claverhouse Jebb, *Attic Orators from antiphon to Isaeos* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), PLXXI

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, PLXX

practice of public democracy and the political culture of the Polis, major parts of the oral tradition are composed of the speeches delivered in Athenian official spaces such as the principal assembly (Ecclesia), courts and other state structures. Simultaneously, popular poetry constituted an important source which included poems on daily life as well as accounts of stories and legendary ventures which would turn to be the principal source of history (Legendary Tradition). In this line of argument, Rosalind Thomas (1989) states that:

“In Athenian society, the dissemination of information was a basic principle in the functioning of the Ecclesia (General Assembly) where crucial issues were discussed and important decision were made (Treaties, declaration of Wars, laws...). The communication of adopted resolutions was orally made regardless of the existence of a written record. Orators played a prominent role in the establishment of Athena democracy.¹⁰⁹”

Furthermore, as the tyranny was defeated and democratic political structures were established, and the constitution was adopted with tendency to establish public official structure to guarantee collective participation in terms of courts, councils and assemblies, Orators gained more space to intervene and express their skills. Well-built oral speeches became so highly needed that people used to give money to those well specialized in oral speeches. This gave rise to the emergence of sophist orators who used to write speeches which would be presented before the courts. Specialized Orators developed persuasion techniques and could teach them to people who would like to make speeches before the political or official bodies. Corax is considered one of the prominent orators whose instructions about public speaking contributed to the

¹⁰⁹ Rosalind Thomas, “*Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*“, ed Peter Purke and Ruth Finnegan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 61

development of a new art of argumentation and constituted the first manual on Rhetoric.¹¹⁰

3.2.1.3. Translation and the shift of literacy in Hellenistic Greece

In his book "Egypt in Late Antiquity", Rogers made an important remark regarding the shift in the interpretation of the word Hellenistic by Historians, Anthropologists and Philosophers. Rogers argues that Hellenistic as a term was coined to designate the Greek language after it had been mixed with a mixture of foreign elements introduced mainly from Egypt, Syria, and other areas of the Mediterranean after the conquest of Alexander the Great.¹¹¹ Therefore, unlike what the first impression that Hellenistic may raise; it is used to refer to the mixture of literature forged by the contact and transmission between Greek civilization with others. This is an acculturation whose ethnic identity is still an object of controversy.

As with regard to the literature on this period, and following the geographic and cultural scope of the term Hellenistic, a huge literature on this period lies in the papyri found in the Nile delta. A systematic study of these scripts suggests that there used to be three languages in Egypt in the fourth century: Egyptian, Greek and Latin¹¹².

A huge number of the papyri inscribed in this period were written in two languages which were common in Egyptian society: Greek and Latin. The government decrees and official documents were in Latin when they were considering the army, the

¹¹⁰ Thomas Cole, "Who Was Corax?", in *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*, the Attic Orators, ed Edwin Carawan (New York: Oxford University press, 2007), 38

¹¹¹ Roger S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 230

¹¹² Ibid, 231

judiciary system as well as the Roman citizens. On the other hand, Latin literature and prose were translated into Egyptian language¹¹³.

Byzantine Egyptian society constitutes a figurative example on the important role of translation in that epoch. As there were three languages spoken in the Egyptian Hellenistic society, the need for translation became of an imminent importance. Therefore, translation practice used in order to bridge between the languages and different social relations. A huge amount of the papyri documents were written in two languages as the use of bilingual documents became a common official as well as individual undertaking.

Translation and interpreting were believed to be the key to access official Latin and Greek documents, make business contract and communicate the proceedings and literature to the vast majority of Egyptian society. The Greek name for the interpreter was Hermeneus. There was a tax imposed on the Hermeneus as it was a very crucial job. Many papyri documents testify the existence of this tax and its amount. Translation was needed for two reasons: Firstly, many scholars assert that during byzantine period, the Roman Empire prevented the use of local language in public affairs. Secondly, in order to communicate with a population who speaks mainly Egyptian, the romans needed to translate their decrees, business documents, ownership documents as well as different legal and legislative documents.

The question of writing in archaic Greek is as older as the speculations on the Greek oral tradition itself. One of the major questions which challenge the oral nature of the Homeric epics is how a writer could memorize thirty thousand verses and

¹¹³ Ibid, 231

communicate them to others for generations if not centuries? Accordingly, the question of the adoption of literacy in archaic Greece is crucial to any literary, cultural and anthropological undertaking of that era of flourishing intellect.

Robert Wood (1957) assumed that writing had only been introduced to Greece in the 6th Century BC and that it had not been known to the Greeks in during the time of Homer¹¹⁴. Actually, nobody can question the importance of writing as one of the most significant human capacities. Most of existing human literature could not have persisted without writing. However, Greeks regarded writing with suspicion. Various forms for scripts were used especially the codex which is defined as the preponderant form of late Byzantium-and modern-BOOK. It consist of quires made of sheets of papyrus, parchment, or, later, paper¹¹⁵. This assessment of the role of writing for cultural and social translation resumes its role in ancient Greece and could lead to the need to more development in terms of the literary forms. The following subsection, deals with the ways writing material transformed and its impact on the generation of Greek literature.

3.2.2. The transformation of writing materials in antiquity (Roll, Codex and book)

Most of the existing information and written material concerning all human literary works, which have been produced since antiquity till recent history, could be preserved, transferred and translated to us using different writing materials. These materials include pottery, clay, stone, metal, papyrus and parchment. (Parchment, clothes, wood, bone, leather, and broken pieces).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴T. J. B. Spencer, "Robert Wood and the Problem of Troy in the Eighteenth Century", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 20, No. 1/2 (Jan. - Jun., 1957), pp. 75-105

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ More information about the Greek and other papyrus finds in the book Greek papyri

Antiquity Archaeologists and linguists assume that “the written word was of great importance in Byzantium, for the transmission of the Bible (the biblos par excellence) and patristic literature, and for the preservation of the heritage of the classical antiquity.”¹¹⁷ They provided also that the number of preserve Greek manuscript is about 55,000 manuscripts who are mainly in codex. Therefore, tracing the transformation of writing materials would allow the researchers to have a close view of the material condition of translation and cultural transmission of literary inscriptions.

Understanding how literary languages were inscribed in antiquity, which materials were used, which forms they were written is important to sketch a view of how translation activity and cultural transmission were undertaken in ancient times.

3.2.2.1. Papyrus

Papyrus was used in Egypt since the third millennium. It is considered as the most common writing material in the ancient Mediterranean cultures.¹¹⁸ The papyrus sheets were made by binding together fibres and slices of papyrus reed. Then, these slices were glued to make a roll of which the length could be 20 feet or more. During the writing, the words were put on horizontal orientation to form a column as that of the newspapers. The reader could go through each papyrus document by scrolling the roll which may contain about 1500 lines or what stands today as a "book".

Papyrus has marked the old Egyptian civilization for the reason that it used to grow only in the Nile Delta and also for its capacity to last for a long period of time in a dry climate. Egypt was the only source of Papyrus and the Nile valley¹¹⁹ which is the

¹¹⁷ Ibid, PP305

¹¹⁸ Sarah B. Pomeroy and others, *a Brief History of Ancient Greece: Politics, History and culture* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2004),3

¹¹⁹ see maps of Egypt ap5

area where the biggest number of papyrus documents were found. Besides, there are almost no papyri documents from outside Egypt. As a result, papyrology often refers to the study of ancient texts of Egypt which used to be written in ink on the papyri or other materials.¹²⁰

On the language level, texts were written in different languages from the old pharaonic dynasties until the Arab invasion. Therefore, existing papyrus inscriptions vary from the old Egyptian, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac¹²¹ and many other near eastern languages¹²². However, Papyrologists were more interested in Greek papyri as they were more focused on Greek culture. As a result, most Papyrus documents written in other languages such as Coptic and Egyptian were disregarded. Egypt was divided into urban areas where Greek was spoken and rural areas where people spoke Egyptian. A division contrasted by the 20th Century finds and available papyrus documents.

J. Clarkson (2004) has examined in details the attitude of papyrologists toward the papyri documents in different languages¹²³. He concludes that the organization and preservation of papyri documents were undertaken differently according to the language in which they were written. Besides, he also concludes that this organization impacted the understanding of late antique Egypt.

¹²⁰P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, 2nd ed. (New York: Brill, 1994), 1

¹²¹Syriac is the Aramaic dialect of the first generation of Manichaean missionaries who came to Egypt from Edessa, Eastern Turkey, to spread the new religion (Christianity). From the third century on, Syriac was then adopted as a literary language of non-Greek Christians in eastern and south central Asia. It belongs to the Levantine group of the West Semitic branch of languages. Other forms within this same branch are other forms of Aramaic (Babylonian Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Palestinian Aramaic, Samaritan and Mandaean), Canaanite (Ugaritic, Hebrew and Phoenician) and all forms of Arabic. It played a prominent role in the transmission of Greek literature to Arabic at Dar al-Hikma in Baghdad. Wheeler M. Thackston, *Introduction to Syriac* (Maryland: IBEX Publishers, 1999), viii

¹²² Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 10

¹²³ Clarkson S. J., "Papyrology and the Utilization of Coptic Sources", in *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt*, ed. Wadad Kadi and Rüdiger Wielandt (Boston: Brill, 2004), 21

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An inclusive description of how Clarkson's excavation of the Papyri was done in Egypt at the end of 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century is provided by Bezalel Porten (1996) in the book "The Elephantine Papyri In English: Three Millennia Of Cross-Cultural Continuity And Change"¹²⁴. He summed that for 90 years, individual pieces of papyrus were collected from the Elephantine Island in Aswan. The city was located in the border of the Upper Nile Egypt and the Nubia. The documents were the subject of rivalry between the Imperial forces acting in Egypt in the beginning of the 20th century. Italy is considered as the forefront of this contest due to the activities of Giovanni Battista Belzoni and Bernardino Drovetti . This latter as responsible for trade of a huge amount of Egyptian antiquities including the famous Turin Royal cannon, or Turin King list, which is a papyrus providing the invaluable data on the list of pharaohs and ancient Egyptian rulers, including Gods, until the reign of Ramses II. A huge amount of Egyptian papyri were collected by the Germans and found their way, partly, to the Museums of Berlin, Paris, and Moscow.

In order to assess the relationship between the organization and interpretation of different papyri texts according to their language, Clarkson (2004) makes a comparative study on both Greek and Coptic papyrus documents. He advocates that the pioneer papyrologists were concerned more by the traces of Greek authors rather than the history of Ancient Egypt. With this regard, he states that:

"It was the lure of Greek texts, potentially recording the work of classical authors which attracted many on the subject. For well a hundred years now, Greek language sources were privileged over contemporary texts in Coptic and the other languages used in Late Antique Egypt. The

¹²⁴ Bezalel Porten, *the Elephantine Papyri in English* (New York: Brill, 1996)

result is a picture of Egyptian society as a bipolar phenomenon, with urban-dwelling, land-owning, Greek-speakers contrasted with the rural, peasant Coptic speakers who were ignorant of Greek¹²⁵. "

Accordingly, the papyrologists gave little importance to the papyrus documents written in languages other than Greek although an important number of papyrus documents dating to that period were not written in Greek. To solve this contradiction, they divided Egyptian society into two areas which used to speak different languages. One is an urban area which represents the ruling state and used to speak and write different official documents and correspondences in Greek. The other area is a rural, inhabited by peasants who used to speak Coptic.

3.2.2.2. Hellenocentric Attitude of Papyrology

Papyrologists made a distinction between papyrus texts based on the evidence of their language. Therefore, many papyrus texts were assigned to Greek authors for the only evidence that they were written in Greek and large literature of the period has been interpreted in a Hellenocentric view. Most scholars of the period have focused more on providing input on Graeco-Roman Hellenistic Egypt rather than understanding the Egyptian history in late antiquity.¹²⁶

Conversely, existing archives provide material evidences that Greek was used beside Coptic in different levels and areas of the Late Antique Egypt. Most of them were used as private letters, communication on private affairs, external business, legal documents... However, even when the papyri archive is written in two languages, Greek

¹²⁵P.W. Pestman, *the new Papyrological Primer*, 2nd ed. (New York: Brill, 1994), 2

¹²⁶ Ibid, 22

and Coptic in this case, the Greek document is published long time before the Coptic ones.

The archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito is considered as the most complete surviving personal record from antiquity. Leslie (1988) describes them as: "The accident of physical survival has preserved for us the personal papers of this individual, Dioscorus of Aphrodito, with completeness unparalleled in the ancient world"¹²⁷. His papers varied into two main categories: public and private documents. Public documents include petitions, official documents, judiciary proceedings, accounts, fiscal receipts, and other financial documents. While the private documents include leases of land, properties, loans, donations, inventories, marriages, divorces, letters...

Dioscorus was an educated Egyptian born about 520 AD from a privileged family. He had embarked many jobs such as jurist, land dealer, lawyer and a poet. He travelled throughout the whole region. He perfectly mastered both Coptic and Greek languages and many his writing were written by the two languages. More attention has been attributed to Siocorus Greek papyri whereas the Coptic archive was discarded by Jean Maspero, then president of the Cairo Museum for the only reason that he did not speak Coptic. Leslie (1988) claims that "Unfortunately, our knowledge of the Coptic portion of Dioscorus's papers is not yet complete; and, given conditions in Egypt, substantive results cannot be expected in any foreseeable future."¹²⁸

¹²⁷Leslie S. B. Mac Coull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito His Work and His World* (Berkley, Los Anglos, London: University of California Press, 1988),1

¹²⁸Leslie S. B. Mac Coull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito His Work and His World* (Berkley, Los Anglos, London: University of California Press, 1988), 20

Most of these papyrus documents were discovered between 1901 and 1905 in a Southern Egyptian city called Assiut when some peasants of Kom Ishgaw village were digging the walls of their old houses. Huge amount of papyri archives had been found. Some of them were destroyed by the villagers while the rest had been dispersed by collectors and dealers to be sold Russia, Germany and USA. In 1905 Gustave Lefebvre, who was the inspector of antiquities, could have managed to save some of the documents and sent them to the Cairo Museum whose director then was the prominent French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero. This latter used the material to write his influential three volumes of *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*. However, Maspero gave more importance to the Greek papyri while he disregarded the rest for the reason that he did not use to speak Coptic. With this regards, Leslie states that

"Three boxes of Coptic material from the site were given by Lefebvre to the Cairo Museum;²⁸ however, because Jean Maspero could not read Coptic, they were put aside, and the fate of their contents is still unknown."¹²⁹

By the end of 20th century, papyrologists started to acknowledge the gap in the study of Coptic papyrology of Late Antique Egypt. They recognized the marginalization of the Coptic papyri compared to Greek one even if they were found at the same place and refer to the same person.

3.2.2.3. The compartmentalization of scholarship

Many scholars consider the cause of this issue to be the “compartmentalization of scholarship” by Western scholars and institutions. With this regards, the Egyptologist S.J. Clackson has described their compartmentalization as follows:

¹²⁹ Ibid, 20

"...Coptic texts have only been overlooked because they are not written in Greek. In the West, the centuries-old tradition of training in Classical languages is usually separated from academic study of Oriental, or Near Eastern, languages and cultures. The division often extends into the physical organization of material culture in museums and libraries: in the British Library, for example, Coptic papyri from Patermouthis' archive are now assigned to a different department from the Greek, even though acquired at the same time."¹³⁰ "

The classification of the two branches is not devoid of Hellenocentric judgements. The Papyri written in Coptic is often classified under the category of oriental manuscripts while the Greeks are classified under the Western manuscripts. S. Clackson adds that the two branches are arranged in two divisions of the library and made available to the researchers and scholars in different rooms. Moreover, there are many cases where the Coptic documents are arranged and considered as Greek texts written by Greek scholars and poets. As an example, Clackson identified a collection of papyri documents at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge were arranged by the Papyrologist F. Heichelheim, in an alphabetical order, as a remain from Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and Sophocles' *Antigone*. It was then incorporated into the corpus "*The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*" which Clackson qualifies as "a fragmentary Coptic document and, as such, remains unpublished."¹³¹ the

¹³⁰ Clackson S. J., "Papyrology and the Utilization of Coptic Sources", in *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt*, ed Wadad Kadi and Rüdiger Wielandt (Boston: Brill, 2004), 30

¹³¹ Clackson, "Papyrology and the Utilization of Coptic Sources", in *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt*, ed Wadad Kadi and Rüdiger Wielandt (Boston: Brill, 2004), 31

same thing could be identified in many other papyri documents not only for arrangement but also for how they are edited, organized and published.

Recently, papyrologists' attitude toward Coptic documents has shifted significantly. Thousands of papyri document were found recently in many excavation sites in the Dahlia oasis in Egypt. The papyrologists' attitude of the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of 20th Century tended to disregard papyri in Coptic. An important number of the existing documents were collected years after their discovery, mostly from dwellers and merchants which derive them from their archaeological context and affects the way they can be arranged and classified. However, the documents excavated recently were found in a well-controlled excavation sites. Therefore, more archaeological and anthropological data and analyses can be reached. Those documents scholars assume that the examination of these Coptic documents may change our whole view of late antique Egypt¹³².

Additionally, many scholars suggest that the accessibility to Coptic papyri would be much more improved if papyrologists could develop research tools devoid of the Hellenocentric view which dominates the treatment of onomastica, paleographical manuals, and the establishment of comparable database for Coptic documents. Finally, Clackson suggests that dictionaries of Greek and Coptic languages may help to encourage more scholars to investigate the Coptic papyri. Besides, the publication of the Coptic documents beside their Greek counterpart would shed more light on hidden parts of Late Antique Egypt.¹³³

¹³² Ibid, 36

¹³³ Ibid, 40

Understanding the source of papyrus, the techniques used to transform the papyrus plant into writing material as well as the information inscribed in it relates ancient Greek directly to the old Egyptian civilization. The question that rises at this point relates to the first literary contact between the two civilisations and the transmission and translation that were performed in ancient Times.

Papyrus used to be an accounting and recording material. The Government used it mainly to keep records of taxes, track properties, budget expenses and also in communication with far administrations and regions. Papyrus is considered as the most common writing material in the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean. An increasing quantity of papyrus documents were found in different excavation sites. Therefore, Archaeologists needed to develop a method which would allow them to not only systematically study the origins of the documents or their history but also the interpretation of their content and the preservation of their material. By the end of the 19th century, Papyrology was emerged as a well-established discipline. Papyrology aims at the study of papyri and its related materials as well as the content of papyrus documents. It is now considered as "one of the most resolutely technical and positivistic disciplines of antiquity"¹³⁴

Although papyrus document constituted the basic writing material in the ancient times, many papyrologists emphasize that their content should be regarded as a human construct¹³⁵. The documents are not exact facts which can reflect directly on what the reality looked like in that era. On the contrary, the papyrus documents were made by writers of antiquity who were not devoid of their social conditions. Besides, existing

¹³⁴ Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), vii

¹³⁵ Ibid, 125

papyrus documents usually constitute only a part, or a scattered segment of the original documents. Therefore, interpretation, historical reading and comparative study become indispensable in order to make an understanding of the document that may be the closest to its original one.

In the case of old Egyptian writing system and documents, the study of papyri would not bring a complete understanding of the language or even the culture. At this point, Schiffman emphasizes that:

"Some parts of Egyptian writing systems were informed by an intimate working relationship between papyrus and monumental writing. This integration of script and monument, inherent in the strongly decorative character of the Egyptians' scripts in all their forms, was, in turn, intimately connected to their desire to make texts and representations closely cohere as they tried to recreate the cosmos in tombs and temples."¹³⁶

Most of papyri finds consist of government documents recording the population, the properties, taxes, budgets management, and internal correspondences. On the other hand, papyri used by individuals refers mainly to documents recording their properties and obligations or contracts of different kinds. Scholars count other kinds of papyri especially the texts used for education purposes as well as literary papyri. These two last kinds of papyri belonged to the most privileged people in the society because literacy

¹³⁶Geolet Ogden, "Ancient Egyptian Scripts—Literary, Sacred, and Profane ", in *Semitic papyrology in Context*, ed Lawrence H. Schiffman(Boston: Brill, 2003), 1
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was restricted to a minority of the people while only the top elite used to have access to education and literature.¹³⁷

Papyrologists assume that Egyptian forms of writing varied also according to the register and other social factors such as class and function. Besides, the writing materials also vary according to the register which is determined by the context.

3.2.2.4. Clay and Tablets

If Papyrus was an exclusive Egyptian material for writing, Clay and tablets played a substantive role in Mesopotamia and other parts of the Mediterranean. As it was the case with the shift from papyrus to paper, the invention of the codex widely substituted forms contributed to development of the scripts' form into the Book. It has dominated as a script since then. Antiquity Documents from the northern and western Europe are mainly Tablets and Graffiti. Many scholars think that the rainy climate in the North is the main enemy of Papyrus for a long time.

Although most of written literature of antiquity appears to be written in Papyri, Stone inscription are different from the Papyrus ones for the reason that they consist mainly in Poetry and verses of writing that the poets seek to make public and permanent. Unlike papyri documents which were used mostly to record taxes, properties, legal issues, marriage and divorce¹³⁸, stone inscriptions are more directed to public life. They are made to honour some leaders, a law, and a claim to privilege or an exercise of power. Therefore, the social function of the document influences in many ways the material in which it would be inscribed. The documents are always meant to convince somebody, publicize something, and honour an emperor for the sake of

¹³⁷ Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 11

¹³⁸ examples of papyri documents in appendix ap6

another political or economic gain. Roger (1995) states in his notes on reading antiquity documents:

"The exercise of power, memorialization, and the protection of property and rights were the driving forces behind most of the writing that has survived to us. The documents are thus no more innocent than literary works; but they are usually more immediate and need a different type of analysis to ferret out their different kinds of biases and intentions"¹³⁹

A strong relationship between papyrus and monumental inscription is manifested by the comparative study of old Egyptian literature. He argues that the relationship between papyri documents and monumental inscriptions is coherent. They can be a form of substitute for tombs and conversely that tombs can serve as a substitute for papyrus.

3.2.2.5. The Rosetta stone and Translation as language learning process

According to Clement of Alexandria, literate Egyptians of the Late 2nd Century AC used to learn first how to write in Epistolographic language. Secondly, they learn hieratic and lastly, hieroglyphic. ¹⁴⁰. Besides, Clement also adds that Greek became learning languages by the middle of the Ptolemaic Dynasty. These varieties of languages were learned gradually by Egyptian scholars who used to learn the symbols of each language then improve their skills by Translation.

¹³⁹Roger S. Bagnall and Peter Derow, "Preface", in *the Hellenistic, Historical Period Sources in Translations*, ed Roger S. Bagnall and Peter Derow (United states: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), xxv

¹⁴⁰Ogden Geolet, Jr "Ancient Egyptian Scripts—Literary, Sacred, and Profane", cited in *Semitic papyrology in Context*, ed Lawrence H. Schiffman(Boston: Brill, 2003), 2

There are many monumental inscriptions which attest to this bilinguality of the old Egyptian society. One of them is the Rosetta Stone which is a significant reference on translation activity in the old Egyptian culture. It also emphasizes the importance of translation as both a means of communication, transmission and education.

The Rosetta stone is a slab of 112 centimetres high and 76 centimetres wide stele stone. It represents a decree issued by both a king and a synod at Memphi in Egypt about 196 BC. The stone was inscribed with trilingual texts. It was found in 1799. Some scholars suggest that it should be called Memphis decree as the stele is believed to be posed first in Memphis. The Rosetta stone is currently in the British Museum in London. It is the most visited monument of the whole museum. The text on the stone is about a decree which is written in three different scripts: the writing of the Gods' word (Hieroglyph¹⁴¹), the writing of letters (Demotic¹⁴²) and the script of the Aegeans (Greek) at the bottom.

It is worth to note that the three scripts do not refer to three distinct languages as the first and the second mentioned texts are two forms of Egyptian writing. L.H Shiffman (2003) argues that any attempt to provide a coherent understanding of the reasons behind the choice of the writing forms in Egypt must take account of register¹⁴³. Different language registers were used in ancient Egypt for every specific social and class context. Likewise, language differs according to its object, being academic, religious, legal or private life affairs. For each context there is a specific register of language which consequently determines which writing form to be used. Besides, the

¹⁴¹writing script based on picture, used mainly in tombs, monumental inscriptions... Coptic and Heiratic are more abstract script forms of it.

¹⁴²Demotic was introduced into Egypt in the Twenty sixth dynasty around 650BCE and became more common than the Hieratic language which became more limited to religious documents.

¹⁴³Ogden Geolet, Jr "Ancient Egyptian Scripts—Literary, Sacred, and Profane", in *Semitic papyrology in Context*, ed Lawrence H. Schiffman (Boston: Brill, 2003), 4

social context does not only determine the register and the script forms, it also determines the writing material. Letters and official administrative documents were written mainly on papyri while documents of honorary and official register were written in monumental material (Stele, tombs, walls, etc.). Comparative analysis of the texts shows that they are not identic translations but they have some differences.

The massive amount of Papyrus documents discovered in the last two centuries has provided scholars with raw material to reconstruct the understanding of late antique Egypt and its relationship with its neighbouring cultures. It has also provided information on the translation practiced in that period to bridge the gap between different interacting civilizations. However, the monumental inscription is of no less importance as most of the stone inscriptions and writing on tombs and walls could explain the Egyptian writing system. These stone and monumental inscriptions were not only of a decorative function, they played a decisive role in the decipherment of Hieroglyph language. They also provide information on leaders and events missing in the existing papyri.

3.2.3. The historical tournament in literary forms: From the Roll to the Codex

In ancient Egypt, various materials were used as writing surfaces and script forms, especially the walls of temples, tombs, papyrus and stone stele. Many archaeologists suggest that those script forms were used all at the same time. The choice of each form was dependent on the language register and the social context within which the scripts were written. Thus, the choice of script and surface reflects the

Egyptian attitude towards a given text¹⁴⁴. Still, there is The Egyptian writing system was based on the monumental writing to a greater extent. In the late antiquity, Egyptians integrated the script.

Papyrologists suggest that the early papyrus scriptures were in scroll format and that the shift from the roll to the codex¹⁴⁵ constituted a momentous development in the history of the book until the invention of printing. The wooden written tablets constituted the ancestor of the codex. The codex is defined as the preponderant form of the Byzantium-and modern-BOOK. It consist of quires made of sheets of papyrus, parchment, or, later, paper.¹⁴⁶

3.2.3.1. From codex to book: the domination of a contemporary literary form

The English term “Book” is widely believed to be inherited from Germanic origins¹⁴⁷. According to Oxford English Dictionary, many linguists assume that it is related to beech (or a beech-tree¹⁴⁸) which designates the use of wooden writing tablets or pieces of writing scratched on a beechen board. Besides, they suggested that Book is etymologically derived from various semantic variations: from the Old Dutch “Buok” (a large written document), the Middle Dutch Boec (book; document) and the old Saxon

¹⁴⁴Ogden Goelet, Jr. *Ancient Egyptian Scripts—Literary, Sacred, and Profane*, In SEMITIC PAPYROLOGY IN CONTEXT, ed. LAWRENCE H. SCHIFFMAN (LEIDEN BOSTON 2003),4

¹⁴⁵Colin h Roberts and T.C. Skeat define the codex as: “a collection of sheets of any material, folded double and fastened together at the back or spine, and usually protected by covers.”Colin H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *the Birth of Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1987), 6

¹⁴⁶Kazhdan P. Alexander, “*the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed Alexander P. Kazhdan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), P473

¹⁴⁷Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd Edition, 2014 , web address :<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/21412?rskey=yxPlxR&result=1#eid>

¹⁴⁸Walter W. Skeat. *A concise etymological dictionary of the English language*, PerigeeBooks. New York: 1980, PP56

bōk (book or a writing tablet). The use of the word in Old English indicates that the word occurs in the plural in collective use, especially when referring to the Bible and its subdivisions. Regarding its specific semantic denotations, the etymological description of the Oxford English dictionary suggests that the word book:

“In biblical use in sense 1c originally after post-classical Latin use of classical Latin *liber*, itself after Hellenistic Greek use of ancient Greek βιβλος , which in the Septuagint renders both Hebrew kēṭāḇ ‘writing, written account, book’ (in the Old Testament and Hebrew Scriptures only in late books; itself a loan < Aramaic kēṭāḇ writing, letter, decree, book) and sēper ‘missive, legal document, book, scroll’.”

Accordingly, Book is used as an English equivalent for the post-classical use of the word *liber* to designate a component work of the Bible and the Hellenistic Greek βιβλία to denote the Septuagint Scriptures.

Therefore, the etymological investigation of the word provides diverse possible denotations. Book originally denoted the wooden material used for writing (Old Germanic use) and a component of a written Liber or Scripture (Old Greek and post-classical Latin). Still, the historical development of the word coined a specific denotation which recently refers to a Book much different from the ancient ones especially regarding its form.

On the level of the format, Jocelyn provides basic characteristics for the standard format of a typical book¹⁴⁹. The cover contains general information on the book. The

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p10

spine contains the title, the author's name and the publisher's signature. The back cover usually contains information or commentaries on the content of the book or on the author. In the first pages exists the full title, the author's name, the publishing house, the copyright, the dedication and the table of content. The text in the middle while the notes, the indices and the bibliography are at the end of the book. However, although the standard format of the *contemporary denotation of the term book* is common to the readers all over the world, the form of books, their arrangements and the materials used to make them were never the same as it is the case nowadays.

3.2.3.2 The Problem of records in Hellenistic Greece:

Scholars assume that the gap in the historical record of the Hellenistic era is huge compared to other epochs. There are no complete historical accounts and thus scholars rely on the papyri documents and inscribed stones to fill in the gap. Those documents could provide information and how life in the cities used to be, how some state affairs were maintained; how economic transaction used to be done. The importance of these documents varies according to the data available on those documents themselves. As most of the papyri documents were taken from their original places and passed by many hands of dwellers and antique collectors, the scholars can not specify exactly where the documents were brought or which content they were linked. This implies that the reference of the documents becomes harder to make and all depends on speculations and interpretation of antiquity scholars. However, there are several archaeological excavation sites which could strictly preserve the information linked to the finds and thus could provide clear information on the documents and inscriptions.

Summary:

Writing did not play much important role in the development of Hellenic culture for both objective and subjective reasons. On the one hand, there was very limited access to writing materials and techniques, if there had been any available at all. On the other hand Writing in Greece was for long regarded as a disfavoured practice.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the Development of writing systems contributed to the extension of literary translation and the emergence of controversial commentaries on translation.

Why is it claimed that Egypt was different from the other culture mainly the Roman and Greek?

How can a Hellenistic era be measured and how much was it different from the other epochs?

Additionally, writing did not play much important role in the development of Hellenic culture for both objective and subjective reasons. On the one hand, there had been very limited access to writing materials and techniques if there had been any at all. Besides, Writing in Greece was long regarded as a disfavoured practice. Nevertheless, the Development of writing systems contributed to the extension of literary translation and the emergence of controversial commentaries on translation.

Orally transmitted literature constitutes the main source of ancient literary works. Therefore, it is difficult to define the margins between transmission and translation, mainly for the same difficulties which challenge the work of archaeologists, anthropologists and Classics scholars. Therefore, a thorough assessment of the oral

¹⁵⁰ A comprehensive discussion of Ancient Greek attitude to writing is discussed in Havelock, E. A. *The muse learns to write*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 1986.

tradition requires a deep analysis of the forms of cultural transmission in antiquity. For the sake of this quest different forms of cultural transmission are of imminent importance. This would be investigated via the cultural and social exchanges of Ancient Greece and other Eastern civilisations in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Chapter4: Translation and Cultural Transmission in Ancient Greece

Introduction

Although most of the Greek classical literature dominated as a source of human knowledge for a long time, it was until the second half of the twentieth century that works on the roots of Greek culture flourished. New archaeological findings and the decipherment of the Linear B languages laid the ground for more archaeological and anthropological studies that stimulated the quests in long marginalized civilisations of the near and Middle Eastern civilization. The result was fascinating convergence between the archaic Mesopotamian works and the ancient Greek literature that was widely believed to be specific to the Greeks in classics. In the academic circles, new disciplines dealing mainly with the archaic near eastern and middle eastern studies emerged.

The study of translation activity in Ancient Greece focuses more on the study of Oral tradition as it was the basic and the main form of literature until the end of the fourth century when writing gained space. Additionally, the lack of written resources for Greek correspondences with the eastern cultures drives this quest to deal more with the forms of cultural transmission and impact among them. Available literature can hardly offer any reference to translation activity in archaic Greece; therefore, the present research is leaning to the moments of Eastern influences over archaic Greece.

Starting with the 8th Century BC, archaeological finds provide a clear basis for the Eastern influence in Greece. The importance of studying oral tradition arises from the fact that it constituted the basic form of communication, information and literature in antiquity. Many scholars assume that most human communication was performed

orally until the end of the fifth century when writing was considerably flourished. Business transactions, political discussions and legal conventions, as well as most human contact, were performed orally and circulated among different segments of the Athenian society, from messengers to officials, slaves to lords, and servants to kings. Oral discourses were delivered in front of the Juries in the courts, political speeches were increasingly spread in public assemblies, and prominent works were chanted in public squares as well as intellectual gatherings. Accounts of legendary heroes, stories of fiction and comedy as well as histories of past events were all passed on from generation to the other by the word of mouth.

The forth chapter draws upon the economic and commercial transmission in Archaic Greece. It sheds light on the existence of foreign colonies, trade centres and material culture in at that age, a fact has since long been denied by many historians.

On the other hand, it discusses the cultural transmission between Greece and its neighbouring civilisations up to Byzantine period. The main focus sets mainly on the Oral tradition which constitutes the basic literary form in Ancient Greece. It also presents and discusses the cultural transmission between Greece and its neighbouring civilisations up to Byzantine period. This chapter also looks into the differences between Orality and Oral Tradition, how Orality functioned for the generation and propagation of human literature as well as the interaction between orality and literacy.

4.1. Transmission of Material culture: Context, sites and artefacts

Archaeologists state that contact between Greece and the near east has been established since the beginning of the second millennium BC. Early communication and contact is proved by both material culture and oral culture.

The Assyrians and Anatolians established more than two dozen trading colonies. They served as points of juxtaposition for economic and cultural traffic in the region. By the seventeenth century BC, the Hittite kingdom was established and exposed to direct Assyrian cultural influence.

In order to identify the routes and contents of material culture and the way it influenced Ancient Greece, the present chapter focuses on tracing back the communication routes and trade centres in that time. This would cover the flux of goods, products and gifts which served as a stimulus for the Greek culture and society. Later the subsection investigates the objects and artefacts found in different excavation sites in order to provide data on the way transmission of material culture took place and how it influenced Ancient Greece. The data which is presented in this chapter draw upon the results found on Knossos sites for the archaeological relevance of this region which is rich of evidence related to this quest.

4.1.1. Routes, Communication Lines and Trade Centres in Ancient Greece

The mainland Greece was surrounded by the Aegean sea and its islands, which is bordered on the West by the Balkan peninsula and by Anatolia in the East. Ancient Greece covered also Cyprus and Crete which is considered as the largest and most populated Greek island. On the other hand, the existence of Greeks was also recorded on the coasts of North Africa, the Mediterranean and coasts of Southern Europe, Sicily and the Black Sea. Several chains of mountains dominated the region and run from northwest of Macedonia to the southeast along the Balkan Peninsula. The Valleys and fences in between the mountains provided safe places for the Greek communities while

keeping them distanced from each other. However, communication was established through several routes in order to keep political contact and trade.

The geography of the contact between Greece and the Near-East suggests that the communication was established through certain specific routes which lead to the main trade centres. The first subsection traces the basic rout maps in the Bronze age, major trade centres and the power relations in terms of material transmission between different civilisations.

Besides, the distribution of various objects of eastern Mediterranean manufacture in Greece points to an active trade activity with the Aegean region and mainland Greece in the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The distribution of different objects of ceramics, stone, and pottery trace an approximate route of transmission between Rhodes, Cyprus, and the Syro-Phoenician mainland. These archaeological finds reveal the trade routes from the Levant and Cyprus via Rhodes and the Cyclades to the island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf¹⁵¹. In the next section, the main focus sets on the Near Easter domination over the trade routes with some concrete examples.

4.1.1.1. Near Eastern Monopolisation of Routes and Trade Centres

In the Palaeolithic age, the Greeks were hunter-gatherers. By the end of the Stone Age, they learned agriculture and domestication of animals. Trade emerged as an economic activity in ancient Greece when the population had started to bring foreign goods such as shells from the Mediterranean Sea mainly clothes and other tools.

¹⁵¹Glenn Markoe, "The Emergence of Orientalizing in Greek Art: Some Observations on the Interchange between Greeks and Phoenicians in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B. C.," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 301 (1996): 54.

Since the eighth century BC, the Greeks had direct contact with western Anatolia mainly the Phrygians and Lydians. Most communications of Greece with the East went through Anatolian Kingdoms. However, although many historians hold that Anatolia constituted the bridge through which Greece contacted the Eastern civilisation, recent historical researches suggest that mainland Greece was colonized by many eastern empires. Consequently, the communication took place directly with the eastern powers who settled in many colonies and brought all their political, economic and cultural influence.

Archaeological records suggest that the Assyrians established more than dozen colonies and trade centres in Anatolia and eastern Greece from the second millennium onward. They used to follow the route Amanus and Taurus mountains to the central Anatolian region. The Hittites were influenced directly by the Assyrian literacy and culture. On the other hand, ties with the Egyptian side were recognized much earlier in the third millennium in direct contact with Crete through mainly maritime lines. Egyptian direct contact with Greece was recorded between 1440 and 1340BC.¹⁵²

The Babylonians established contact with the Greeks through several routes. From the Euphrates to Emar in North Syria, passing by Aleppo and Canaan the maritime and land lines were established to connect the two regions. Other roads pass by Damascus and the oasis of Palmyra to the Dead Sea, the Gulf of Aqabah, Megiddo, and Jerusalem, the cities of the Philistines, the Negev and the Nile delta.¹⁵³

¹⁵²M.L. West, *the East Face of Helicon*, 2nd ed. (United States: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3.

¹⁵³*Ibid*, 2

Syria holds a specific importance in ancient times. It was the centre of junction where the Greeks, the Hittites, the Hurrians, the Mesopotamians and Egyptians interacted with each other. Besides, Syria was vital to the history of the region, it constituted the war battlefield for the Egyptians and the Hittites, the regular passage of the Assyrian armies and the Babylonian literature: Babylonian epics were copied and read there. In this respect, Marin West (2003) states that:

"Syria is the grand junction. This is where all the roads met, where Greek, Hittite, Hurrian, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian elements all came together. It was indeed a kind of cultural bottleneck, being the unavoidable land bridge between Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia, and at the same time the natural terminus of sea routes from the west. The most prevailing parts of the oral tradition from archaic Greece are the Homeric epics."¹⁵⁴

From the late Bronze Age to the end of 8th century BC, Greeks grew plants and domesticated animals as their main economic activity. By the 7th century, they learned how to domesticate chicken from their Near Eastern neighbours¹⁵⁵. Greek merchants sailed through the Mediterranean shores for trade and exchanges with other peoples. Sea travels as well as land trade allowed the Greeks to get in contact with the advanced civilisations of the near east from which they learned new technologies, religious and mythological ideas as well as economic methods.

¹⁵⁴Ibid 4.

¹⁵⁵Thomas R. Martin, *Ancient Greek, from Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times* (London: Yale University, 2000), 2.

4.1.1.2. The main trade centres in Ancient Greece, Egypt and the Levant

During the middle Geometric Age, intercommunication in the Aegean region was intensified in trade centres such as Euboea, Skyros, the Cycladic islands, the northwest Aegean and central Greece. analyses of pottery objects found in different sites demonstrate that by the Late Geometric Age, the Aegean intercommunication was intensified and expanded to reach the west coasts of Anatolia, Macedonia, the Islands of Skyros, the Northern Aegean, Cyprus, Ras el Bassit, Tyre, Ugarit and the Levantine coasts and Palestine¹⁵⁶. Imports from these regions exist in graves and tombs imply that a massive exchange and trade activity took place within ancient Greece. This subsection provides an overview on the main trade centres in Ancient Greece based on the description and analysis of one of its most significant centres, Ugarit which also used to be called the Kingdom of Ugarit. It represented one of the main contact points of Greece and other civilizations and served as a transmission point of Goods and artefacts.

Ugarit is a coastal city in modern day Syria which played a major role in trade activities between the ancient Greeks and the Near East. The sea-port of Ugarit is considered as one of the most important ports of the Levant for the limited number of good sea ports at that time as well as for its geo-political location which made it as a point of transit for trade with Mesopotamia, Egypt, Cyprus and the Aegean region. Besides, Ugarit was the only Syrian port of the great Hittite empire where different

¹⁵⁶Jan Paul Crielaard, "the Early Iron Age of Leafkandi", in *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Places to the Age of Homer*, ed Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 289.

regional powers used to trade their goods, mainly timber, olive oil, purple dyed wool textiles and metals¹⁵⁷.

Along these long distances, transactions required centres where merchants could meet from both sides, commodities could be collected and transactions could be made. It was a strategic node for economic and communication activities as it was located in a geographic location which was convenient for land trade. Besides, Ugarit had a coastal shore open to the Mediterranean which provided the possibility of maritime trade and exchange which was mainly dominated by the Phoenicians¹⁵⁸

Ugarit provides a huge amount of data on the political interactions between the great empires of the Bronze Age. It was a cosmopolitan city described in several ancient archives as “the first great international port in history”¹⁵⁹. On the other hand, its importance as a trade centre lies in its geographic position in the cross road between the west and the Levant. It is located on the shortest route between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. Ugarit was a cosmopolitan city which constituted the hub of Eastern Mediterranean trade and the main stage for the relations between Egypt, the Levant and Hatti empires¹⁶⁰.

Ugarit established strong commercial ties with the Phoenician ports mainly with the Lebanese coasts such as the kingdoms of Byblos, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre. They also

¹⁵⁷Jordi Vidal, “Ugarit and the Southern Levantine Sea-Ports,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, no. 3 (2006): 270.

¹⁵⁸James C. Wright, “The formation of the Mycenaean palace”, in *Forces of Transformation, the End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean*, ed Christoph Bachhuber and R. Gareth Roberts (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), 30.

¹⁵⁹Tel Aphek, “A Political History of Ugarit”, in *the Calm before the Storm*, ed Billie Jean Collins (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 21.

¹⁶⁰IBID, 55

maintained strong contact with Canaanite cities and used to send ships to Byblos and Sidon¹⁶¹.

Despite the wars between the Hittites and the Egyptians, the adoption of the Silver Treaty between them allowed Ugarit to gain huge commercial benefits. Due to its direct contact with Egypt and its Canaanite provinces, Ugarit strengthened economic ties with Egypt and its Canaanite colonies to the extent that it became the major partner exceeding the Hittites.

One of the principal activities of the merchant in Ugarit was metals buying and selling of textile and clothing items. Most of Bronze, Copper and tin trade passed from Cyprus and beyond to the Levant. Ugarit was a strategic route to this trade which was vital to the Levantine empires. The stone oxhide mould, which was discovered in Ugarit in 1982, demonstrates that copper was gathered and remelted in this port to produce oxhide ingots which would be transmitted again to other territories¹⁶².

Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida are two of the main archaeological sites in Ugarit. They stand at less than 1 km from each other on the coastal side which made them important harbours during the Late Bronze Age. Since the beginning of archaeological research at the two sites in the first half of the last century, archaeologists discovered several tombs which had been used for centuries and reflected the existence of wealthy elite with a high standard of living¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 73

¹⁶² Carol Bell, "Continuity and Change: the Divergent Destinies of Late Bronze Age Ports in Syria and Lebanon Across the LBA/Iron Age Transition", in *Forces of Transformation, the End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean*, ed Christoph Bachhuber and R. Gareth Roberts (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), 33.

¹⁶³ Gert Jan van Wijngaarden, *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (1600-1200 BC)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University, 1994), 39

Many archaeological finds in Ras Shamra belong to pottery vessels brought from Mycenae¹⁶⁴. Wijnngaarden identifies about 616 ceramics from the Aegean region at Both sites¹⁶⁵. These ceramics, which include vases and fragments, are studied scientifically in terms of chemicals and pottery composition and also artistically in terms of the stylistic elements. They are identified as pottery made in Cyprus and the Aegean region. Most of these finds are arranged in three main catalogues in Louver museum in Paris.

Ugarit used to export to Cyprus and the Aegean region not only its products but also goods brought from the Near East. Horses, oil, and wooden material were all shipped to Cyprus from Ugarit¹⁶⁶. Relations with Cyprus were much more intense as it was only 100km away from Ugarit. With this regard, the archaeologist Carol Bell (2009) advocates that:

“By the end of the LBA, ceramics were moving from the Aegean and Cyprus to the Levantine coast in considerable quantities, not only as containers for trade goods, such as perfumed oils, but also as attractive dinner-wares. The range of Mycenaean vessel shapes found in domestic contexts in sites such as Ugarit and Sarepta is high, suggesting that they were available to ordinary citizens of these ports, not just the elite”¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶⁴Claude F. A. Schaeffer, “Sur un Cratère Mycénien de Ras Shamra.,” *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, no. 37 (1937): 212-235

¹⁶⁵Gert Jan van Wijnngaarden, *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (1600-1200 BC)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University, 1994), 40.

¹⁶⁶Tel Aphek, “A Political History of Ugarit”, in *the Calm before the Storm*, ed Billie Jean Collins (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 80.

¹⁶⁷Carol Bell, “Continuity and Change: the Divergent Destinies of Late Bronze Age Ports in Syria and Lebanon Across the LBA/Iron Age Transition”, in *Forces of Transformation, the End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean*, ed Christoph Bachhuber and R. Gareth Roberts (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), 30.



Mycenaean conical shytan with octopus in situ, G J V Wonjngaarden (1994)¹⁶⁸

The existence of pottery from Late Bronze Age Mycenae and Cyprus as both luxury and domestic tools in Ugarit demonstrates that exchange of gifts and trade of goods existed long time before all over the Mediterranean regions. However, Bell's (2009) view that there was an intense importation of pottery from Mycenae and Cyprus lacks material evidence.

As most of the 19th century archaeological studies of Mesopotamia during the Late Bronze Age, Bell believes that Mycenae and Cyprus influenced the Phoenician pottery in the Bronze Age and contributed to the development of Phoenician ceramic art¹⁶⁹. However, by the dawn of the 20th Century, archaeologists recognized that there

¹⁶⁸Gert Jan van Wijngaarden, *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (1600-1200 BC)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University, 1994), 52

¹⁶⁹DussaudRene, *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Egée*.2nd edition, Librarie Paul Gauthner, Paris 1914

are striking differences between Phoenician Pottery and those ceramics found in Cyprus. Leonard Woolley (1921) states that those studies on other influence of Phoenician pottery by Cyprus and the Aegean style are observations based on limited documents and that they are mere theoretical and temporary¹⁷⁰.

Nevertheless, most of the archaeological analyses of the finds in Minet el-Beida and Ras Shamra focused more on the imported pottery, despite the fact that it constitutes only 1% of the total amount of finds¹⁷¹. Local pottery has been neglected while most studies dealt with the imported pottery, mainly from Mycenae and the Aegean regions. Data on the local pottery, which constitutes the majority of finds in both sites, have never been published¹⁷².

The archaeologist Monchambert contributed with a crucial work to the studies of the Ugaritian pottery in the Late Bronze age. He divided most of the imported finds into their origins being from Mycenae, Cyprus, Minoa, Palestine and Anatolia. Later, he identified the characteristics of each pottery and classified those local one according to their shared properties. Regarding the comparison between the common pottery and the imported one he provides that:

“Contrairement à ce que peuvent faire croire les publications antérieures, elle représente la quasi-totalité de l'ensemble céramique, puisque le matériel étudié

¹⁷⁰Leonard Woolley, “La Phénicie et les peuples égéens,” *Institut Français du Proche-Orient*, no. 3 (1921): 178.

¹⁷¹Gert Jan van Wijngaarden, *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (1600-1200 BC)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University, 1994), 52.

¹⁷²J.-Y. Monchambert, “La céramique de fabrication locale à Ougarit à la fin du bronze récent: quelques exemples,” *Institut Français du Proche-Orient*, no. 60 (1983) : 25.

provenant des deux campagnes de 1975 et 1976 en contient 99 %, les importations ne forment que le 1 % restant”¹⁷³

Monchambert concludes that the local pottery is mainly constituted of luxury vases whose character and origins which have not yet been well studied. He also advocates that the local ceramic, very often called the common ceramic of the Canaanian Ceramic, seems to be more like an adaptation and creation of foreign pottery which could develop its own style and keep its local originality.¹⁷⁴

In order to provide some answers on the question why the archaeologists attributed more attention to the 1% of the finds while the local ceramic was ignored, Monchambert suggests that it is a voluntary tendency in archaeological research in which focuses more on the imported ceramics for their quality makes them more important and attractive. Besides, they are easily dated and analysed as their decoration makes them easily identified. Another reason is that previous publications were more interested in tombs which constituted a closed category¹⁷⁵.

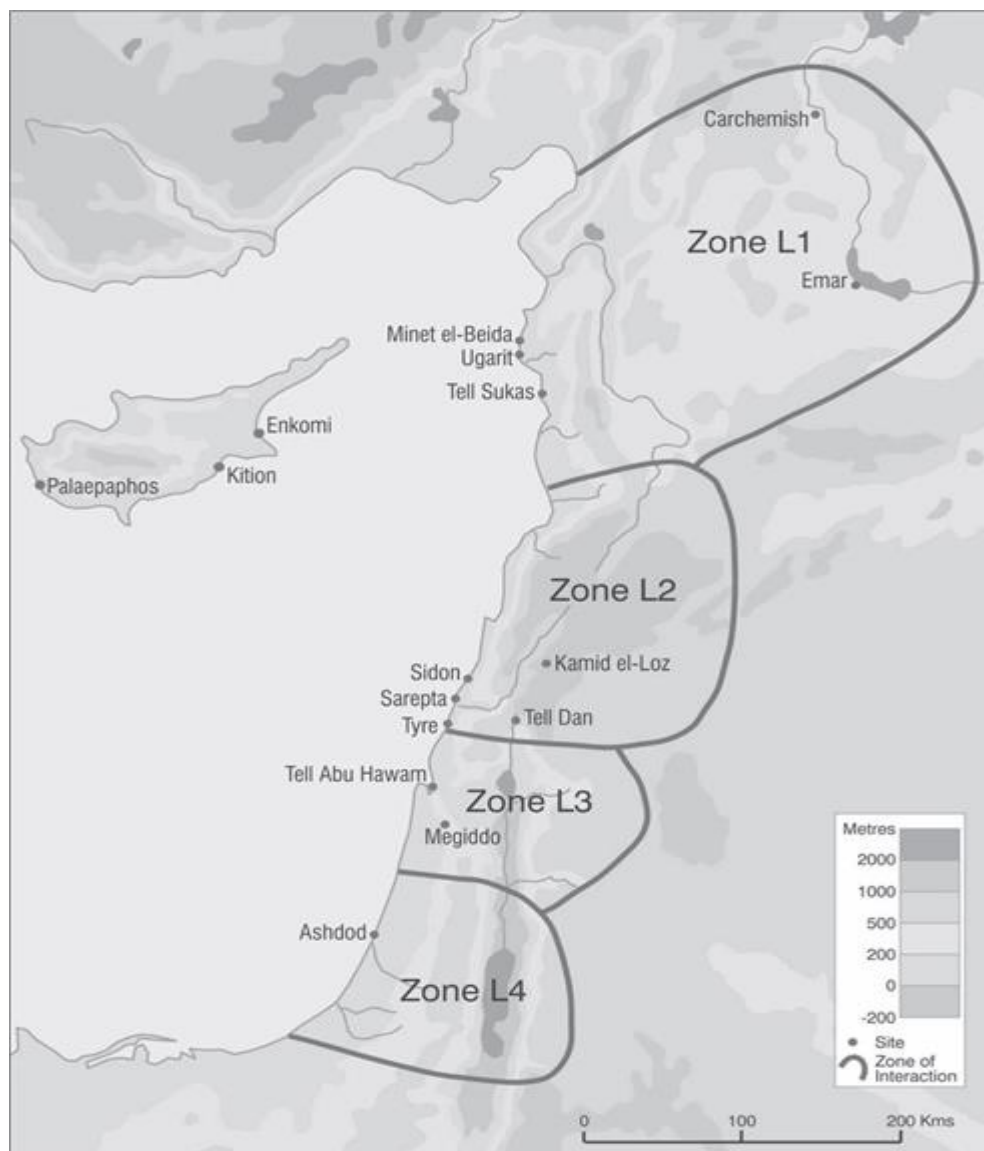
On the other hand, Monchambert raises the problem that these researches focus on only on a microscopic part of the excavated pottery in Ugarit as well as the fact that local ceramic provides chronological data which could allow it to be dated and characterized as an original manoeuvre. He adds that there is a striking fact that the local ceramic was neglected and treated with less care than what the imported pottery had enjoyed.

¹⁷³ On the contrary to what the previous publications would suggest, it represents about the total amount of the whole found ceramic. Because the studied material, from the two campaigns of 1975 and 1976, contains 99% of them, the importations constitute only the remaining 1%. Ibid, 26

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 25.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 26

Conversely, he advocates that the local ceramic belongs to the Levantine tradition of the Late Bronze Age (Canaanian pottery). They correspond to the Southern Canaanian pottery found in Keisan, Hazor, Tyr, Sidon and Byblos... The Imperfections of the ceramics demonstrates that they served for daily use. Consequently, he concludes that there was pottery workshop in Ugarit which provided this kind of vessel for the coastal population.



Four Levantine Centres of interaction

Analysis of Ugarit pottery provides that they used to make three types of ceramics. The first type was an imitation of foreign pottery. It was mainly constituted of coloured vases and jars with decoration similar to those found in other Levantine regions, Cyprus and Mycenae. The second type was an adaptation of Canaanian vases with more simple techniques. The third type was an original creation of Ugarit local ceramic. It was manifested in several big vases used for stocking food, coloured vases and some decorated ceramics with triangular shapes¹⁷⁶.

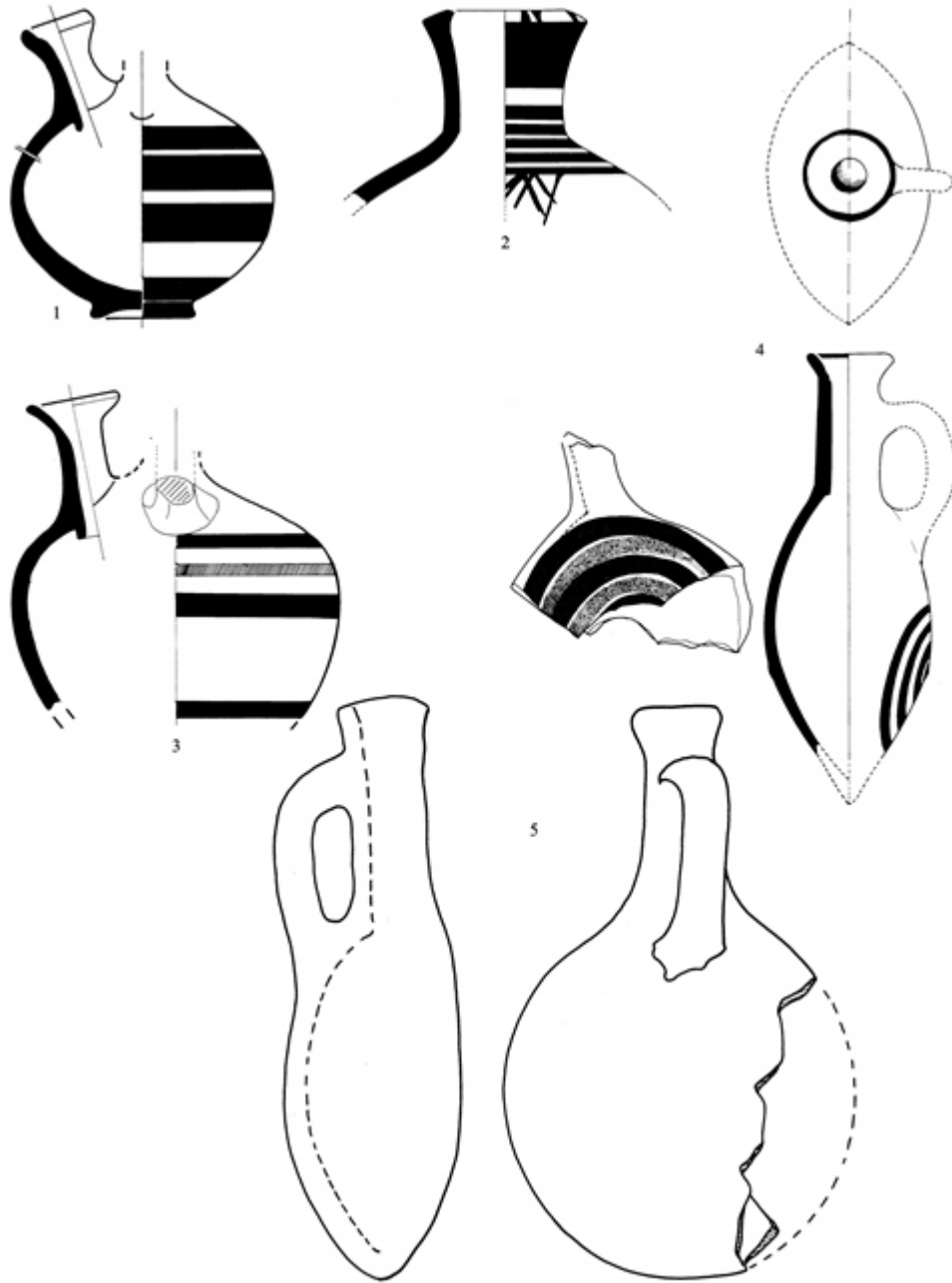
Ugarit established commercial contact with Cyprus and the Aegean region as early as the 2nd millennium BC. By the middle of the second millennium, this contact decreased significantly. Decipherment of official letters from Ugarit provides that trade activity with Cyprus was resumed by the end of the fourteenth century BC.

Ugarit served as an international trade centre where regional powers, such as Egypt, Phoenicia, Hatti, Cyprus and the Aegean Islands, interacted and established economic relationships with each other in Late Bronze Age. Textual evidence demonstrates that foreign merchants used to arrive at Ugarit and perform economic activities of two main kinds: trade and specialized craft work.¹⁷⁷ the Palace constituted the main force in this international economic exchange in Ugarit. With this respect, McGeough (2007) states that: “At least seventeen different exchange relationships/situations can be identified for the palace. When the relative scale of activity is taken into account, the sheer dominance of the palace is apparent.”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶J.-Y. Monchambert, “La céramique de fabrication locale à Ougarit à la fin du bronze récent: quelques exemples,” *Institut Français du Proche-Orient*, no. 60 (1983) : 32.

¹⁷⁷Kevin McGeough, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* (Paris: PETTERS, 2007), 362.

¹⁷⁸IBID, 363.



*Local Ceramic from Ugarit*¹⁷⁹

Besides, Ugarit was colonized by both the Phoenicians and the Hittites which made it a strategic location for political and economic exchanges between both civilisations as well their neighbouring empires including the Mycenae's in the West

¹⁷⁹J.-Y. Monchambert, "La céramique de fabrication locale à Ougarit à la fin du bronze récent: quelques exemples," *Institut Français du Proche-Orient*, no. 60 (1983) : 32

and the Egyptians and Persians in the east. With this regard, Donald P. Hansen (1957) suggests that:

“The problems which the bronzes pose for the archaeologist and historian of ancient Near Eastern art are by no means solved, but several studies have aided in establishing the position of certain groups in the history of Syro-Phoenician art.¹ However, there are many bronzes in various museums which need to be published in order that the stylistic and iconographic variations of the bronze types can be more fully known.”¹⁸⁰

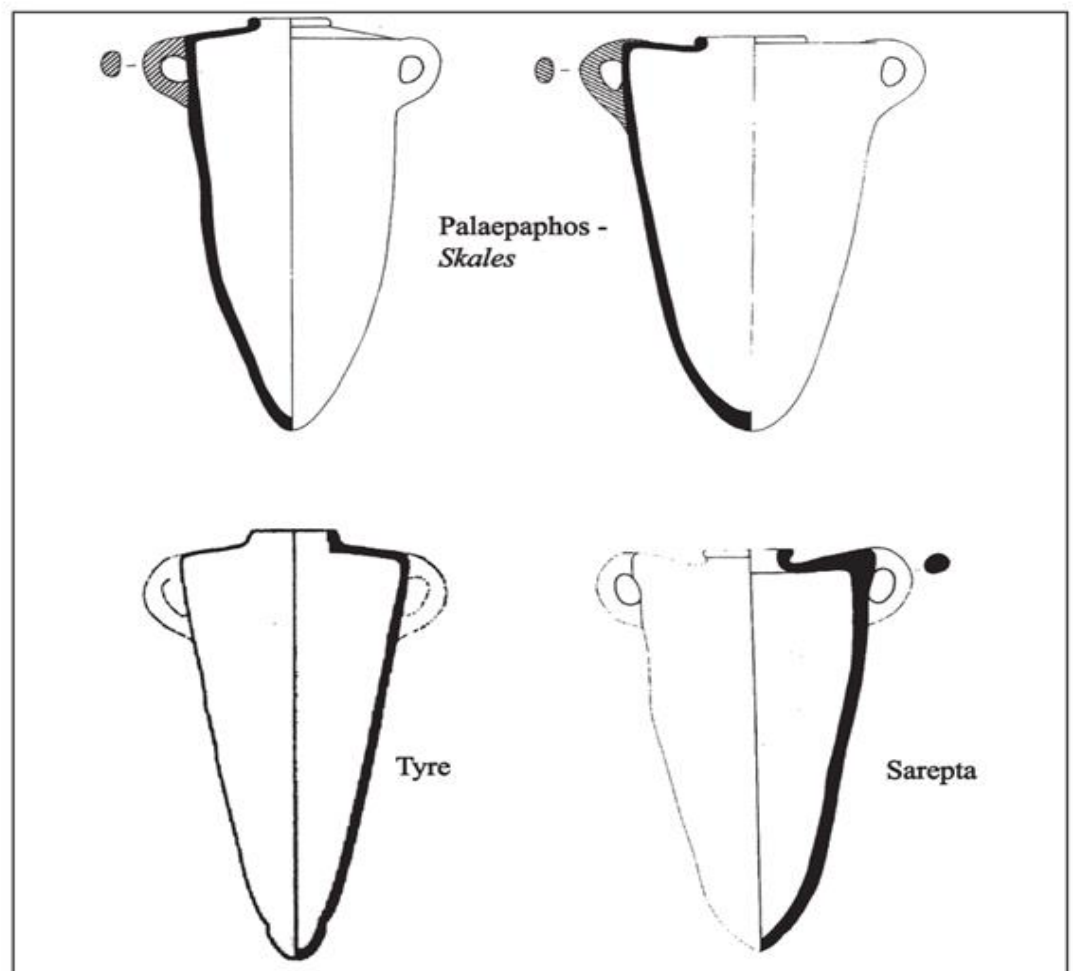
As with regard to the relation between his study of the finds and their styles in a way that identifies their origins and initial localisation, Hansen advocates that:

“Our study of the Semitic Museum bronze clearly indicates the apparent lack of coherent development within the confusing array of SyroPhoenician and Palestinian figurines. As is so often the case in the study of these bronzes, our investigation of the seated flat-bodied group presents us with a type that continued to be produced over a long period of time. Perhaps we shall be able to arrive at a better understanding of the development when we can more fully distinguish the styles which may be attributed to Syrian, Phoenician or Palestinian craftsmen.”¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰Donald P. Hansen, “A Bronze in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University,” *The American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 146, (1957): 13.

¹⁸¹*Ibid*, 19.

Similarly, the coastal city of Tyre was also an important trade centre. According to the Greek historian Herodotus, Tyre was founded at about 2750 BC. The earliest documentation on Tyre goes back to 14th century BC when the city was an Egyptian territory besieged by the “The Sea People”¹⁸². Tyre was a fortified trade centre which linked Egyptian, Levantine, Anatolian and Mycenaean merchants. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that by the 11 century BC Tyre established its colonies in the west of the Mediterranean especially in Cyprus, at Kitium (modern Larnaka).



Canaanite Jars from Palaepaphos-Skales, Tyre and Sarepta

¹⁸²Patricia MaynorBikai, *the Pottery of Tyre* (England: ARIS and PHILLIPS Ltd., 1978), 73.
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According to the type of pottery, many historians divide the Phoenician presence in Tyro history into two periods: the "bichrome" period and the "red-slip" period. The Bichrome period represents a certain type of pottery from the late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. It was transmitted by the Phoenician troops in their expansion wars toward their colonies. Many items of Bichrome wares were found in Tyre as well as other excavation sites such as Tel Ajjul in Palestine . They were produced on a pottery wheel and spread all over the Levant. The red-slip pottery is believed to be most transmitted type to the western regions.



Bichrome ware from 8th century BC

4.1.1.3. Economic Exchange and Trade activity

Economic exchange is defined as an interactional process which constitutes the concrete manifestation of social relations¹⁸³. Regarding earliest periods, Anthropological researches suggest that long trade networks established in the region since Neolithic age (about 10000 BC). Moreover, archaeological finds including tax documents show that trade was undertaken between Canaanite dwellers and the merchants of Crete since 1300BC. Besides, there were commercial lines which allowed commodities and product to be transported between Egypt, Syria, Mycenae and Greece by roads of sea and land.

Similarly, Crete, a Greek island, is considered as a crucial example of trade activity and contact between ancient Greece and the Near East. Excavations at many settlements of Crete Island demonstrated that Crete was an active trade centre between the 9th and the 8th Centuries BC. Traders coming mainly from the Near East settled in the island where they traded and practiced their crafts. They also taught their techniques of the local people¹⁸⁴.

In Ancient times, the middle East enjoyed a dominant role on geographical, political, economic and cultural levels. Due to its geographical position, Mesopotamian and Egyptian centres constituted the hub for transcontinental trade activities. Their economies dominated in the whole region that multiple evidences point to existing Egyptian and Mesopotamian goods and artefacts in Greece and Anatolia from the

¹⁸³L.H. Jeffery, *the Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 341.

¹⁸⁴Judith Munoz Sogas, "Preference and Residence of Near Easterners in Crete During the Iron Age," *PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences*, 4 (2018):457.

second millennium BC.¹⁸⁵ This trade flow through the region guaranteed a heavy transfert of goods, technologies, techniques and a massive cultural influence on religious, ideological and mythological levels.

Heavy economic transactions, between Greece and near eastern countries, imply the existence of extensive cultural contact in the colonies and trade centres. Besides, archaeology proves that there was more substantial connection between those civilizations. Finds extracted from the excavation sites constitute as proofs for the transmission of arts, crafts and manufacturing techniques between Mycenaean Greece and the archaic period (1600BC-460BC). New artistic techniques were introduced which implies that either the craftsmen used to reside in the eastern countries for a while to learn those techniques or they were hosted in Greece and transmitted them.

The artistic transmission of oriental ivories, bronzes, metal artefacts and some manufacturing techniques reached their climax in the 8th century BC that both anthropologists and archaeologists called this era “the Orientalising Period”. Then new forms of products were made such as "the bronze cauldron with siren, bull, lion, or griffin heads attached round the rim; the life-size (or larger) statue, standing or seated; the architectural column; the Caryatid; the crested helmet; the round shield with central omphalos."¹⁸⁶.

The economic and commercial interaction between Greece and the Middle East resulted in a series of gradual changes that took place in Ancient Greece. They adopted new techniques and developed a new material culture. In the settlements, they practiced

¹⁸⁵Samir Amin, *the Re-awaking of the Arab World, Challenge and Change in the Aftermath of the Arab Spring* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2016).

¹⁸⁶M.L. West, *IBID*, 11.

mixed farming which used techniques brought from the Mesopotamian land. Little evidence remained from economic activities such as farming and distribution of the harvested products. However, assessing existing centres suggests that these economic exchanges followed the same route used for transportation of other goods as well external communication.

Communication with the neighbouring countries flourished in the Bronze Age. Evidence from discovered tombs in Perati on the Southeast of Attica demonstrates that:

“The deceased were buried along with imports from the Cyclades and luxury goods from Cyprus, the Levant and even Egypt; other rare artefacts include iron, silver and lead objects.³⁴ Some of the deceased were buried according to the new rite of cremation, which probably had been adopted from Asia Minor”¹⁸⁷

Basic routes and overland trade flew from Livanates on the coast via Megaplatanos, Atlanti and the suburbs of Kalapodi to Elatia. From this latter, another route ran via Amphikleia, Amphissa, Corinthian Gulf to Western Greece and beyond to other Mediterranean centres.

During the middle Geometric Age, intercommunication in the Aegean region was intensified in trade centres such as Euboea, Skyros, the Cycladic islands, the northwest Aegean and central Greece. analysis of pottery objects found in different sites demonstrate that, by the Late Geometric Age, the Aegean intercommunication was

¹⁸⁷J. P. Crielaard, “Basileis at Sea: Elites and External Contacts in the Euboian Gulf Region from the End of the Bronze Age to the Beginning of the Iron Age”, in *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Places to the Age of Homer*, ed Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 281.

intensified and expanded to reach the west coasts of Anatolia, Macedonia, the Islands of Skyros, the Northern Aegean, Cyprus, Ras el Bassit, Tyre and the Levantine coasts and Palestine¹⁸⁸. Imports found in these regions in graves and tombs imply that a massive exchange and trade activity took place within ancient Greece.

In the Bronze Age, The merchants of Ancient Greece established trade networks centred in the Palaces which played a major role in structuring and influencing long distance trade¹⁸⁹. However, in Late Bronze Age, the centres of trade moved from Greece and the Aegean region to the Levantine coasts. Ugarit, the Syrian coastal port, constituted one of the most important trade centres and was a strategic location which converged both land and sea routes. It connected Greece and the East when it was colonized by the Hittites by the end of the Bronze Age. It established trade routes with the Phoenicians in the city of Sarepta through Emar and the Euphrates¹⁹⁰. Sarepta was a massive trade link with ancient Greece. This affirmation is supported by the massive amount of Mycenaean vessels and copper goods found in the excavations sites at this city.

4.1.2. The lost city of Knossos: Archaeological evidence on transmission of material culture in Ancient Greece

As previously discussed in the last section, an intensification of economic exchange between Greece and its eastern neighbours took place during the 9th and 8th century BC. This exchange is demonstrated by the presence of pottery vessels and

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 289

¹⁸⁹ Bruce Routledge and Kevin McGeough, “Just What Collapsed? A Network Perspective On ‘Palatial’ And ‘Private’ Trade At Ugarit”, in *Forces of Transformation, the End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean*, ed Christoph Bachhuber and R. Gareth Roberts (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), 29.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 4.

vases as well as precious metal goods such as copper, gold, and ivory which were brought from the eastern regions, mainly, Asia Minor, Egypt and the Levant. Colonization is believed to be one of the reasons for the existence of massive materials and objects from the east in Greece during the Bronze Age.

This section focuses more on the transmitted material culture as manifested by the evidences provided by the archaeological research which has flourished significantly in the 20th century and laid the ground for a thorough understanding of the economic, political and cultural situation of Ancient Greece. This study focuses on the archaeological evidences found in different excavation sites in Knossos which is considered as the largest Bronze Age archaeological site and one of the oldest cities in Europe. What is at stake in this undertaking is that the direction of the economic exchange as well as the flux of goods and artefacts reflects the economic supremacy of a civilisation, which can be referred to as the producer or the exporter, over the receiving civilisation, which can be called the importer. Consequently, this economic and material supremacy implies a cultural and social situation in the Importer much more developed than the receiving society.

Excavation sites in Kommos, in Southern Crete, revealed a massive amount of Phoenician Vessels from 900 BC. Additionally, smaller amount of vases and vessels from the end of the 9th Century and 8th century BC were found. With this regard, Sigrid Deger (2006) provides examples on the intensification of material exchange in ancient Greece, he holds that:

”To give one example, Toumba grave 33 (SPG III) contained objects from Cyprus (two diadems of gold), the Levant (glass beads),

probably Egypt (two bronze vessels), an unspecified location somewhere in the easternMediterranean (rock crystal pendant and beads), Attica (four terracotta vases)and the Baltic region (amber beads and pendant, which presumably reachedLefkandi via northern Greece) „191



*Knossos North Cemetery Early Greek Tombs*¹⁹²

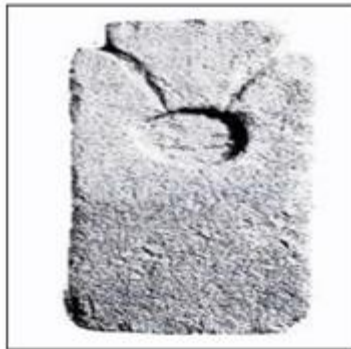
Other examples of archaeological finds:

¹⁹¹J P Crielaard, *Basileis At Sea: Elites And External Contacts In The Euboean Gulf Region From The End Of The Bronze Age To The Beginning Of The Iron Age*, in *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Places to the Age of Homer*, ed Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 290

¹⁹²*Knossos North Cemetery Early Greek Tombs*, ed J.N. Goldstream and H W. Catling (London: The British School at Athena, 1996),p1



Cippus from Venizleion Hospital¹⁹³

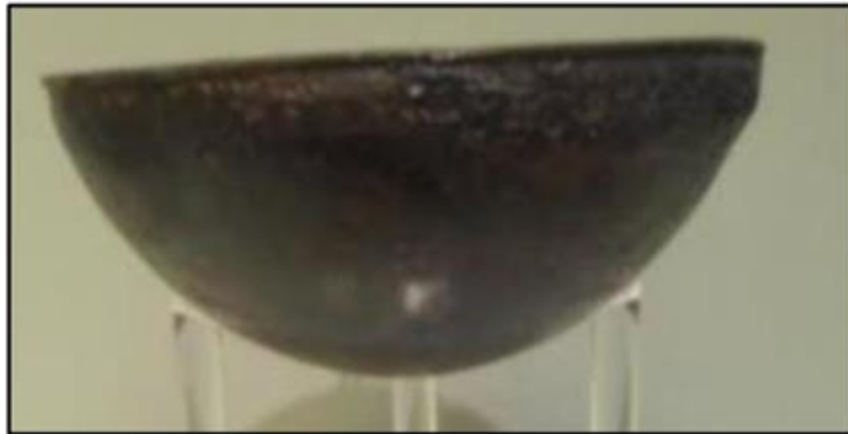


Cippus from Atsalenio

Many figures were found at Fortetsa such as the figure of Ptah-Seker sitting on a throne (from the 8th century BC) and two Nefertum figurines [Fig. 3] in a pithos burial of a female child were found at Tomb P2 in Fortetsa. Both figures served as protection amulets for the buried child, a funerary practice from the orient which spread in Crete.

¹⁹³Kourou and Karetsou 1998: Kourou N. and Karetsou A., An Enigmatic Stone from Knossos: a Reused Cippus, 243-254, Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus – Dodecanese- Crete 16th - 6th cent. B.C., Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon - Crete in May 1997, Karageorgis V. and Stampolidis N. C. (eds), Athens, 1998.

In addition to that, a Bronze bowl with Phoenician inscription, dated the 11th century BC, was found at Tekke Tomb J. Besides, a group of gold objects, known as the Tekke Jewellery, from the second half of the 9th century BC were found at the Tholos Tomb 2 of the Khaniale Tekke district.



Tekke Tomb J inscribed bowl¹⁹⁴

On the other hand, a great number of Black-on-Red unguent containers from the 9th and 8th centuries were found in Knossos. These pottery unguents reflect a strong influence of Greek pottery by the Phoenician techniques. Accordingly, Judith Munoz Sogas (2018) states that:

“Phoenicians and Egyptians were well-known for their unguents (Jones, 1993, 293) and, hence, a plausible explanation for such type of pots has been in the presence of a Phoenician unguent factory in Knossos. The pots would have been made locally by oriental potters (also helped by Cretan potters who learnt the Phoenician techniques

¹⁹⁴Judith Muñoz Sogas, “Was Knossos a home for Phoenician traders?”, academia, accessed 20 November 2018, https://www.academia.edu/37657928/Was_Knossos_a_home_for_Phoenician_traders

gradually) and the perfumes and oils, presumably coming from the Near East, would have been bottled locally”¹⁹⁵



*Black on Red pottery from Knossos*¹⁹⁶

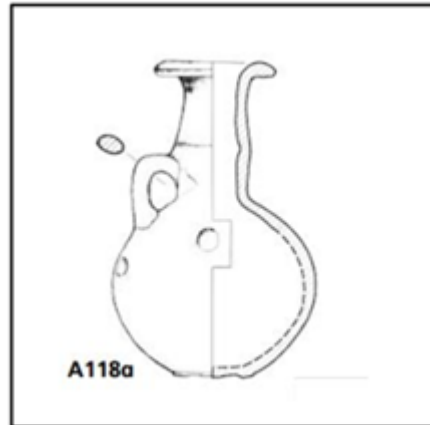
At the sites of Eleutherna, which is about 25 km far from the sea port, three worked limestone pieces that resemble Phoenician cippi were found. They were excavated from Orthi Petra, the 6th to 9th century BC necropolis of Eleutherna on the west slope of the hill Prines. The presence of these cippi suggests contact with Phoenician traders who used to travel through Eleutherna on their way to the West.

The Tomb A1K1 is another site which reflects a strong transmission of material culture between Greece and the Near East. The excavated chamber Tomb A1K1 dates from the 9th to the 6th centuries BC. It has provided a big number of potteries and bronze

¹⁹⁵Judith Munoz Sogas, “Preference and Residence of Near Easterners in Crete During the Iron Age,” *PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences*, 4 (2018): 461.

¹⁹⁶Kotsonas, A. (2011). “Foreign Identity and Ceramic Production in Early Iron Age Crete”. Rizza, G. (ed.), *Convegno di Studi Identità culturale, etnicità, processi di formazione a Creta fra Dark Age e Arcaismo*. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Università di Catania, 133-155

finds. A Phoenician ceramic vessel called A118 was discovered among the local ceramics.



Vessel A118¹⁹⁷

Regarding the bronze materials, a bronze shield of Idaean Cave type was discovered in Eleutherna. Many bronze bowls were discovered at the same site, some of the date back to the Late Geometric Period and could be easily connected with the Phoenicians¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁷Sogas, J. M. (2018). Presence and Residence Of Near Easterners inCrete during the Iron Age. PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences, 4(1), 456-476

¹⁹⁸Judith Munoz Sogas, “Preference and Residence of Near Easterners in Crete During the Iron Age,”PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences, 4 (2018): 465.



Figure 11: (left) *Bronze Shield from Eleutherna (Eleutherna Archaeological Museum).*

SOURCE



*Bronze Bowl from Eleutherna*¹⁹⁹

Similarly, a faience Sekhmet amulet from the 8th century BC was discovered in A1K1 site. It is believed to be either from a Near Eastern migrant who lived in Eleutherna or from a local who adopted Egyptian beliefs²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁹ Sogas, J. M. (2018). Presence and Residence Of Near Easterners in Crete during the Iron Age. PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences, 4(1), 456-476

²⁰⁰ Judith Munoz Sogas, "Preference and Residence of Near Easterners in Crete During the Iron Age," PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences, 4 (2018): 466.



*Faience Sekhmet*²⁰¹

Several gold pendants in Tomb M, which is a stone structure in the north of the necropolis of Orthi Petrais believed to be Phoenician because of their shape as well as the use of granulation technique. The existence of Phoenician materials in this location implies that inland routes were more common from Knossos to Eleutherna.

Additionally, around a hundred ivories were discovered at the Idaean cave which located about 50 Km south-east of Eleutherna. As Ivory does not exist in Crete, archaeologists assume that it is an imported material. Besides, a comparison of the Ivory fragments of feet, lion sphinxes, Pyxis, papyrus, a gazelle and a bull, which dated to the 9th century, with Nimrud ivories form the Loftus group of the same chronology, suggests that they are imported from North Syria and Palestine in the 8th Century BC²⁰².

²⁰¹Sogas, J. M. (2018). Presence and Residence Of Near Easterners in Crete during the Iron Age. *PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(1), 456-476

²⁰²Judith Munoz Sogas, "Preference and Residence of Near Easterners in Crete During the Iron Age," *PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences*, 4 (2018): 471.

This Cave is thought to be one the highest archaeological sites in the world. It provided most of the bronzes and ceramics that came from Knossos²⁰³. Many bronze shields, bowls and faience figurines have also been discovered at this site.

Besides, The Uluburun shipwreck yielded glass objects which are believed to belong to the Levant²⁰⁴. Additionally, the Dark Age glass beads in Greece are also Phoenician products brought by Phoenician merchants who taught the Greeks these techniques. Besides, Phoenician glass products surpassed the border of Ancient Greece to the Central Europe, mainly Italy, Germany, and their trade and colonies could also reach the Atlantic parts of Europe and Africa²⁰⁵

A great amount of archaeological finds attests that there was a huge economic and trade activity between Crete and The Near East. Data provided by different excavation sites suggest that there was activity of Phoenician and Egyptian merchants in Crete at the Late Bronze age and the early Iron Age. They used to arrive at Knossos which was considered as a stopping port where they traded and lived.

Nevertheless, Crete was not only a trade centre for merchants who used to cross the Mediterranean region; it also reflected a strong cultural tradition of the Orient which implies that the Island was also a home and settlements for these merchants and craftsmen. Consequently, Crete acquired a hybrid identity where locals and foreigners lived together and opened the path for a huge cultural transmission. Crete became not only a port of entry, but also a space of acculturation and importation of new beliefs.

²⁰³IBID, 467.

²⁰⁴Nicholson, P. T., "The UluBurun glass ingots, cylindrical vessels and Egyptian glass", *JEA*, no. 83 (1997):143–153.

²⁰⁵Jan Bouzek, *Studies of Homeric Greece* (Czech Republic: Charles University, 2018), **177**.
143

The co-existence of both the Minoan Cretes and Phoenicians confirms the opinion held by many archaeologists regarding the friendly relation between the Near East and Eastern Europe in the Bronze Age. Cyrus H. Gordo (1966) advocates that there was a basic cultural unity of the Eastern Mediterranean peoples, specifically the Aegeans, which were closely connected with the older and more developed civilizations of Egypt and Western Asia²⁰⁶. This close relation would be broken by the violent events that marked the advent of the Iron Age. It would interrupt the contact between both regions for several centuries and would be responsible for the separate evolution of each region separately.

4.2. Literary transmission in Ancient Greece

In order to construct a framework of translation activity in Ancient Greece, it is essential to make a brief background of the cultural transmission between Greece and other civilizations. Therefore, the subsection seeks to draw upon the works of the notorious classicist and Greek philosopher “Martin Bernal” in order to shed light on what he describes as “The Orientalizing Period”. Bernal (1987) assumes that proofs of material contact between Greece and the West Semitists and Egyptians provide evidence on a massive importation of cultural content by the Greeks. In his work “Black Athena”, he advocates that the West Semitists and Egyptians are less disturbing than other forms of influence such as Language, poetry, Mythology, Philosophy, etc. The oral and literary traditions refer to the cultural heritage transmitted to Greece either

²⁰⁶ Cyrus, H. Gordon, *Ugarit and Minoan Crete: The Bearing of Their Texts on the Origins of Western Culture* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 1966), 166.

orally or literally²⁰⁷. Nevertheless, this impact of the neighbouring culture on ancient Greece is not recognized by all Anthropologists.

4.2.1. Anthropological controversy on the Cultural Transmission:

Anthropologists have identified striking parallels in Greek mythology with its near eastern neighbours. Therefore, three interpretation models were adopted by anthropologists to justify such parallels. The first model is called "anthropological" and advocated by Karl Otfried Muller, James Frazer and other Cambridge Classicists. They assume that those similarities are based on human universal experience which can occur in all world cultures. They are manifestations of human psych while dealing with their environmental and social conditions. The second approach is advocated by modern classicists, mainly Professors West and Walcot who attribute such influence to the Indians, Iranians, Hittites, Hurrians and Babylonians. The third approach is that of the American classicist Frontenrose who combines both the first and second approaches. Frontenrose emphasizes the Borrowing and universal attitudes while demonizing the specific influence of the neighbouring civilizations which were proven by archaeological finds as well as anthropological investigations. In this context, Nilsson (1949) advocates that:

"More important than the archaeological details is the fact that Homer knows only a pre-Dorian Greece and depicts a feudal society under the rule of a war-king. He may have preserved some elements of Mycenaean religious belief as well."²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Martin Bernal, *Black Athena, the Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), p412

²⁰⁸ Martin P. Nilsson, *a History of Greek Religion*, trans F. J. Fielden, 2nd ed. (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1949), 2

The decipherment of Linear B language provided more information on other forms of Cuneiform in the late Bronze age. The clay tablets discovered in Syria in 1929 provided precious information on Semitic Levantine mythology of striking parallel with both Greek mythology and Bible stories.²⁰⁹ Besides, the identification of the Mycenaeans as predecessors of Greeks, who used to speak Greek and worship Gods with Greek names, suggests that Greek culture was shaped by the events which took place between the 17th and 18th centuries BC. Bernal concludes that it is most likely in this period that the influences of the Egyptians and Levantine impacted the local Indo European peoples and formed what would be recognized as the Greek civilisation²¹⁰.

4.2.1.1.The Oral tradition in Antiquity:

Although few anthropologists claim the existence of writing in a society whose encounter with the alphabet is assumed to be much time before (eight century BC), many scholars advocate that Athena was generally an oral society until the fourth century²¹¹. Recent researchers make strict statements about this issue: Kennedy assumes that reading and writing using different materials (bronze, clay, papyrus, stone, wood or wax) were difficult and unnatural²¹² during the fifth and fourth century in Athens. Greeks used oral tradition to communicate, propagate literature and history of the past. Still, written records were a supplementary to the communication and transmission processes.

²⁰⁹ Martin Bernal, *Black Athena, the Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 415

²¹⁰ Ibid, 494

²¹¹ ROSALIND THOMAS, “*Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*“, ed Peter Purke and Ruth Finnegan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 2

²¹² George Kennedy, *the Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 3

²¹³and most inscribed literature was written to be heard, "even when reading to himself a Greek read aloud"²¹⁴.

In the sub-section 3.3.1.1 of Chapter 3, the investigation of the oral tradition starts with a definition of this concept and concludes that this has developed in a context which is different in terms of both linguistic and cultural aspects. The main aim was to uncover the forces behind this shift from orality to literacy and the ways Orality was used to build the state power in Political, Economic and Cultural reality. The following subsections reflect on the oral tradition with all its sub-components as well as its impact on the Pre-Hellenistic Greek literature. With this regard, the Homeric epics constitute the main focus of the analysis

4.2.1.2. Orality and literacy:

As writing gained space in the political, economic and cultural circles, literacy tended to be the widely accepted and accurate source of human communications, interactions and transactions. In the modern era, written scripts have become the official form of communication. Nevertheless this was not the case in antiquity. Vansina holds that demonizing orality and taking literacy for granted is a simplistic view which doesnot take into consideration either the nature of literacy and its character, or the nature of orality.²¹⁵

The shift from orality to literacy is not a synchronic change in literary forms. They have both been coexisted for centuries. E. Havelock holds that dating literacy in

²¹³ROSALIND THOMAS, "*Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* ", ed Peter Purke and Ruth Finnegan (New York: Cambridge University Press,1989), 15, 60

²¹⁴George Kennedy, *the Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963),3

²¹⁵ Rosalind Thomas, "*Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*", ed Peter Purke and Ruth Finnegan (New York: Cambridge University Press,1989),1

Greek society to the 5th Century is merely accidental for the corpus which is assumed to be the first instances of literacy is only what survived since then. In this context, T. Rosalind (2007) argues that: "It was presumed that there existed a lost body of prose writing prior to Herodotus, historical and speculative, at least as early as the beginning of the sixth century, and possibly earlier". The oral tradition is the source of written history.²¹⁶ It provided knowledge of the history of ancient civilisation.

The most important factor in oral tradition is the way the tradition is passed on, That is the form of transmission (poetic), the group which transmits it (family, dynasty, whole community...) and why it is being transmitted (for status, honour, etc.). All these factors bear the character of the tradition, its distortions and accuracy as well as the bias of the tradition.²¹⁷

4.2.2. Impact of Oral Tradition:

4.2.2.1. The Orators and Literature

The most widely known work of antiquity oral tradition is the Homeric Epics. It is often arranged under the Oral poetry branch in Classics Studies. Yet, oral tradition implies a wider variety of the human oral communication. Many scholars consider oral tradition mainly as an oral account of the stories of the past that people used to learn from their parents and tell them to their young generations. For example, Rosalind Thomas considers that "ancient writers often assume oral tradition or memory in the preservation of the past, whether they are scholiasts guessing how the poet Pindar found

²¹⁶ Ibid, p2

²¹⁷ Ibid, 6

out about local legends, Xenophon discussing previous conditions in the mines, or Ephorus criticizing narratives of ancient times."²¹⁸

The relevance of Oral tradition to this quest resides mainly in the discussion of how it was passed on from generation to generation, the various changes that occurred and shaped the "New" oral tradition and which function they play. Rosalind tried to approach how Oral tradition was transmitted. He provided more space in his discussion to that part of that was kept by professional memorizers who preserve it from distortion and transmit it accurately because 'they are responsible for dynastic tradition' ²¹⁹

The first orators who established this art as an indispensable tool of political power and judiciary system in the classical period are the Attic orators. This art was composed of three genres Logographic speeches, political speeches and persuasive techniques which developed into the art of Rhetoric²²⁰. All those genres were shaped by the political and social dynamics which impacted Greek society.

For example, Logographic speeches were written scripts for clients who would deliver them orally before a court jury in order to defend their case. Disputants were required to make their defence personally in front of the jury, they were not allowed to nominate an expert or another person to stand on their behalf. Logography became a flourishing business after the revolution against Thrasybulus tyranny and demolishing the treaty he made with Carthaginians. During the fifth and the fourth centuries BC, Carthaginians tried to invade Syracuse but were faced with resistance that forced them to make peace with Syracuse in 405. As a part of the deal, The lands they had invaded

²¹⁸ Ibid, 3

²¹⁹ Ibid

²²⁰ Edwin Carawan, *The Attic Orators*, ed Edwin Carawan (New York: Oxford University press, 2007), XI

were recognized for them while they recognize Dionysius as the governor of Syracuse whereas he adopted a division of land and houses that forced most part of the population to quit the island²²¹. People claimed back their taken lands before the courts and needed to deliver accurate speeches so they had to ask for help from the orators who turned to be specialized logographers.

Caecilius of Calacte is thought to be the first scholar and rhetorician who provided a significant list of the first ten Greek Attic orators (Antiphon, Andokides, Lysias, Isokrates, Isaeos, Lykurgos, Aeschines, Demonsthenes, Deinarchos). He has acquired much fame in the spheres of Classics Studies for being, not undoubtedly, the author of the lost work "On the Style of the Ten Orators"²²². Despite the fact that the origin of this canon of ten Attic orators is still a subject of controversy²²³, the characteristics and functions of the oral tradition seems more important than the historical arrangement and origins.

4.2.2.2. Impact of the Oral tradition on Greek Mythology

The oral tradition contributed to the propagation, development and expansion of Myths. It was the means by which myths were made and propagated. Thus, the oral tradition holds an important position in the Anthropological study of Myths. In primitive cultures, Malinowski advocates that the oral myths used to an indispensable

²²¹**Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City**

<https://books.google.co.ma/books?id=lEvXAwAAQBAJ&lpg=PA199&ots=9jznnzbSIz&dq=revolution%20tyranny%20Syracusan&hl=fr&pg=PA198#v=onepage&q=revolution%20tyranny%20Syracusan&f=false>

²²²for more discussion of this threefold debate : A. E. Douglas. Cicero, Quintilian, and the Canon of Ten Attic Orators. *Mnemosyne*. Fourth Series, Vol. 9, Fasc. 1 (1956), pp. 30-40 Published by: [Brill](#) and (Richard Claverhouse Jebb, *Attic Orators from antiphon to Isaeos* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, plxv

²²³ Ibid

function: to express, enhance and codify beliefs; safeguard and enforce morality for the efficacy of ritual and carry the practical rules for the guidance of man. He adds that the oral Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilization; it is not an idle tale, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom.²²⁴

Malinowski's signal contribution to the study of myths derives from his concept of the interrelation between myth and social organization. According to him, the meaning of a myth is to be equated with its use. It is not what members of a culture would say about a myth, but what they do with it which is important. Additionally, he claims that the natives do not possess any historical perspective. They do not arrange events into any successive stages, except for those of recent stages.

In his description of Malinowski's distinction between mythical world and real world, Frances states that: 'the distinction between myth and reality is made in terms of the logic of events (ordinary versus extraordinary) rather than a distinction in terms of a historical sequence.'²²⁵ (Logical precedence rather than historical precedence).

According to Frances (1975), Malinowski's ranking of myths by logical precedence gives the following sequence: a- first emergence and the origin of man, b- loss of immortality, the cycle of death and rebirth, the origin of witchcraft ; c- the origin of agriculture and the Kula trade, various types of magic...²²⁶ Besides, Myth should hold an association with a locality to sustain its truth. This association of myths with specific localities appears to be one means of dividing a corpus of myth into cognitively distinct segments. In this respect, Frances states that: "The origin myth can thus be seen as a

²²⁴ Ivan Strenski, *Malinowski and the Work of Myth*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1992, p82

²²⁵ Frances Harwood, *Myth memory and the oral tradition: Cicero in the Trobriands*. in *American anthropologist*. issue 78: 1975. p786

²²⁶ *Ibid*

template which functions as a series producer and serves as mnemonic device for the recall of the more extended myths which stem out of the main branch preserved in the Stevenson version of the origin myth.²²⁷

Additionally, Frances (1975) argues that there is an intimate relation between the location and the mythical tradition in non-literate societies. Then he asserted that starting from examples from Melanesia, the American Southwest, Australia and Africa "the use of locations as mnemonic devices for the ordering of oral tradition can be shown to have a worldwide distribution. can traces of these mnemonic systems be found in the western world."²²⁸ Moreover, He agrees with the view that recalling important quantity of data and information can be done in a much easier way when this material is transformed into images and attached to locations. Cicero also stressed that people who want to train their memory faculty must select places and form mental images of the things they wish to remember and store these images in the places, so that the order of the places would preserve the order of the things, and the images of the things would denote the things themselves then the places and images would be employed respectively as a wax -writing tablet and the letters written on it.²²⁹

Myths use active, dramatic, grotesque or strikingly beautiful forms in order to perform what Cicero qualifies as "speedily encountering and penetrating the psyche", in other words, those forms and the very forcefulness of the images ensure rapid recall²³⁰. Mythical systems are attempts to order intellect and action into systematic wholes which represent on the human plane the "givenness" of the supernatural, or at least the

²²⁷ Ibid, 727

²²⁸ Ibid, 792

²²⁹ Ibid, 793

²³⁰ Ibid, 794

supernatural as perceived by each culture. Myths could achieve this by forcing perception out of the grooves of commonplace through the introduction of anomalies which nudge the mind to take as subjects for contemplation objects which are otherwise perceived as "things in themselves". The devices employed are as various as parable, analogy, metaphor, myth and monsters.

According to Frances, Spatial reference is important in oral tradition. Geographical locations play a significant role as mnemonic devices for the recall of the mythical corpus. These locations also function as structural markers dividing a corpus into separate cognitive units.²³¹ Besides, Strangeness plays a crucial role in oral tradition as well. The content of the myths is important for the memory which tends more to memorize strange content.

On the other hand, Victor Witter considers that most anthropologists have tended to explain religion in an implicit theological position and describe it as product of psychological and sociological causes of the most diverse and even conflicting types. He emphasized on the extreme importance of religious beliefs and practices for both the maintenance and radical transformation of human social and psychical structure.²³² he undertook an empirical investigation of aspects of religion especially some properties of African ritual.

²³¹Ibid, 795

²³²Victor Witter Turner, "Introduction", in *the Ritual Process: Structure and anti- Structure*, ed Victor Turner (New York, Cornell University Press, 1966),

Those studies, done in collaboration with institutes which used to shape the colonial policy, and provide the policy makers with analysis that would allow them to see more clearly the forces within which they were dealing.²³³

Victor states that among those relations ritual received a very low priority at the time he started field work. On the opposite, Monica Wilson asserts that "rituals reveal values at their deepest level.... men express in rituals what moves them most. and since the form of expression is conventionalized and obligatory, it is the values of the group that are revealed. I see in the studies of rituals the key to an understanding of the essential constitution of human societies.

4.2.3. From oral tradition to oral translation

Archaeologists state that communication between the Greece and the near east has been established since the beginning of the second millennium BC. There were more than two dozen trading colonies established by the Assyrians in Anatolia. They served as a point of juxtaposition of economic and cultural traffic in the region. In the seventeenth century BC, Hittite kingdom was established and was exposed to Assyrian cultural influence. Ties with the Egyptian side were recognized much earlier in the third millennium in direct contact with Crete through mainly maritime lines. Egyptian direct contact with Greece was recorded between 1440 and 1340BC²³⁴. Marin West (2003) states that:

"Syria is the grand junction. This is where all the roads met, where Greek, Hittite, Hurrian, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian elements all came together. It was indeed a kind of cultural bottleneck, being

²³³ Ibid, 5

²³⁴ M.L. West, *the East Face of Helicon*, 2nd ed. (United States: Oxford University Press, 2003), p3154

the unavoidable land bridge between Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia, and at the same time the natural terminus of sea routes from the west. The most prevailing parts of the oral tradition from archaic Greece are the Homeric epics."²³⁵ Syria was vital to the history of the region; it was the battlefield of the war between the Egyptians and the Hittites, the regular passage of the Assyrian armies and the Babylonian literature: Babylonian epics were copied and read there.

Anthropological studies suggest that long trade networks were established in the region since Neolithic age (about 10000 BC). Archaeological finds including tax documents show that trade activity had been undertaken between Canaanite dwellers and the merchants of Crete since 1300BC. Besides, there were commercial lines which allowed commodities and product to be transported between Egypt, Syria, Mycenae and Greece by roads of sea and land.

Archaeological finds prove also that there was a heavy transmission of arts, crafts and manufacturing techniques between Mycenaean Greece and the archaic period (1600BC-460BC). New artistic techniques were introduced, which implies that either some craftsmen used to reside in the eastern countries for a while, to learn those techniques, or some craftsmen were hosted in Greece and transmitted them.

The artistic transmission of oriental ivories, bronzes, metal artefacts and some manufacturing techniques reached their climax in the 8th century BC that both anthropologists and archaeologists called it the orientalisising period²³⁶. Then new forms

²³⁵ Ibid, p4

²³⁶ See M.L. West, *the East Face of Helicon*, 2nd ed. (United States: Oxford University Press, 2003), 11 and Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near eastern Influence on Greek* 155

of products were made such as "the bronze cauldron with siren, bull, lion, or griffin heads attached round the rim; the life-size (or larger) statue, standing or seated; the architectural column; the Caryatid; the crested helmet; the round shield with central omphalos."²³⁷ Another important comment to add at this point is the fact that "Homer knows only a pre-Dorian Greece and depicts a feudal society under the rule of a war-king. He may have preserved some elements of Mycenaean religious belief as well"²³⁸.

4.3. The premises of translation activity in Archaic Greece:

Cultural reception of content by the archaic Greece from its neighbouring empires, especially in Mesopotamia and Egypt, was not accepted in the 19 and 18 Centuries as it is the case today. Proofs and findings were only recently made available by the decipherment of cuneiform and hieroglyphic writing, Mycenaean discoveries and the recognition of an orientalising period when archaic Greek was massively impacted by neighbouring civilisation. These breakthroughs have impacted classical studies and could lead to the rise of Near eastern studies.

The etymological and morphological analyses of the formation of Greek language in section 3.2.2., Chapter 3, indicates that there are words that can not be classified under Greek etymological indexes and cannot be analysed on the light of Greek inflectional segmentation. Besides, the comparative analysis on both the morphological and phonological levels suggests that there are similarities between these words and those in other Indo-European languages. It also points out that these words

Culture in the Early Archaic Age, trans Margret E. Pinder and Walter Burkert (London, Harvard University Press, 1992

²³⁷ M.L. West, *the East Face of Helicon*, 2nd ed. (United States: Oxford University Press, 2003), 11

²³⁸ Martin P. Nilsson, *a History of Greek Religion*, trans F. J. Fielden, 2nd ed. (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1949), 2

can only be classified and analysed as loan words which were integrated into Greek in earlier periods. Their linguistic assessment also provides information of their toponymy, their original localisation as well as the phonological information which would lead to specify the time of borrowing.

In the following subsections, this quest examines this process of borrowing based on concrete examples from the Homeric Epics in order to detect the first moments of direct linguistic transmission that shaped the form of Greek language system.

4.3.1 Elements of translation techniques in Homeric Epics

It is hard to trace the translation techniques in oral tradition for its nature being a continuous artistic creation as well as the absence of both the source and the target languages upon which the comparison can be elaborated. Besides, translation activity in archaic Greece implies the existence of Greek cultural reception that was until few decades widely rejected in classical and anthropological studies. Nevertheless, the recent developments in archaeology and anthropology, as well as prominent achievements in archaic languages, mainly the decipherment of Linear B language, provided important linguistic data that stimulated new trends in classical scholarship and provided the bases upon which Linguistic shifts in Homeric epics could be identified.

The discussion departs from the juxtaposition of parallel structure, techniques, styles, etc. to identify the concepts and the forms that entered into Greek culture from the west. There are 3 breakthrough achievements that lead to the development of the etymological inquiry which resolved previously inexplicable Homeric words and phrases. The first consists in the decipherment of Hittite and its consequent

identification as Indo-European tongue. The second is decipherment of Linear B tablets which have revealed a form of Greek five hundred years earlier than Homer. The third consist in the recognition of existence of a large number of non-Indo-European loan words in the Greek lexicon²³⁹. These words were borrowed mainly from Anatolian, Semitic, Iranian and Egyptian languages.

Regarding the Homeric epics, most commentators explore Homer's genius, however only few point out to the familiarity of the audience for such artistic features and techniques. Some commentators go further as to mention their doubts whether those artistic feature were invented by Homer's creative skills or adopted from other predecessors or contemporaries to him.²⁴⁰

However, most western studies on loan words and borrowing in Greek consider the Indo-European vocabulary as an unconditional index for borrowed words and thus, they have tightened the list of borrowed words to luxuries such as gold, spices and clothes and words which do not "offend the Aryan model"²⁴¹

4.3.2. Linguistic evidences for translation in Ancient Greece

4.3.2.1. Hapax Legomenon as proofs of linguistic Borrowing in Homeric Epics

Despite the prominent works on Homeric epics, and although their distinguished supremacy in the field of classics and humanities, there are still in the corpus scores of words whose etymological and lexical origins are derived from Linear B, Near east and

²³⁹See list of Greek loan words in the appendices. Reference: Reyes BertolfnCebrian, « Loan-Words InMycenean Greek », SbornfkPraclFilozofickeFakultyBrnenskeUniverzityStudiaMinoraFacultatisPhilosophicae Univers1tatis Brunensis. N 1,1996

²⁴⁰ Mark W. Edwards, *the Iliad: a Commentary*, ed G.S. Kirk, 3rd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000),11

²⁴¹Martin Bernal, *Black Athena, the Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2006), p169

Indo- European languages. Classics scholars and Grammarians call them Homeric HapaxLegomenon²⁴². Their meanings are subject to continuing speculations and derived from the contexts within which they occur. Hapax or ἁπαξ in Greek means "something said only once", and Legomenon is also a Hapax which derives its meaning from the context²⁴³.

In his etymological study of Homer's works, Kumpf (1984) makes linguistic reflections on the HomericHapaxes. He found that from about 9000 lexical unites, proper nouns included, there are 2692 Hapaxes. Reece owes the existence of such an important number of Hapaxes to the hazard as well as deliberate oral poetry. Still, many words lack any classification under those languages. They are qualified as lexically isolated words, and called "singularities" or "absolute Hapaxes" which occur only once in Homeric epics and never again in Greek literature.. Kumpf counts that absolute Hapaxes occur averagely in every 9.4 verses of the Iliad and every 11.8 verses in the Odyssey. Besides, he provided that 303 words in the Iliad and 191 words in the odyssey appear only once in Greek language²⁴⁴. Reece states that half of the proper names in the Homer (the half of about 1400 words composed of personal names, toponyms, ethnics, etc.) are Hapax legomena.

Many classics scholars argue that the existing Hapaxes are words deliberately coined by Homer who inclined to make Hapaxes whenever he had found it fit in the composition. M. Pope points out that the hapases can be divided to three class: common

²⁴²Ref: Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon.

[http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0057;entry=a\(/pac](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0057;entry=a(/pac)

²⁴³M. M. KUMPF, *Four Indices of the Homeric Hapax Legomena. Together with Statistical Data* (Alpha-Omega Reihe A: Lexika, Indizes, Konkordanzen zur klassischen Philologie, 46). Hildesheim, Olms, 1984. IX, p224

²⁴⁴Mark W. Edwards, *the Iliad: a Commentary*, ed G.S. Kirk, 3rd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 53

words or commonplace words which occur only once in the corpus by chance, compound or nonce words which he coined on an occasion and specialized words on which he did not talk about enough²⁴⁵. They describe the occurrence of HapaxLegomenon in Homer as deliberately coined words which homer used in his composition.

Edwards divides the Homeric singularities, whose total is up to 201, in terms of style into: 93 narrative, similes 21 and 88 direct speech. Then he classified them in terms of characters and concluded that "Akhilleus is the responsible for the majority of singularities in direct speech, 18 , then Priam for 7, Agamemnon for 7, poseidon for 5 and Hector and Nestor for 4 each one. Whereas the Greek orators who spoke in Troy, Odysseus and Menelaus have 2 and 1 respectively"²⁴⁶ then he concluded that many of those singularities are ad-hoc compounds, some others may be colloquialisms and some are neologisms which never made their way into popularity. He added that it is "hardly any are likely to be from the old poetic vocabulary, as such words would survive mainly in recurrent formulae. He and Pope finally conclude that homer prepared to coin those words if he felt necessary and this is the only reason for the occurrence of foreign and non-formular words.

4.3.2.2. Phonological variables: Junctural metanalysis in Homer:

Regarding the plot, mainly the Greek myths, Edwards points out that many of the stories in the Iliad derived from Indo-European mythology²⁴⁷. However, M I west observes that certain Homeric themes and expressions of heroic glorification go back to

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 52

²⁴⁶ Mark W. Edwards, G. S. Kirk, *the Iliad: a Commentary*, ed G.S. Kirk, 3rd ed. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000),55

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 15

the epic of Gilgamesh. The high number of Hapax legomena in Homer implies that a significant part of Homeric lexicon is of non-Greek origins.

Besides, Steve Reece has counted several linguistic shifts in the prevailing old scripts. He assumed that within almost 28000 verses of Homeric poetry, approximately one in three words occur only once²⁴⁸. Many of them are common words or forms which occur later in other works. However, Reece estimated that "303 words in the Iliad and 191 words in the Odyssey roughly one of every eighteen words in the Homeric lexicon- are absolute HapaxLegomenon: they occur once in Homer and never again in all of Greek literature"²⁴⁹ he counts also that there are roughly 1400 of proper names in Homer about half of which are Hapax legomena that make no sense in Greek but lead to imply the possibility of deriving from non-Greek origins. Still, there are several Hapax words which derived from a process of regimentation of orally received and transmitted words. Those are words not pronounced or heard well so that they turn to be other words, of ambiguous reference, whose meaning is to be acquired later. Reece calls this process junctural metanalysis

Implications of Homeric Hapax: commodity fetishism. Impact on Homer' successors: Virgil use of Hapax.

Conclusion:

Trade and economic exchange allowed prehistoric inhabitants of Ancient Greece to learn new technologies of the later Stone Age and adopt scientific methods from the populations of Mesopotamia and Egypt. These technologies included writing, building

²⁴⁸ Steve Reece, *Homer's Winged Words*, ed Steve Reece (Boston: Brill, 2009), 3

²⁴⁹ David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and phonetics*, 6th ed. (United states: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 7

technology, and urban arrangement. Besides, as traders, metalworkers, architects made their way to prehistorical Greece either as a part of usual economic exchange or in terms of invasion, they brought with them technologies unknown to the populations in the mainland Greece. Consequently, the ancient Greeks learned new techniques of agriculture, monumental stone construction and copper metallurgy.

The transmission of goods, artefacts and techniques is proved by material evidence from different archaeological sites. Consequently, there are uncontested evidences on the great material influence of the Near East on the prehistorical Greece. The material impact of the near east on ancient Greece implies the existence of a cultural influence on the mythological, religious and literary life of the populations in mainland as well as its surrounding areas. However, despite the fact that most archaeologists and historians acknowledge this material influence on ancient Greece, the cultural and literary influence remained until recently a controversial issue that most of classicists and Hellenist historians surpass in their writings.

On the other hand, most classical scholars agree that orality was dominant in ancient Greece. For example R. Thomas states that «the society of classical Athens was still heavily dependent on the spoken word even in the fourth century BC.". Yet the alphabet reached Greece in the eight century B.C. Many postulate widespread literacy in Athens by the fifth century²⁵⁰. However, the source of this oral tradition is never discussed by those scholars. Questions of Where did the Oral tradition come from? How it was generated only after the Hellenistic era? And which evidence proves these origins are often disregarded by the classicists and historians of ancient times.

²⁵⁰ROSALIND THOMAS, "*Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* ", ed Peter Purke and Ruth Finnegan (New York: Cambridge University Press,1989),15

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Another issue that challenges research on these questions is the material evidence. Researchers and historians usually base their studies on literary evidence. They build upon existing written documents, and inscribed texts. Likewise, the existing parts of the oral tradition have been only preserved if they were once written down; otherwise, they get missed as it is the case for illiterate societies which tend to leave no record. Consequently, this motivates discussion of the relationship between memory and the oral tradition. As psychological research on the functionality of memory provides that people memorize repeated actions more accurately than separate instances of those actions, the event is memorized not exactly as it happened but as it was repeatedly perceived. Similarly, Rosalind Thomas states that:

"Abstract items, motives, thoughts and intentions behind actions are particularly prone to change in later memories. In short, the memories do not only remember. the very process of recall involves a certain degree of reforming or restructuring of the original memory... we remember different things according to our different interests... memory varies with culture... different communities may thus have different accounts of the same events."²⁵¹

The rise of oral tradition is based upon repeated memorizing of different parts of the reminiscences. Consequently, the memories can be influenced by later perceptions as well as those from the social context.

Finally, the propagation of the oral tradition was not devoid of political and social interests. Scholars assume that the oral tradition was the dominant in Athenian society because of the growing need in state affairs. The speeches delivered in Athenian

²⁵¹ROSALIND THOMAS, "*Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* ", ed Peter Purke and Ruth Finnegan (New York: Cambridge University Press,1989),12

assembly, in courts, family history and popular literature were produced and propagated orally.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5: From Genesis of Translation Theories to Translation studies

Introduction

The Genesis is the traditional Greek name for the first and the most known book: The Old Testament. It deals with the creation of the world and contains the famous story of the Tower of Babel which constitutes a fundamental object of reflection in Translation Studies. Besides, the Genesis literally refers to the beginning of something, its origin or mode of formation²⁵². Therefore, the Genesis of Translation Theory is intended to investigate the early commentaries, views and ideas which were made on translation.

Those commentaries were mainly speculations provided by the translators in order to explain their translation choices, introduce their work to the readers or elucidate some context in order to make the speakers close to each other linguistically and culturally. Subsequently, their comments developed into a controversial discourse that went along translation practice.

By the 20th century, translation theories became such a multidisciplinary subject that attracted the attention of not only translators, but also academics, researchers and scholars from different fields of research. This quest deals with two major questions that may be of an interrelated importance for any translation scholar: how translation studies have evolved in western culture and what are its major trends on the one hand, and How translation shifts from building intercultural bridges between cultures to being a tool for the establishment of Western hegemonic narratives.

²⁵²Oxford English Dictionary

5.1. History of Translation theory

5.1.1. The origins of translation theories

So far, there is no exact historical period that can be assumed as the onset of translation theories. Some scholars dealing with early translation theories assume that the beginning of theorizing on translation was primarily a Roman intellectual undertaking. However, most translation history books provide that the history of translation theories is the history of translation practice itself. Contemporary translators have regarded translation as a social practice and advocated that translation theory can not be detached from translation activity.

Translation theories can be traced back to the early commentaries and remarks made on translation and interpretation in antiquity. However, this shift from translation theory to a much wider scope which is translation activity does not solve this problem as digging into the first moments of translation practice or even drawing its genealogy does not constitute a much easier task. At this point, this study focuses on the periods on which available resources exist, and try to make a general genesis of translation theories that would be the closest to what both historians and translation scholars have reached.

5.1.1.1. Early translators: Interpreters and Immediate translators

In antiquity, mainland Greece and its neighbouring regions used verbal speeches as the basic form of communication. Letters and written texts started to be used only in the 5th Century BC²⁵³. Therefore, direct interpretation was the communication tool by

²⁵³ Daniel W. and Astradur E, Translation theory and practice: a historical reader. Oxford university press. New York: 2006 , P 6

which people of different tongues could connect, make trade transactions and political agreements as well as manage state affairs.

For this reason, interpreters played an important role in the communication process. Their role did not only consist in literal interpreting but they also used to comment, amend and use different translation techniques to convey the message and make the intended impact on both speakers. Similarly, the interpreters were the first commentators on translation. They needed to develop skills and techniques to bring the optimum results for the parties who requested their translation services.

This Intermediary role shifted from oral and direct interpreters to translators as different forms of literacy developed. Writing, printing and scriptures made translation became the cornerstone in the transference and propagation of texts and literature. Therefore, translation activity occupied an important role in the intellectual spheres while commentaries on translation grew significantly.

On the other hand, a massive translation movement is attested in Byzantine age. As the emerging Roman state gained more political and military achievements over the Greeks and their neighbouring regions, they relied on translation in order to gain more political and cultural hegemony. Translation constituted a political decision which allowed them to widely expand from a nation to an empire.

Consequently, they undertook massive translation activity while thousands of old books were translated from Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew and Egyptian etc. The Romans translated different existing literature in order to build their own cultural domination. This led to the proliferation of translation and commentaries, which cannot be understood as a mere literary activity, but as historically conditioned phenomenon.

By the end of late antiquity, translation played a crucial role in the development and distribution of the most prominent works that determined western history and shaped its culture. The most influential of which were the Homeric epics and Bible texts.

The Romans took advantage of Translation in order to rewrite messages and works written in other languages. They used it as a cultural and economic mediator which could shape the history of cultures and civilizations. Despite its diverse conceptual frameworks and approaches, translation established intercultural bridges which overcame different language spheres and cultural regions.

Division between interpreters and translators could hardly be made in antiquity because interpreters were the essential intermediaries in trade and various matters of state for the old antiquity Empires. Nevertheless, the onset of printing marked a shift in their work to translators. Literary translation came to play a key role in disseminating and sharing the documents that were to form the canons of literature, learning and religion (Homeric epics, the bible, Greek drama, mythology, philosophy and history etc.). Besides, Translation was a key instrument in the formation of writing and literary culture in every European language. Indeed, by tracing the roots of translation, the history of international communication and cultural interaction between civilizations can be built.

On the other hand, the problem of translation is inherent in the cultural expressions which involve both the local and the global. Translation builds the rails of communication between cultures that express themselves in different tongues. At the end, translation contributes to what many scholars recognize as the “discovery of the other within ourselves”. This discovery is also another by-product of translation.

Additionally, many writers worked on translation history which does not only consist in putting together many foundational texts in translation studies, from Cicero to the twentieth century scholars. It also challenges the view which regards translation as when the writers first started working on this project. They had in mind to put together a collection of foundational texts in translation studies, from Cicero to around the mid-twentieth century. Translation history is not only cannon of a few statements of translation studies accumulated by strict scholastic research. Translation opens the gates between the present and the past. It allows the scholar to revive a historical text into a live piece or literature which breaths and acts in the present.

5.1.1.2. Translation of the Bible and its commentaries

The Bible is considered as the most important and the most translated text in western history and culture. The oldest version of the Bible, the Hebrew Bible, was translated into different languages mainly the Aramaic and the Greek. Besides, the Hebrew Bible assigned a special importance to translation itself in the story of the Tower of Babel which constitutes a key myth of translation. The Greek translation of the Bible is the Septuagint. It was carried out by 72 translators who worked separately to provide the translated version. The story tells that they all provided the same version of the translated text without any difference. This was justified by the idea that there was a divine spirit guiding the translation and therefore the translated text is much more sacred than the original one.

The linguistic assessment of this translation suggests that the translators opted for transliteration as a technique to deal with the words that had no Greek counterparts. There was a certain adaptation in the translation of some parts of the texts when the precise lexical and syntactical elements of the Hebrew language could not be met. The

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translators aimed at communicating the tone of sublimity and of the sacred associations of the original text.²⁵⁴

The progressive grounding of the Christian liturgy upon the text of the Septuagint contributed to its being considered as a holy text and one which other languages would want to approximate by translation (Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Coptic...)

The Septuagint acquired divinity from the story behind its translation. This served as a justification of the substitution of the Hebrew Bible by its Greek translation. Similarly, the objective behind this substitution was to introduce a Greek text into the politically expanding Greek Empire and to maintain its cultural hegemony. However, the story laid the ground for the reflexion on translation in terms of its accuracy, fidelity and process.

On the other hand The term Old Testament denotes an early Christian distinction. It marks the distinction with The New Covenant which is set forth by the Christian scriptures and fulfilled in Jesus. Jewish scholars recognize the Old Covenant which they call the "Tanak"²⁵⁵.

The Old Testament, or the Old Covenant, is a collection of texts and scriptures written and edited by old Hebrew Jewish priests. The writings were composed over a long period between the 12th century BC and the beginning of the Roman conquest or what would be called the Christian Era. It is constituted of prophetic oracles, teachings of wise men, instructions of priests and ancient records of royal courts. The Old

²⁵⁴ The end result managed to communicate, if not the precise lexical and syntactical elements of the Hebrew, at least the tone of sublimity, and of the sacred associations that the originals as a whole evoked.

²⁵⁵ Tanak is a word designating the initial letters of the three divisions of the Hebrew Bible: Torah (law), Nebhiim (Prophets) and Kethubhim (writings).

Testament includes texts and writings of different types: historical, legendary, legalistic, didactic texts. Most of its corpus was written in Hebrew, some few passages are in Aramaic.²⁵⁶

5.1.2. Translation theories: From marginal theological and linguistic commentaries to an independent approach

5.1.2.1. Translation Theories in the Roman Empire

Translation was viewed as a useful means for learning language and improving intellectual skills. Pliny the Younger advised his friend Fuscus, one of his documented letters, that translation from Greek to Latin and vice versa is the most pertinent activity to improve linguistic skills such as the vocabulary, figures of speech and force of exposition. Translation serves also as an enterprise which helps promote human intellectual capacities and critical judgement. Then he invites his friend to memorize the texts and the arguments used in them, rewrite them and make a comparison with the original, or even to compete with some passages of the texts so as to improve one's competences. Pliny said that prominent orators used this method in order to train and improve their skills. In this regard, Pleny (2006) states that:

"So it was that the finest orators and the finest men too, used to train and delight themselves, or rather, to delight and train themselves in this way, since it is remarkable how the mind both concentrates and relaxes by means of these."²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ The old testament Life and literature. Gerald A laure, chapter 1. 1968 p3

²⁵⁷ Pliny The Younger, Complete Letters. Trans. P.G. Walsh. Oxford University Press. 2006. New York. p169
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On the other hand, the Roman educator and rhetorician Quintilianus²⁵⁸ advocates imitation in translation. He argued that a great portion of art consists in imitation which is the first step of invention. He also encouraged Roman intellectuals to copy what has been invented with success and expel it in order to reach creativity. On the other hand, Translation is regarded not only as a tool in the acquisition of other languages, but also as a means of enriching the target language.

On the linguistic level, Quintilianus made clear distinctions between metaphrases or word-for-word translation and paraphrases or phrase-by-phrase translation in order to fill the gaps between the Greek and Roman languages. He explains that: “Because our Roman language is immensely different from Greek, we are bound by a certain need to rethink the many and varied figures with which a work is adorned... For I do not want translation to be a mere paraphrase, but a struggle and rivalry over the same meaning”.²⁵⁹

Augustine is considered as the most influential of the church fathers. He regarded translation as a systematic undoing of the confusion resulted following the destruction of the tower of Babel. For him, there can be only one true translation. He strove to establish orthodoxy and the authority of the church. To this end even condoning persecution. His concerns for a single united church led him to favour the Septuagint translation over the Hebrew and Aramaic source texts

He criticised Jerome’s translation of the Vulgate for it would cause extreme difficulties: The Latin churches would differ violently from the Greek churches. He

²⁵⁸Quintilian, Latin in full Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, (born ad 35, CalagurrisNassica, Hispania Tarraconensis—died after 96, Rome), Latin teacher and writer whose work on rhetoric, *Institutio oratoria*, is a major contribution to educational theory and literary criticism (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Quintilian>)

²⁵⁹Ref11p25

added that Jerome would have done better if he translated of the Greek of the Septuagint.

5.1.2.2. Translation in the reformation ages

The most influential figure of the reformation and one of its most radical thinkers is Martin Luther. The author of one of the most important bible translations in European history. He is considered as the German leader of the reformation.

He expressed his dissatisfaction with the penitential system of the Roman Catholic Church and emphasized the original writing in the vernacular. Through his translation of the bible, he was to establish a norm for the written German, and to have a radical lasting influence on German language and literature.

As a translator, he was distinctly a reader-oriented. His aim was to put together a bible text for the general public. His translation characterised by a combination of popular speech and poetic dignity, became for many Northern Europeans a new original and served as such as a basis of some bible translation into Nordic languages.

In his Open Letter on Translation, he strongly belittled his critics and defended the use of the word “sola” which does not exist in the Latin version of the bible saying that “it speaks to the sense of the text’ and that it is needed if one wants to translate it to German clearly, because the intention was to speak German in the translation. He was trying to follow the nature of the target language and let letters flow... however, He said “translation is not an art just any one can do, it requires a righteous, pious, faithful; diligent, fearful, Christian, educated, experienced and practiced heart.

He refused literal translation. Providing many examples of expressions that do not exist in the source texts, he insisted that translation should be based on the most convenient idiomatic expression of the target language.

M. Luther was different from other translators like Jerome in that he wanted to render the central meaning as well as the literary detail into a language used at home and in the marketplace. As a consequence, Luther expanded the use of consonants, and created new ways of pronunciation and composite words like *S" undenbock* (scapegoat), *Lockvogel* (decoy-bird), *L" uckenb" user* (stand-in) and similar words. In addition, he created new sentence structures with a tendency to put the verb at the end of the sentence. Luther always had a conversation with the Bible to let it speak to him with verve and rhythm.²⁶⁰ Luther is important for most German translation critics, and Goethe sees Luther's translation method as valuable first step or epoch in bringing foreign works into German.

5.1.2.3. Translation theories in the English literary tradition

Early literary activity in England was mostly in Latin until King Alfred initiated a translation policy. He attempted to make multiple renditions of the Bible and exegesis books which used to be read in Latin.

During the first year of King James' reign, a conference was held at Hampton court (1604) in which they authorized fifty-four scholars to undertake a revision of the English translations of the Bible. On the level of translation approach, they drew up a list of fifteen rules, the first being that the translator should follow the Bishop Bible (1568) as closely as possible, and this being largely based on Tyndale's translation.

²⁶⁰Cambridge companion to martin Luther, p 70.

The King's aimed at arriving to a single authoritative text and build religious consensus upon it. Therefore, the influence of the text on English literature was enormous and was seen as one of the most interesting literary works in English language.

5.1.2.4. Translation theories in the German tradition

Translation and the translation debate in Germany during the early nineteenth century served to enhance the striving for an independent literary language. Translation helped to shape the raising western nations. By the beginning of this period, the western cannon was largely in place. It was based on translation which constitutes its key works, mainly Homer, but also Greek tragedies, Virgil's Aeneid, and other significant works written in classical Greek and Latin, still the towering original languages against which the qualities of English were measured.

One prominent scholar of translation during this period was Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe (1749-1832) who was a German writer and statesman. He adopted the notions of nationhood and universality, and their symbolic modes of expression. For him translation was as a gateway between on the one hand the strengthening notions of nationality and the western tradition, and on the other, in some cases, the broader world (esp. the orient). For Goethe, this gateway is closely linked to world literature, a concept that is heavily dependent on translation.

It should be stated that Goethe's comments do not constitute a single systematic theory, or even view on translation. He made these statements in different contexts at different times, but he gradually came to place more and more emphasis on the movement toward the foreign, as in his notion of third epoch of translation.

For him, what really shapes and improves is what is left of a poet when he has been translating into prose. That is why he thinks that translation into prose is more advantageous than translations into verses in the first stage of education.

According to Goethe, there are two maxims in translation: one requires that the author of a foreign nation be brought across to the reader in such a way that it becomes possible to look at him as theirs; the other requires that the readers go across to that foreign and adapt themselves to its conditions, its use of language its peculiarities.

Later, he distinguished three kinds of translation; the first acquaints with foreign countries in other terms (simple prosaic translation). The second is when the translator appropriates the foreign content and reproduce it in his own sense (parodist translation), The third which is the highest and the final one, is the translation which overcomes the resistance of the translation language and abandons the originality of the translator's nation to bring a third to existence, and the taste of the multitude must first be shaped towards it.

Another important contribution to translation theory was provided by the German theologian and classical philologist Friedrich Schleiermacher. He provided a systematic analysis of the Romantic concept of translation in his famous lecture 'on the different methods of translating'. He advocated that the reader should be brought to the author and learns to accept 'alienation' of the translation. He also regarded translation as a general feature of understanding and language. Schleiermacher urged for translating texts and works of literature to revive them. HE states that:

“Any verbal text soon dies of necessity if it can be reproduced by thousand organs in a form which is always the same; only that text can endure longer which constitutes a new element in the life of a language itself.”²⁶¹

5.2. Contemporary Translation Studies

The development of translation studies rises many fundamental questions regarding translation, the answers to each of which depend the attitudes and intentions of the translation scholars. Many theories were advanced and different approaches were adopted to the extent that many translation scholars have not only ceased to regard it as a subsection of other disciplines (such as literature, traditional linguistics,) but also claimed that the bases of translation studies as an independent intercultural discipline had already been settled²⁶².

A new vague emerged in the academic communities, a tsunami of researches and studies has been produced and many institutes and centres of translation studies were built leading to what Munday (2008) called “a proliferation of specialized translating and interpreting courses at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels”²⁶³. This section reflects on the major trends in translation studies and how have they been developed.

Although translation studies recently constituted an independent academic field recently, it adopted many means and techniques from other fields of humanities. Therefore, the difficulty of dealing with translation as an object of research does not only consist in the huge amount of literature that has been written by translation scholars, but also in the crucial necessity to grasp the multidisciplinary methods and

²⁶¹ Andre' Lefevere. *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig*. Van Gorcum :Ossen. p71

²⁶² Jeremy Munday (2008) *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*. Routledge Newyork.

²⁶³ Ibid.p6

theses that were imported from other fields in order to constitute the fundamental bases of translation approaches or to underpin the emerging translation trends and methods.

5.2.1. Etymological and historical considerations:

This chapter is not as much concerned with the quantity of texts translated as with the underlying theoretical questions and the translation scholars who dealt with them. Therefore, it focuses on those who tried to build a theoretical framework for translation studies and elaborate a comparative assessment of their works. The investigation of the historical factors that influenced each of their choices and works would be of an indispensable relevance to this quest.

Starting with the issue of defining translation, Pym (1992) considers that translation is derived from *translatus*, past participle of the Latin verb *transfere*. “To carry over or across”. Therefore, he considers that transfer is a precondition for translation, and that this latter can be seen as a special kind of response to things that have been transferred or are meant to be transferred²⁶⁴. Additionally, Pym puts critical remarks on those definitions of translation which are based on equivalence. In this line of argument, he argues that: “equivalence has been used to define translation, but few writers have been prepared to define equivalence itself”²⁶⁵.

Besides, Pym considers that equivalence based definitions of translation reduce it to a simple activity of matching one use or function with another, rather than a productive function in itself. Then he affirms that the economic definition of equivalence

²⁶⁴Anthony Pym, (1992) translation and text transfer: an essay on the principles of intercultural communication. Frankfurt: Lang.

²⁶⁵ibid, p38

enables translators to focus on value as “something manifested through the translation of texts in situations of contact between interrelated cultures”.²⁶⁶

In Pym’s point of view, the accuracy of translation should be based on the assessment equivalence which he considers as a value (in the sense of political economy) that should be analysed on the bases of economic exchange analysis.

Pym adopted a pluralist approach to Translation. He advocates that it is such an interdisciplinary subject that requires both linguistic assessment and historical analysis in order to investigate not only the existing data, but also their social, political and cultural causes. In this approach, Pym tried to merge translation studies with other fields of humanities. He considered translation as an intercultural communication process. Therefore, he related translation theory to cultural studies and social sciences. At the end, he called this approach “Translation as a historical problem solving”.²⁶⁷ This approach aims to delimit different historical causes that contribute to the emergence and development of translation theories. It insists on the fact that translation studies are an independent discipline whose development mechanisms do not vary radically from other humanities’ mechanisms. It aims to develop a coherent framework within which translation studies interact and progress.

5.2.1.1. Nida and the Scientific approach to translation

One of translation studies’ pillars is E. Nida, whose works aimed at building a consistent theory of translation that would allow translators to translate accurately the texts into different languages and cultures. Nida²⁶⁸ sets the ground for a scientific

²⁶⁶*ibid*, p47

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*

²⁶⁸ Nida, E. and Taber, C. (1982) *The theory and practice of translation* (2nd edition). Leiden: The United Bible Societies.

approach to translation. His works focused on building such a translation theory as an interdisciplinary discipline that takes advantage of the development in linguistics and information theory so as to righteously translate texts into other languages.

Nida makes the difference between what he called “the old focus” and the “new focus” in translation, stating that the first focuses on the form of the message and its distinctive features that used to be the focal element to be regarded when translating a text. The new focus, which Nida advocates is mainly the response of the receptor to translated text. In other words, Nida assumes that translating is not first and foremost the reproduction of the same formal features of the message into another language, but it is rather the reproduction of an equivalent response of the target text receptor as that of the source text receptor.

In this line of reasoning, Nida suggests that translators should seek for the equivalence not the identity. He states that: “In a sense this is just another way of emphasizing the reproduction of the message rather than the conservation of the form of the utterance”²⁶⁹ Nida argues that to succeed in reproducing the message, the translator has to look for the closest natural equivalence, or what he calls Dynamic equivalence. However, Bell Roger criticizes this traditional definition of translation, rendering a text in one language into an equivalent text in a second language, and affirms that reducing translation to a process of finding equivalences does not take into consideration the complicated nature of languages and discourse parameters.

Concerning the accuracy of translation, Nida focuses on the intelligibility. He claims that in order to assess the intelligibility of translation, translators should not count on the words or the grammatical constructions of sentences, but they should

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*:p.12

assess the impact of the message on the receiver. He explains that: "Dynamic equivalence therefore is to be defined in terms of the degree to which the receptors of the message in the receptor language respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language."²⁷⁰

However, the response of the receptor does not only consist in the information being conveyed by the message. Nida suggests that communication is not only an informative act. He distinguishes three language functions that should be served by the translation: informative function (communication of information), expressive function (the emotional impact of the text) and imperative function (judgments, recommendations of the text).

After having distinguished the functions of the message, Nida sets different analytical procedures that explain the aspects of the message, and render the accurate equivalence. He distinguishes two analytical procedures: the grammatical analysis (meaning of grammatical forms and constructions of the text), and the semantic analysis (the referential aspects of the meaning). The results of these analyses have to be transferred from the source language to the receptor language. Nida considers this transfer as the crucial and focal point of the translation process.²⁷¹

Nida does not give much importance to the form of the text and suggests that during the transfer process, semantic adjustments may occur to preserve the content of the message. He argues that translators have to make an essential distinction between the form of a message and its content, for Language and linguistic forms are means to an end rather than an end in themselves. He explains that: "The content is the conceptual

²⁷⁰*Ibid:p.24*

²⁷¹*ibid: p.99*

intent of the message, together with the connotative values the source wishes to communicate: it is what the message is about”²⁷² This quote implies that since message forms are of a secondary value to Nida, he asserts that adjustments can be made in linguistic forms so as to preserve accurately the content. He considers that as an indispensable loss of semantic content which the translation process should be so designed as to keep it to a minimum.

5.2.1.2. Translation as theory and methodology: Bell Rogers’s scheme

Bell Roger sought to provide a scientific approach for translation based on Systematic Linguistics and Cognitive Psychology. He criticised old views on translation for being stuck at the prescientific stage and did not gain as much progress as it was been the case for other sciences and fields of study. Additionally, he considers that translation is a phenomenon widespread in time and in space and that it is the time to establish a theory of translation that would answer the historically controversial issues such as what translation is, how it works, and how it fits into human communication and human society.

Furthermore, starting with the question “Translation is what?” Bell argues that the study of translation has been dominated by the debate on its status as an art or a science. Being motivated by linguistics’ point of view, he approaches translation from a scientific perspective in order to establish a consistent translation theory that would allow translation to address its controversial issues and provide translators with an coherent explanatory theoretical framework of translation. He aims at providing translators with keys to efficient and effective translation in a world in which information transfer has become more dependent on translation.

²⁷²*Ibid:p.105*

Bell Roger suggests three definitions for the word Translation in order to elucidate the ambiguity of the term: Translating (the process), a translation (the product of the process) and translation (the abstract concept which encompasses translation as an act and a process). In this line of argument he points out that that a theory of translation must describe both the process and the product in order to be comprehensive and useful.²⁷³ Since the translation process is a mental phenomenon, Bell asserts that in order to describe translation process, research on translation should be conducted within the framework of psychological studies and those branches of linguistics dealing with social and psychological aspects of language. Bell aims at setting a model for translating process within a systemic model of language. He contends that creating such a model could be interesting and valuable as a vehicle for testing theory and investigating language use. Generally, his model can be located within the more general domain of human communication and would necessarily draw heavily on both linguistics and psychology. Drawing on these disciplines allows to benefit from the insights of psychological and psycholinguistic models of memory and information processing on the one hand and linguistic models of meaning. In this line of thought, he states that:

The co-occurrence of existing advances in cognitive science, artificial intelligence and text linguistics with the emergence of a genuinely socially and semantically based functional theory of linguistics- systemic linguistics- makes this an ideal moment to attempt to resolve the paradox and develop an adequate theory of translation.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Roger, B. (1991) Translation and translating: theory and practice. New York: Longman.p13

²⁷⁴ Ibid, pXVI

5.2.2. Thematic issues in translation studies

5.2.2.1. Translation as a quest for the perfect equivalence

Despite the enormous development of translation studies, equivalence is still considered as one of the most problematic issues in translation theory. It is such a controversial notion that has been widely debated. In this respect, A. Pym, a prominent figure of translation studies, asserts that “equivalence is indeed what defines translation, but that equivalence is by no means the simple concept that industry discourses would hold it to be”²⁷⁵. In this context, it is worth noting that the concept of equivalence is controversial and hard to define for the nature of the definition advanced for this concept which drives different positions and trends in theory and research on issues in translation studies. For this reason, it is also important to discuss and explain what makes this concept highly relevant to translation studies. To this end, this section focuses on the presentations and discussions of some of the most important definitions of this concept, its assumptions and far reaching theoretical and practical implications for theory and research which have marked the process of development of translation studies.

Actually, there are many definitions of equivalence, the most famous of whom are those of E. Nida and Catford. Nida (1982) addresses eruditely the subject of translation equivalence and tries to build a complete theory in which translation equivalence constitutes the corner stone. Nida argues that the development of translation theory has been restricted by translation techniques and skills. “Nida states that

²⁷⁵Pym, Anthony .The moving text: Localisation, translation, and distribution.
Benjamins: amesterdam2004.p.51

translation theory is lagging behind translation skills and needs to catch up”²⁷⁶. So, Nida draws upon the traditional focus of translation that dealt mainly with the message to build what he called “A new concept of translating”. He argued that each language has some distinctive characteristics which give it a special character. He also suggested that in order to communicate effectively, the translators “must respect the effective of each language”. Besides, translators should have a full awareness of the source and target text to find the accurate and appropriate equivalence and to render exactly the contents of the text for reader as “anything that can be said in one language can be said in another, unless the form is an essential element of message”²⁷⁷. According to Nida, The task of the translator is to try to reproduce the meaning of the source text as he understands it. This may be possible by finding the closest natural equivalence and giving more priority to the meaning as “The best translation does not sound as a translation”²⁷⁸.

This shift from the focus on the form of the message to the focus on the response of the targeted reader and translating was not accepted by other theorists. In this respect, Peter Fawcett argues that “This means that different translations would be 'correct' for different readerships. Nida does not tell us here where this new 'spirit' comes from (we have to go back to the earlier *Toward a Science of Translating* for that)”²⁷⁹.

The concept of equivalence was rejected also by the French theorist Henri Meschonnic who considers that translation with Nida’s dynamic equivalence became adaptation and classified his attitude as an automatic behaviourism that authorizes any

²⁷⁶Fawcett, P. (2003) *Translation and Language Linguistic Theories Explained* (2nd Edition). Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing. p56

²⁷⁷*Ibid*:p4

²⁷⁸*Ibid*:p.12

²⁷⁹*Ibid*.p56

kind of manipulation of the source text.²⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Newmark²⁸¹ describes Nida as ‘a well-known American linguist(ician) and Bible translator, was the first writer on translation to apply linguistics to translation. With his theory of ‘dynamic’, later ‘functional’ and equivalence, he introduced into translation a third player, namely the readership, which was previously virtually identified with the translator, or with a vague, imaginary person’. However, the ability to render any text in another language is what has been qualified by many researchers as a problem of idealization. For example Chesterman, one of those arguing theorists, states that ‘By this I mean the evident underlying belief in perfection, in a perfect translation that would be absolutely equivalent and also absolutely natural. The influence of theological myths is strong here, such as that of the 72 translators of the Septuagint who all arrived miraculously at the same solutions...’²⁸².

However, Venuti (1995) assumes that ‘a foreign text is the site of many different semantic possibilities that are fixed only provisionally in any one translation’. He also claims that the targeted readerships influence translation because accordingly ‘The viability of a translation is established by its relationship to the cultural and social conditions under which it is produced and read.’ (Venuti, 1995:18)

The second definition of equivalence was advanced by Cataford, who considers equivalence a key term in translation studies and assumes that the central problem of translation practices is that of finding the target language translation equivalents.

²⁸⁰Ibid.p58

²⁸¹Newmark, P., (2009) The linguistic and communicative stages in translation theory. In J. Munday (ed.) The Routledge Companion To Translation Studies (2nd Edition). London: Routledge:p28

²⁸²Chesterman, A .(2004) Beyond the particular. In A. Mauranen and P. Kuusimäki (eds.) *Translation universals: Do they exist?*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. p35

Similarly, Catford makes a distinction between formal correspondence, which is a matter of langue, and what he refers to as 'textual equivalence' (which is a matter of parole). Fawcett explains this distinction as follows: 'In so far as we can translate preposition by preposition in these languages, formal correspondence gives us textual equivalence. Where that is not the case, we arrive at textual equivalence through translation 'shifts''²⁸³.

Another definition of the Equivalence is that of Vinay and Darbelnet who consider equivalence as a translation technique and define it as "the translation of idioms when two languages refer to the same situation in totally different ways."²⁸⁴ Thus, they do not give Equivalence a major role in the process of translation and consider it only when dealing with idioms and trying to translate them. Therefore, Equivalence in Vinay and Darbelnet view is not a central problem of translation theory. Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet classify equivalence as a method of translation. They state that "We have repeatedly stressed that one and the same situation can be rendered by two texts using completely different stylistic and structural methods. In such cases we are dealing with the method which produces equivalent texts."²⁸⁵

5.2.2.2. Translation as a Text Transfer

Pym (1992) argues that translation studies should incorporate the principle of translation as an intercultural transfer in order to maintain a coherent conception of this vast and confusing domain. He points out that "I have given epistemological priority to text transfer, understood as the simple moving of inscribed material from one place and

²⁸³Fawcett, P. (2003) *Translation and Language Linguistic Theories Explained* (2nd Edition). Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

²⁸⁴Ibid, p38

²⁸⁵Vinay, J, P and Darbelnet, J. (2004) *A methodology for translation*. In L. Venuti (Ed.) *The Translation Studies Reader* (2nd Edition). London: Routledge.p90

time to another place and time”²⁸⁶. In this book Pym rejects the view which deals with culture as a naturally closed unit and advocates that there is an increasing interdependence which incorporates nation states into wider cultural networks and thus individual countries are becoming more and more multicultural within themselves. Therefore, translation serves to cross those boundaries between cultures and helps the social sciences to address the history and ethics of intercultural relations²⁸⁷. In brief, Translation studies has independently established an interdisciplinary research field and translation scholars have successfully provided the means and methods by which translation studies proved itself in the academic world.

5.3. The dilemmas of Western Translation Studies

Academic institutions constitute an essential space for hegemonic forces to disseminate and reproduce power relations. As an inclusive part of this knowledge production system, Humanities has since long been instrumental in developing ideologically aligned conceptions of History, Culture and human sciences.

This section focuses on the discussion of knowledge production in Translation. The main focus is set on near eastern studies as a rising field trying to deconstruct the Hellenic view which has dominated academic circles since the 18th century. In this perspective, Translation studies is regarded as both an academic space for knowledge production and a narrative discourse which maintains the Hegemonic power relations in humanities as well as their cultural and political implications. Another aspect of this discussion deals with the development of Western Translation Studies. How it propagates hegemonic knowledge in service of colonialism, displacement and racism as

²⁸⁶Anthony pym, (1992) translation and text transfer: an essay on the principles of intercultural communication. Frankfurt: Lang.p13

²⁸⁷Ibid.p14

well as alternative strategies for a counter-hegemonic culture and knowledge production.

In western academic institutions, Translation History relates mainly to Humanities which have been dominated by classical antiquity discourse²⁸⁸. Most scholars have studied Translation on the light of Greek and Roman cultures. Some exceptions exist where the field encompasses different interdisciplinary disciplines varying from archaeology, social anthropology to comparative linguistic and cultural studies.²⁸⁹ However, a brief overview of the content and description of programs taught at western Faculties of Humanities would clearly indicate how humanity is still confined within the boundaries of the classics in western tradition²⁹⁰. Moreover, Humanities and classics are still arranged as subdivisions of the same department in western academic spaces. This reality has since long been taken as an independent development of humanities. Hence, a close examination of how this development took place would uncover the real driving forces behind this dependency of humanities to classics.

5.3.1. The supremacy of Greece as a basis of Eurocentric Approach

5.3.1.1. The impact of Mediterranean cultures on archaic Greece

Cultural reception of Hellenic Greece from its neighbouring empires, especially in Mesopotamia and Egypt, was not much accepted in the 19th and 18th Centuries. Martin

²⁸⁸Until the first half of the 20th Century, The American Academy of Arts and Sciences still publishes academic materials defining humanities between the boundaries Roman and Greek cultures in Antiquity. Gerald's article "The Old and the New Humanities" is a flagrant example:

Gerald F. Else. *The Old and the New Humanities*. *Daedalus*. Vol. 98, No. 3, *The Future of the Humanities* (Summer, 1969), pp. 803-808 Published by: MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

²⁸⁹ Oxford Humanities Division constitutes an expressive example of this tendency: <https://www.humanities.ox.ac.uk>. retrieved on 30 March 2018 at 11 am.

²⁹⁰see Gerald F. Else. *The Old and the New Humanities*. *Daedalus*, Vol. 98, No. 3, *The Future of the Humanities* (Summer, 1969), pp. 803-808 Published by: MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

Bernal²⁹¹ assumes that it is only after the sixtieths of the 20th century, when many proofs and findings were provided, that western scholarship brought this subject into light. The decipherment of cuneiform and hieroglyphic writing, Mycenaean discoveries and the recognition of an orientalising period firmly implied that archaic Greek was massively impacted by neighbouring civilisations.

Most Greek classical literature has dominated as a source of human knowledge for a long time. After the second half of the twentieth century, works on the roots of Greek culture have flourished. The decipherment of the Linear B languages as well as the new archaeological findings has laid the ground for more archaeological and anthropological studies. The quest in the long marginalized civilisations of the near and Middle East started to gain the floor. Archaeological finds proved a direct eastern influence in Greece during the 8th Century BC²⁹²

The result was fascinating convergence between Semitic, Egyptian and archaic Mesopotamian works and the ancient Greek literature that was widely believed to be specific to the Greeks in classics. In the academic circles, new disciplines dealing mainly with the archaic near eastern and Middle Eastern studies emerged. These breakthroughs have impacted classical studies and lead to the rise of Near eastern studies.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Martin Bernal. *Black Athena The Afro-asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. The Fabrication of Ancient Greece. VOLUME I.* 1785- 1985. Rutgers University Press. New Jersey: 1987

²⁹² see the works of Martin Bernal (1987), Martin West (*Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*) Peter Walcot (Hesiod and the Near East:1966) Ruth Edwards (*Cadmus the Phoenician:1979*) and Sarah Morris (*Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art: 1995*), p14

²⁹³ For a deep discussion of different forms of contact between Aegean Greece and eastern Mediterranean and near eastern civilizations see M. L. West (2003) ref4, J. Goody (2006)

5.3.1.2. Two politically motivated approaches towards Greek History

Martin Bernal, The British Scholar in Political history, distinguished two main models which influenced the study of Greek ancient history.²⁹⁴ The first is the "Aryan model", a methodological approach regarding Greece as a pure European or Aryan in race, history and culture. The second is what he referred to as "the Ancient Model" which holds that the rise of Greece as a result of colonization by the Phoenicians and Egyptians. This latter assumes that the Semites and the Egyptians have settled in Greece and civilized its population²⁹⁵. Bernal dedicated three volumes of his book (Bernal 1987) to demonstrate and argue how Greece was a Levantine culture owing much of its cultural and linguistic history to Semitic and Egyptian culture. He supported his view with Archaeological, anthropological, literary and linguistic evidences.

The Ancient model has been attached to history of Greek culture since antiquity. Whereas the Aryan model was only developed in the first half of the 19th Century. It was until the rise of European colonization aspirations that the Aryan gained the floor. It holds that Greece was invaded from the north. Then it resulted in the mixture of Indo-Europeans and Aegean pre-Hellenic Greeks. In the introduction to his work, Bernal refers to his main assumption that dominated academic circles in the last three centuries, the fabrication of Ancient Greece. In this line of thought, he asserts that:

"If I am right in urging the overthrow of the Aryan Model and its replacement by the Revised Ancient one, it would be necessary not only to rethink the fundamental bases of Western Civilization but also

²⁹⁴Bernal (1987)

²⁹⁵Ibid, p1

to recognize the penetration of racism and 'continental chauvinism' into all our historiography, or philosophy of writing history"²⁹⁶

5.3.2. The political implication of Hellenist approach

The previous subsection represents the main line of thought of Bernal. First, he contributes to filling a gap in ancient history which constituted a natural challenge in classical Humanities. Although Archaeologists have developed advanced measures and tools which allowed them to find out more on orality in antiquity, they all assume that there is a lack in historical and literary evidences. Available content of the Oral tradition was mainly from the fifth century BC for the only reason that it is the era on which exit more documented material is available. Second, Black Athena proves how the emergence of Hellenic Greece was not an accidental mutation but a continuation of rich cultural heritage shared by the Semitic and Egyptian civilization. It brings into light the component that led to the rise of Greek Oratory, mythology, sophism and the politics of the Polis. Third, Bernal deconstructs the Eurocentric paradigm which considers Greek civilization as a pure product of Aryan origins. This view which led to the rise of European supremacy and thus gave intellectual justification for colonization, exploitation and the destruction of other civilizations.

In this line of thought, Goody (2006) went farther in this deconstruction of Eurocentrism to call it the Theft of History by the West. He advocated that Christian Europe has stolen the history of eastern civilizations by imposing its own narrative. He criticized mainstream Humanities and historical periodization of time into Antiquity, Feudalism, Renaissance and capitalism which allowed the west to assume superiority.

²⁹⁶ *ibid*, p2

Accordingly, the West could lay the ground for a view which regards the non-European other as static, unable to change and need outside help to be civilized.²⁹⁷

After the European domination on world economy in the 19th century, the Aryan model served as an instrument to produce a hegemonic construction of History, Archaeology, Anthropology and Culture. It soon developed into a national chauvinism that considers only the Aryans to be superior among European peoples. Therefore, it resulted into the rise of Nazism, anti-Semitism and fascism which swept through all Europe and reflected the real face of the new world order.

This Chapter represents a controversial issue in the field of knowledge production. It puts into question the whole framework of academic scholarship which is affected by the Aryan model. Bernal could successfully distinguish the two models and identify the main point of contradictions among them. He also points out that academic knowledge is no neutral or devoid of systematic bias. For this quest, the challenges encountered in the study of translation in Ancient Greece and the lack of sufficient information of that period lays the ground for historiographical interpretation of events and texts. With this regard, Western scholarship feeds the academic circles with studies critically affected by this view of the Supremacy of Hellenistic Greece. This is what Bernal refers to as “The Aryan Model”.

5.4. Conclusion:

In the past, translation commentaries were mainly speculations provided by the translators in order to explain their translation choices or to introduce their work to the readers. Later, they developed into a controversial discourse that went along translation

²⁹⁷ J. Woody .The Theft of History. Cambridge University Press. New York: 2006, p286

practice. Recently, Translation Theories have become such a multidisciplinary subject that concerns not only translators, but also academics, researchers and scholars from different fields of research. Contemporary translation studies have shifted from being a subsection of other disciplines to an interdisciplinary field of study. Similarly, the history of translation helps us to construct a general scheme to determine social, cultural and historical factors that lie behind the rise of major translation theories. Therefore, it is difficult to speak about translation studies without “the consideration of the discipline in an historical perspective”²⁹⁸.

The underlying causes of such disparity of the views of prominent translation scholars consist in the driving goals of each of them. For example, Nida was more concerned with the righteousness of the target texts, being impressed by the exactitude and progress in scientific research; he tries to build a scientific translation theory that would allow translators to reproduce the exact reaction of the source text receptors in the target text receptors. Nida focuses on the effect, and he can even sacrifice some semantic components in order to keep the effect of the text. This sacrifice may be because of Nida’s position as a religious official and a biblical translator who was more concerned by religious teachings and recommendations rather than translation theory in itself.

On the contrary, Bell criticized the dominance of bible translators over translation studies. He was concerned with the long lasting problematic issues of translation and intended to draw a theoretical framework that would allow a better understanding of the issues and contribute to the creation of an intellectually satisfying and practically applicable theory of translation within a broadly defined applied

²⁹⁸Susan Bassnet, *Translation studies*, 3rd edition, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 45

linguistics. Similarly, Pym insists on the vital role of translation in the development of human civilization, he assumes that everything which is known about other cultures is due to the processes of transfer and translation. Thus, he was much concerned with the distinctive linguistic, psychological and social features of languages in translation.

Conclusion

Conclusion

This dissertation seeks to carry on a historical and anthropological investigation into the origins of Greek Culture and the impact of translation and cultural transmission from Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures. During the review of literature, different forms of difficulties rise as challenging issues. On the one hand questions such as which Method to adopt, the periodization of the historical periods and the assessment and interpretation of sources lay down more controversial discussions than one single field of study can assimilate. On the other hand, Ancient history raises its own challenges as with regard to the lack of written materials and also the controversial accounts which may be called “History of Ancient Greece”.

Therefore, the first challenge consists in providing an explanation of the shifts in method and methodology. From making a brief historical background of Ancient Greece to tracing back the establishment of its cultural and linguistic development, this quest sketches the main lines of historical construction of the Greek language, alphabet and literary production.

As a result of these historical investigations, this quest concludes that Historical periodization is still a controversial subject in Humanities. Besides, the adopted chronological order relies on the basic Three Age System that is widely used by the anthropologists and archaeologists. This chronological system divides the ancient periods into three successive stages: The Stone age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age.

On the other hand, the investigation of the forms and impact of Cultural Transmission over Ancient Greece constitutes a crucial finding of this quest. Within this process of cultural transmission, the Oral tradition has dominated as the main form of

literature until the end of the fourth century. Additionally, the economic, social and political roots of Greek culture have been shaped by its neighbouring civilisations. Consequently, the significant influence of the Near Eastern cultures lays the historical and cultural grounds for the identification of translation activity in Ancient Greece.

As the roots of translation have been identified, this quest shifts to explore the historical development of translation as both a practice and a theory.

Moreover, quest relies on recent anthropological and archaeological data to trace the points of contact of Greece and the other civilisations in ancient times. For this reason, the geography of the quest would include different parts of the Mediterranean, especially Ancient Greece, the Near Eastern civilisations as well as Egypt.

One important result of this study is the identification of the Two Models System with the contemporary studies of ancient times. This has been proven by the analysis of different anthropological and archaeological researches which are not only related to ancient times but also concern different academic and institutional researches on history from antiquity to the contemporary times. This distinction implies that the Aryan model has served as a means to construct a Eurocentric view of History, Archaeology, Anthropology and Culture. Therefore, this quest concludes that the main motivation for the wide domination of the Aryan model in Western Academia consists in the rise of nationalism in Europe in the last three centuries. Consequently, the Aryan Model led to the rise of chauvinism and white supremacy in Western political and cultural spheres.

Another important finding of this dissertation is that it reveals the colonialist roots of the Aryan model which is still dominant in academic circles in the Western

cultures as well as several institutions in the Global South. The main aim of this point is to highlight how The Academic institutions in the Global South endure an intellectual dependence on the international Knowledge economy which is produced by the Western Academia. This latter is still dominated by the Aryan model and can not produce objective researches in Humanities. Besides, the grounds of criticism with this regard lay the cornerstone for an alternative knowledge production which is attached to the historical reality of the cultures and regions as well the aspirations of their people. Therefore, this dissertation suggests that there is a need to combine all multidisciplinary research on History and Culture in order to construct an alternative model of human sciences which defends the history of the peoples and empower it with more rigorously scientific, historical, Archaeological and social researches.

Moreover, once the study shifts from ancient Greece, which is a specific historical undertaking, it questions the whole system of knowledge production regarding the ancient times. It becomes confronted with the need for a multidisciplinary method to absorb all the difficulties that have been encountered during the preparation of this quest. Therefore, investigation of historical researches on translation, mainly those that lack source texts and can only rely on references written centuries after the real events, requires a real interdisciplinary collaboration of researches from different fields.

Consequently, this quest seeks to implement the ancient model in the study of Ancient History. It carries out an investigation of the premises of Translation in Ancient Greece as well as its impact on Greek culture from a stand point that is free from the political and instrumental implications of the Aryan model. However, this approach is confronted with many issues such as periodization and chronology in ancient history which are all not devoid of the Aryan model bias. As a result, this quest represents a

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coherent crystallization of different methodological and historical components especially the key concepts, the scales of periodization and the boundaries of the multidisciplinary method of the ancient model. History is studied deeply from a critical standpoint in order to provide answers to problematic questions within the mainstream history.

From a linguistic point of view, this dissertation has been confronted by the issue of lack of resources, which has been mentioned in the introduction. For example, Anthropologists can hardly provide any evidence on the existence of a Greek dialect before the Bronze Age. Besides, there is no epigraphic evidence on the existence of such as dialect before the 5th century BC. In order to solve with this issue, this dissertation digs into the roots of Greek language, then it sketches a scheme of the existing languages in Ancient Greece and traces the earliest linguistic transmissions in order to draw a comprehensive framework of translation in this period. Consequently, this undertaking results in very relevant conclusions which allow us to solve many complexities of this process. One crucial result consists in the fact that despite Greek language is considered as a sub-branch of Indo European languages, new development in historical linguistics suggest that Hittite, the language the closest to Greek geographically but of earlier existence chronologically, is recognized as part of the Indo-European languages as well. Consequently, this provides evidence that there was a strong linguistic contact between the Indo-European branch and the Hittite language which dominated in Asia Minor during the 2nd millennium. Further investigation suggests that Hittite culture, which was in direct contact with Mesopotamia and the Levant cultures especially the Phoenicians, the Akkadians and the Assyrians, constituted the main intermediary space between ancient Greece and the eastern

civilizations. It was also the closest neighbour to Egypt with which they used to have maritime and land networks. This result lays the ground for a further investigation of the impact of this linguistic and cultural contact between Greece and the Hittite language as well as its neighbouring cultures.

Another result of the analysis of Prehellenist languages is the significant influence over the Hittite, and then Greek language, by the Babylonian Cuneiform and the Assyrian language. Archaeological research has identified that Linear B was the early written Greek language. Consequently, Archaeologists deduce that there was a huge linguistic effect of Mesopotamia and Syria on Aegean Greece. This linguistic impact is also proven by the analysis of “linguistic fossils of Greek language” which provides information on the toponymy of Greek loan words as well as the localisation of their origins and the phonological information which would lead to specify the time of borrowing. Additionally, analysis of archaeological achievements in the second half of the 20th Century provided spectacular data regarding the influence of Near Eastern Languages on Archaic Greek. Analysis of this data reveals that up to a quarter of Greek language can be traced back to Semitic origins, while 40-50 per cent to the Indo-European languages and a quarter to a third of the Greek vocabulary is left unexplained. Besides, 20 to 25 per cent of Greek is borrowed from the Egyptian language, in addition to the names of most Greek Gods as well as the names of many places. Greek was improved by different phonological component which had been introduced to it from its eastern neighbours.

Additionally, this quest explores different views on the origins of the Greek writing system and concludes that recent archaeological and epigraphic researches assume that it can be traced back to the Proto-Canaanite alphabet of 1700 BC. However, the earliest known evidence

on Greek writing goes back to around 750 during the Geometric period. Besides, the discovery of vowels in Phoenician language challenges the old view which states that the Phoenician alphabetic system was comprised of only consonants and that the Greeks changed some consonantal letters into vowels which lead to the development of a new writing system. Consequently, Archaic Greek writing systems is an adaptation of the Phoenician script. More chronological investigation of the Greek writing Alphabet suggests that by the end of the Bronze Age, the Phoenician writing system gained the floor over the Cuneiform and Hieroglyphs alphabet which were spread in Syria-Palestine. The civilisations in historical Greece adopted this writing system. By the 8th century BC, the Greek writing system started to incorporate more letters.

This result raises the question regarding the ways the adaptation of Phoenician writing system took place in Ancient Greece. Therefore, this quest investigates the cultural and literary transmission and concludes that this adoption was a result of coexistence of the Greeks and the Phoenicians at the same place, and that there were Phoenician settlers in the Greek areas who introduced not only goods and artefacts, but also cultural content including the Phoenician writing system. Consequently, the Development of writing systems contributed to the extension of literary translation and the emergence of controversial commentaries on translation. This development in Translation activity was also intensified by the development of writing materials as well as the cultural and economic exchange between ancient Greece and its neighbouring civilisations.

In the course of this quest, the investigation of cultural and material exchanges between Greece and its neighbouring civilisation concludes that there was a preliminary form of translation which resulted in the fact that Greek adopted major parts of its

vocabulary, its Alphabet as well as its writing system. Additionally, the investigation of the Orality and Literacy in ancient Greece suggests that the development of writing materials as well as the shift into written communication intensified translation activity. Consequently, this development of translation activity could lead to an intensification of literary transmission into Greek culture and shape Greek language and literature. As a result, this development in language and culture allowed the Greeks to politically, economically and culturally dominate over the region after “Alexander the Great” conquests.

Analysis of different literary transmissions suggests that Translation has significantly contributed to the raise and development of the Greek culture. For example, the translation of the oral tradition contributed to the propagation, development and expansion of Myths. Borrowing constitutes a basic technique in the formation of Homeric Epics and other canonical Greek works. Additionally, translation during trade and economic exchange allowed the Greeks to learn new technologies and adopt scientific methods from the populations of Mesopotamia and Egypt. Investigation of different material and literary transmissions show that this process could allow the Greeks to learned technologies such as writing, building technology, urban arrangement, new techniques of agriculture, monumental stone construction and copper metallurgy.

This quest emphasizes Bernal’s distinction between the two models which influenced Translation Studies as well as the study of Greek ancient history. The first is the "Aryan model", a methodological approach regarding Greece as a pure European or Aryan in race, history and culture. The second is what he referred to as "the Ancient Model" which holds that the rise of Greece was a result of colonization by the

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Phoenicians and Egyptians. The Political implication of this result consists in the fact that the Ancient model has been attached to history of Greek culture since antiquity, while the Aryan model was only developed in the first half of the 19th Century.

The main objective behind the propagation of the Aryan model constitutes in providing intellectual background for the raising European colonization aspirations in what became known as the “Modern world”. These colonialist aspirations required the fabrication of Ancient Greece as a fundamental base of Western Civilization but also to recognize the penetration of racism and “White Supremacy”.

Consequently, this dissertation deconstructs the Eurocentric paradigm which considers Greek civilization as a pure product of Aryan origins and led to the rise of European supremacy which provided cultural justification for colonization, exploitation and the destruction of other civilizations.

After the European domination on world economy in the 19th century, the Aryan model served as an instrument to produce a hegemonic construction of History, Archaeology, Anthropology and Culture. It soon developed into a national chauvinism that considers only the Aryans to be superior among European peoples. Therefore, it resulted into the rise of Nazism, anti-Semitism and fascism which swept through all Europe and reflected the real face of the new world order.

This dissertation aims at uncovering the colonialist roots of the Aryan model which is still dominant in academic circles in the Western cultures as well as in the Global South which still endures an intellectual dependence on the international Knowledge economy. Besides, the grounds of criticism with this regard provide the cornerstones of an alternative knowledge production which is attached to the historical

reality of the cultures and regions as well it represents the aspirations of their people. Therefore, this dissertation suggests that there is a need to combine all multidisciplinary research on History and Culture in order to construct an alternative model of human sciences which defends the history of the peoples and empower it with more historical, Archaeological and social researches.

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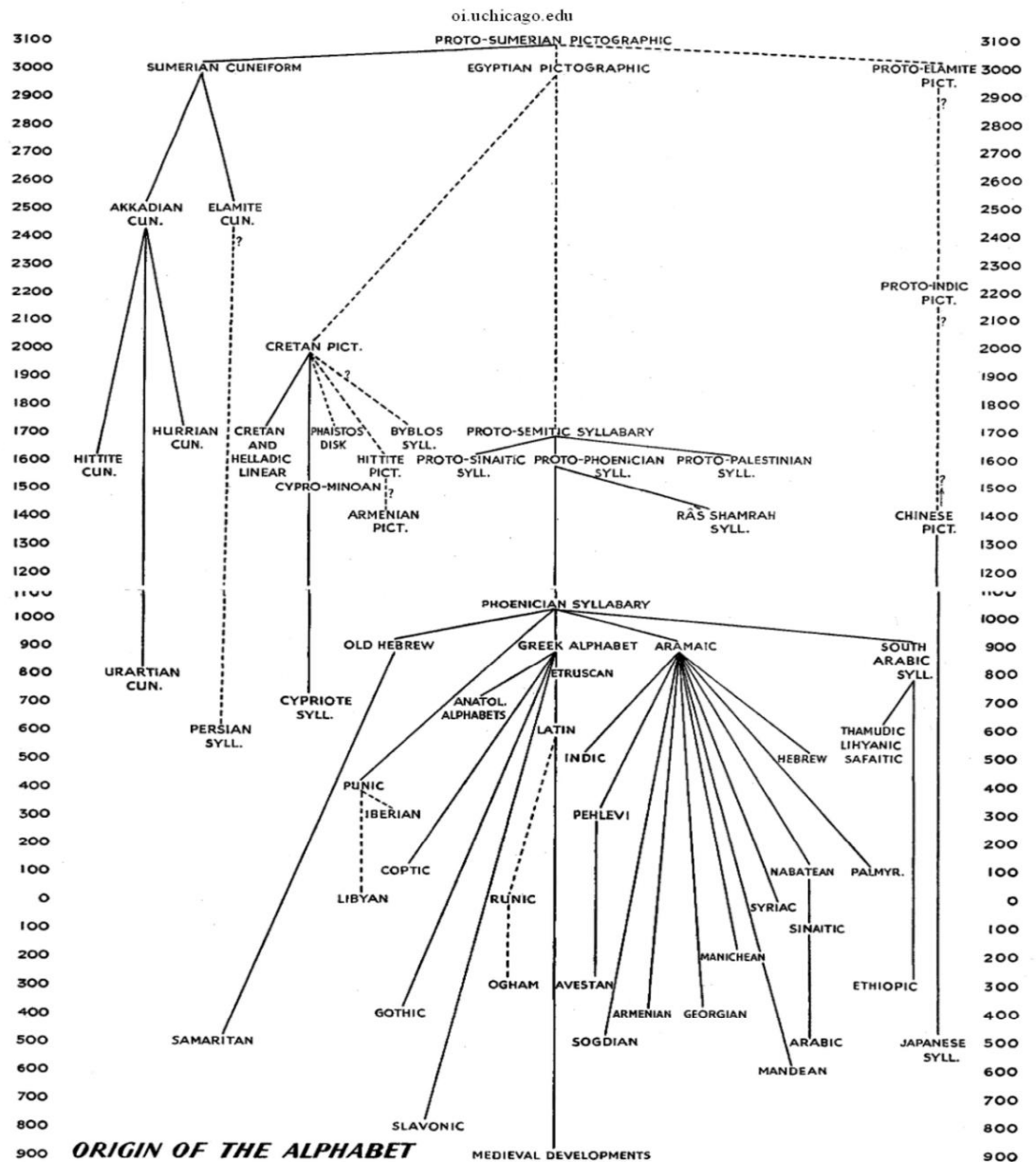
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Appendices :

Appendix A: The origins of the Alphabet



Appendix B: Geological Ages and Events

Age (millions of years)	Era	System	Evolution of life	Eurasia	Tethys	Africa
2		Pleistocene (= Quaternary)	Decline of mammals continues. Most present-day species come into existence, including man.	Glacial and interglacial phases alternate.	Changes of sea level due both to crustal movements and to formation and melting of ice-caps. Some volcanicity until today.	Wet and dry phases alternate. Palestinian rift formed. Final volcanic activity.
3		Pliocene	Most present-day genera in existence. Mammals declining but more diverse than today.	Outline of continent recognizably modern. Lakes and inland seas north of mountain belt. Pannonian, Dacian, Neotian, Aralo-Caspian.	Major elevation of mountains, Alps to Himalayas, with some renewed folding. Formation of deep basins, Aegean, Pontic and Caspian.	Volcanic outpouring (basaltic) in Arabia, Ethiopia and Central Sahara. Extension of Red Sea rift to Mediterranean.
12		Miocene	Nummulites extinct. Acme of mammal families in existence. Primitive anthropoid appears (<i>Proconsul</i>).	Temperate climate. Brackish water sea (Sarmatian Sea) 15° to 65° E. Volcanicity in France and Central Europe.	Continued folding and elevation of mountains with concurrent reduction by erosion and accumulation of molasse sediments. Opening of eastern Mediterranean.	Beginning of volcanic activity. Widespread shallow-water limestones.
35		Oligocene	Widespread grasslands and herbivores, elephants and primates evolving.	Warm-temperate to sub-tropical marine and fresh-water basins. Uplift of intervening land areas.	Main orogenic phase of Alps. Elevation of Pyrenees and folding of contained sediments.	Continued limestone deposition.
40		Eocene (including Palaeocene)	Nummulites (large Foraminifera) important. Land vegetation of modern aspect. Mammals attain dominance with extinction of dinosaurs.	Marine regression exposes land with sub-tropical climate and restricted. Plateau basalts of Iceland, Hebrides, etc.	Folding of Pyrenees, Apennines, etc. Continued accumulation of sediments including flysch.	Widespread limestone deposits in shallow-shelf seas.
70		Cretaceous	Angiosperms develop. Large reptiles (dinosaurs) dominate land fauna.	Transgression of the Chalk Sea. Most of continent submerged.		Plateau basalts of Yemen and Ethiopia. Opening of Gulf of Aden and Arabian Sea rifts. Marine transgression and deposition of Nubian sandstone.
135		Jurassic	Early reptile-like birds. Cycads and conifers important.	Marine regression. Local shallow epicontinental seas.	Folding of Carpathians following flysch deposition.	Mostly continental lowland with local basins of deposition in Arabia.
180		Triassic	Evolution of reptiles.	Tropical deserts with dune sands and saline lakes.	Continuous and locally very thick sedimentation in the Tethyan geosyncline with limestone the dominant lithology.	
225		Permian		Destruction of mountains by erosion. Hercynian (= Variscan) orogeny.	Initiation of the Tethyan geosyncline.	No deposits over vast areas of continental lowland—part of the 'supercontinent' Gondwanaland.
	Upper PALAEZOIC	Carboniferous	Early land animals develop (amphibians).	Tropical swamps. Tropical coral seas.	Unknown.	
400		Devonian	Early land plants.	Old Red Sandstone deserts.		Marine deposits in North and West Africa only.
	Lower PALAEZOIC	Silurian, Ordovician, Cambrian	Earliest abundant fossils (marine arthropods).	Caledonian orogeny. Caledonian geosyncline in N.W. Europe. Quiver shelf seas on Russian platform.		
600			Rare remains of primitive soft-bodied animals and plants; oldest found may be 2000 million years old.	Basement complex formed during successive orogenies. Exposed in Baltic shield and Ukrainian swell. Deeply buried in Russian platform.		Continental cover sediments resting on basement complex of Africa and Arabia.
Greater than 3000	PRE-CAMBRIAN		Oldest rocks so far dated by radioactive properties.			

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Appendix C: Chronology of Greek History

Period	Military Events	Cultural Development	Political/ Social Events
6500–3000 Neolithic			Permanent farming villages Domestication of plants and animals; pottery
3000–2100 Early Bronze Age (Early Helladic 2800–1900)			Social ranking emerges; villages and districts ruled by hereditary chiefs
2100–1600 Middle Bronze Age (Middle Helladic 1900–1580)			2500 Widespread use of bronze and other metals in the Aegean
	2100–1900 Lerna and other sites destroyed		2100–1900 Incursions of Indo-European speakers into Greece 2100–1900 Indo-European gods introduced into Greece

2000 First palaces in
Crete

1900 Mainland contact
with Crete and the M

East

1800 Cretans develop
Linear A writing

**1600–1150 Late Bronze
Age** (Late Helladic
1580–1150)

1600 Mycenae and other
sites become power
centers; small kingdoms
emerge

1600 Shaft graves

Period	Military Events	Political/ Social Events
	Cultural Development	

1500–1450 Mycen-
aeans take over

1500 Tholos tombs

Crete

1450 Linear B writing

1375 Knossos
destroyed

1400–1200 Height of
Mycenaean power
and prosperity

1400 New palaces in
Greece

First
Messenian War

1250–1225 “The
Trojan War” (?)

1200 Invaders loot
and burn the palace
centers

1200–1100 Palace-
system collapses

1200 Cultural decline

1150–900 Early Dark Age
(Submycenaean 1125–1050)
(Protogeometric 1050–900)

1050 Small chiefdoms
established; migrations
of mainland Greeks to

1050 Iron technology

Ionia

1000 Dorian Greeks
settle in the mainland
and the islands

950 Monumental build-
ing at Lefkandi

900–750/700 Late Dark Age
(Early Geometric 900–850)
(Middle Geometric 850–750)

900 Population
increases; new settle-
ments established;
trade and manufacture
expand

800 Rapid population growth

800 Greeks develop an alphabet; earliest temples built

776 Traditional date of first Olympic games

750/700–490 Archaic Period
(Late Geometric 750–700)

730–700

750–700 City-states emerge

750–675 *Iliad* and *Odyssey* composed

750 Overseas colonization to the West begins

720 “Orientalizing period” in art begins

700–650 Evolution of hoplite armor and tactics

700 Hesiod; period of lyric poetry begins

669 Battle of Hysiae

670–500 Tyrants rule
in many city-states

650 Second Messenian War

650 Colonization of Black Sea area begins; earliest known stone inscription of a law; "Lycurgan" Reforms at Sparta; the "Great Rhetra" (?)

650 Temples built of stone and marble; Corinthian black-figure technique

632 Cylon fails in attempt at tyranny in Athens

620 Law code of Draco in Athens

600 Lydians begin to mint coins

600 Beginnings of science and philosophy (the "Presocratics")

582–573 Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean games inaugurated

560–514 Peisistratus and
his sons tyrants of Athens

Peisistratus expands
religious festivals at
Athens

550 Sparta dominant in the
Peloponnesus

530 Athenian red-figure
technique

507 Cleisthenes institutes
political reforms in
Athens

499 Ionian Greeks rebel
from Persian Empire

5th-century rationalists
and scientists; Hippo-
crates; advances in
medicine; increase in
literacy

490–323 Classical Period

490 Battle of Marathon

Classical style in sculpture

486 Decision to choose
Athenian archons by lot

482 Ostracism of Aristides

480–479 Persian
Invasion of Greece

Period	Military	Events	Political/ Social Events
Cultural Development			

477 Foundation of Delian

League

470–456 Construction of
temple of Zeus at
Olympia

Growth of democracy in
Athens

463 Helot rebellion in
Sparta

461 Reforms of Ephialtes at
Athens

460–445 “First”
Peloponnesian War

458 Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*

454 Athenians move
treasury from Delos to
Athens

Flourishing of Greek trade
and manufacture

451 Pericles carries law
limiting citizenship at
Athens

445 Thirty Years’ Peace

Herodotus at work on
his *Histories*

447–432 Construction of
Parthenon at Athens

Sophists active in
Athens

431–404 Peloponnesian
War

Thucydides begins his
History

429 Death of Pericles

428 Sophocles' *Oedipus*
Tyrannus

425 Aristophanes' *Acharnians*

423 Thucydides exiled
from Athens

421 Peace of Nicias

415–413

415 Euripides' *Trojan*
Women

411–410 Oligarchic coup in Athens; establishment of Council of 400; regime of the 5000

411 Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*

403–377 Sparta the most powerful state in Greece

404–403 Regime of the Thirty Tyrants in Athens

399–347 Dialogues of Plato; foundation of the Academy

Fourth century: Rise of class of *rhetores* at Athens; economic inequalities and social *stasis* throughout Greece

377–371 Athens the most powerful state in Greece

371–362 Thebes the most powerful state in Greece

Serious population decline in Sparta; impoverished class of "Inferiors" at Sparta; increasing amount of property in hands of Spartan women

359 Defeat of
Perdiccas III

359 Accession of Philip II

357 Marriage of Philip II to
Olympias

356 Birth of Alexander the
Great

356 Philip II's Olympic
victory

355 Demosthenes' first
speech

347 Death of Plato

356–346 Third Sacred
War; Peace of Philocrates

346 Isocrates' *Philippus*

338 Battle of
Chaeronea

338 Assassination of
Artaxerxes III; foundation
of Corinthian League;
marriage of Philip II and
Cleopatra

338 Death of Isocrates

336 Invasion of Asia
by Philip II

336 Accession of Darius III;
assassination of Philip II;
accession of Alexander III

335 Revolt of Thebes

335 Destruction of Thebes

335 Aristotle returns to
Athens; founding of
Lyceum

334 Battle of Granicus

333 Battle of Issus

333 Alexander at Gordium

331 Battle of
Gaugamela

331 Foundation of
Alexandria

331 Visit to Siwah
by Alexander

330–327 War in Bactria
and Sogdiana

330 Destruction of
Persepolis; death of Philotas

329 Assassination of

Darius III

328 Murder of Clitus

327–325 Alexander's
invasion of India

327 Marriage of Alexander
and Roxane

326 Battle of the
Hydaspes

323–30 Hellenistic Period

323 Death of Alexander III;
accession of Philip III and
Alexander IV

323–322 Lamian War

322 Dissolution of the
Corinthian League

322 Deaths of Aristotle
and Demosthenes

321 Invasion of Egypt

321 Death of Perdiccas;
Antipater becomes regent

321–292 Career of
Menander

318–316 Revolt against
Polyperchon

315–311 Four-year war
against Antigonu
307 Demetrius invades
Greece

315 Freedom of Greeks
proclaimed by Antigonu
the One-Eyed

311 Peace between
Antigonu and his rivals

307–283 Foundation of
the Museum

306 Battle of Salamis

306 Antigonu and
Demetriu acclaime kings

306 Epicuru founds
Garden

305 Ptolemy, Seleucus,
Lysimachus, and Cassander
declare themselves kings

301 Battle of Ipsu

301 Death of Antigonu;
division of his empire

301 Zeno founds Stoa

300–246 Construction
of the Pharos

283 Death of Ptolemy I;
accession of Ptolemy II

281 Battle of 281 Deaths of Lysimachus
Corupedium and Seleucus

279 Invasion of Gauls

235–222 Reign of
Cleomenes III at Sparta

222 Battle of Sellasia 222 Exile of Cleomenes III;
end of his reforms at Sparta

200–197 Second
Macedonian War

196 Romans proclaim
freedom of the Greeks at
Isthmian games

171–168 Third
Macedonian War

167 End of the Macedonian
monarchy

167 Polybius comes to
Rome

31 Battle of Actium

30 Suicide of Cleopatra VII;
Rome annexes Egypt

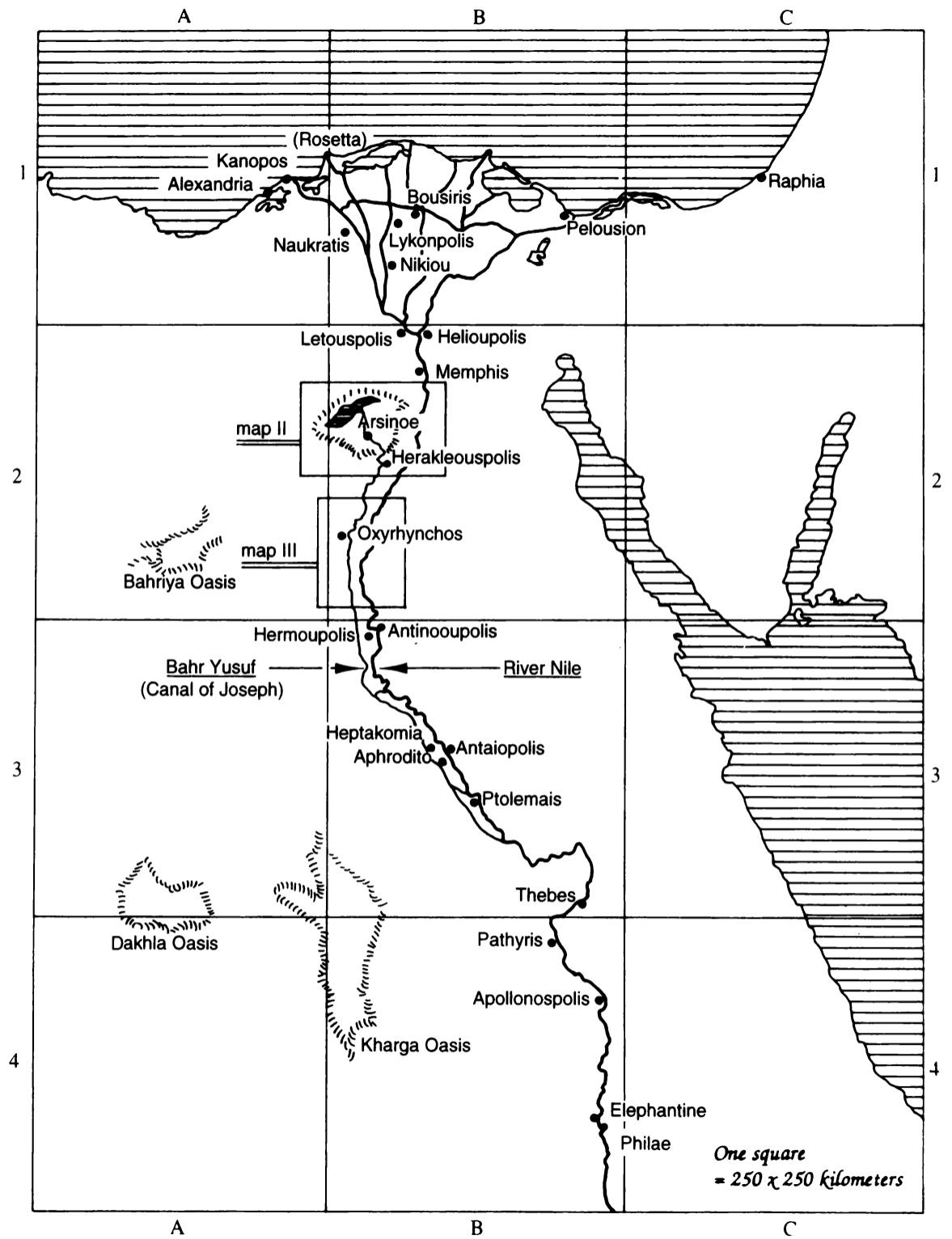
Appendix D: Chronological Survey of Ancient Times

Date	Event
B.C. 595 -589	<i>Psammetichos II.</i> Campaign against Nubia (593) with Greek mercenaries; earliest Greek text from Egypt (see next page). First legal and administrative Egyptian documents written in demotic script (p. 21): this marks the beginning of a notary's practice and the development of standard formulas and a legal terminology.
570 -526	<i>Amasis.</i> Naukratis was the only trading port in Egypt, according to Herodotus (II 178-179), and Amasis allowed Greeks to settle here. Archaeological finds, however, point to earlier Greek settlements.
525	<i>Cambyses.</i> Conquest of Egypt by the Persian king Cambyses; first Persian period (525-405).
522-486	<i>Darius I.</i> Divides his realm into satrapies. The satrapy of Egypt includes Libya and Cyrene.
c. 460	HERODOTUS visits Egypt.
—	A Jewish garrison is stationed in Elephantine to defend the southern border of Egypt; three archives of Aramaic papyri (Vth cent. B.C.) have been found.
332-323	<i>Alexander the Great</i> invades Egypt in 332; he founds Alexandria on the site of the Egyptian village Rakote.
323-305	Alexander is first succeeded by his half-brother Philip Arrhidaeus and then (316) by his son Alexander IV.
323	Ptolemy, son of Lagos, satrap of Egypt.

→

Greek inscription in Abu Simbel; 593 B.C.
(length of the lines is 2.12-2.80 m; height of the letters is 4-8 cm)

Appendix E: Egypt after Greek conquest



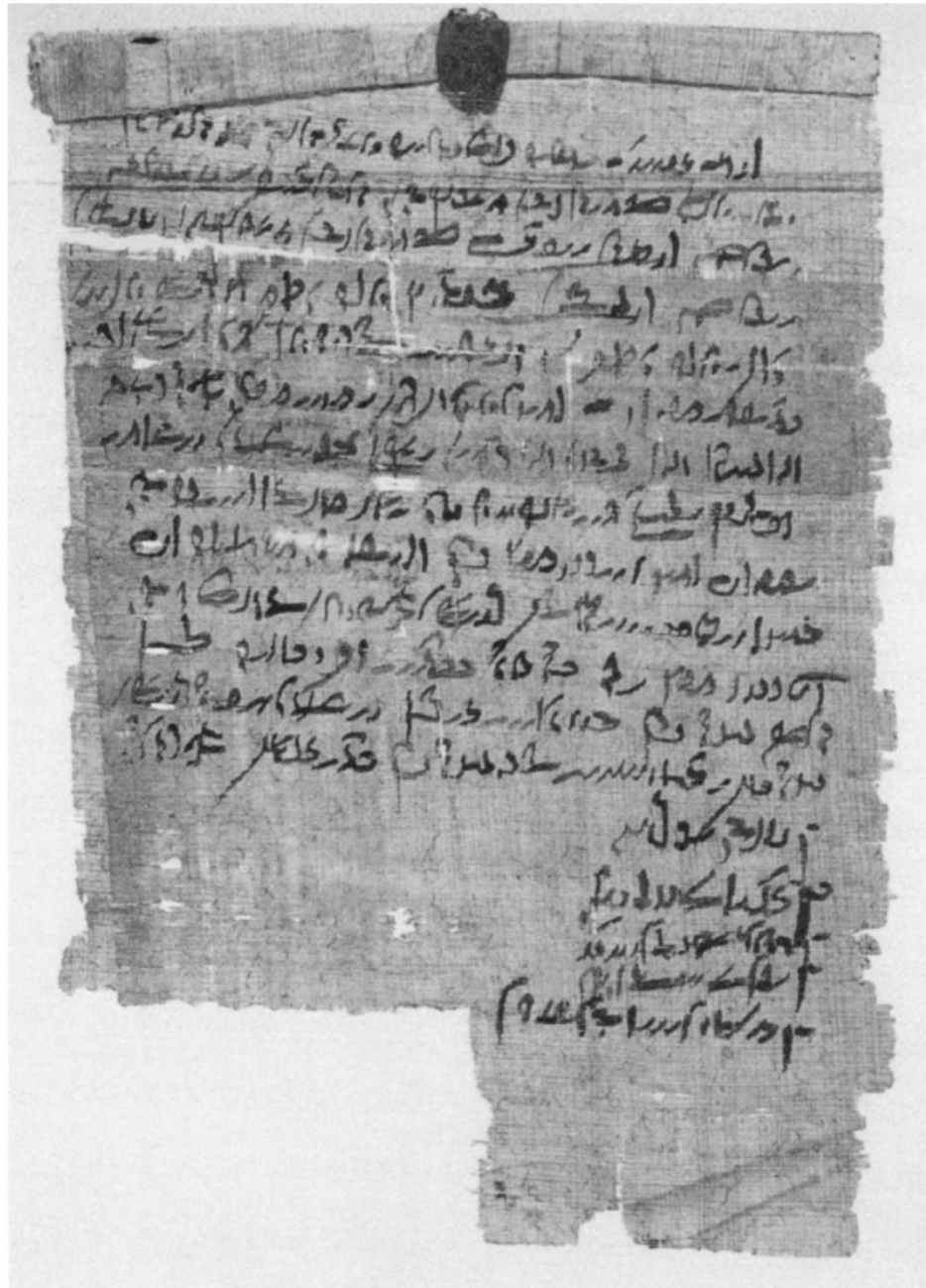
Appendix F: Papyrus document in Greek and Coptic ancient Egypt



Figure 1 A letter from the archive of Zenon, written across the fibers along the height of a strip cut from a papyrus rol P.Col.Zen. 19, 257 BC.



A letter from the archive of Zenon, written with a rush rather than a reed pen (cf. W. Clarysse, "Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek," *Chronique d'Égypte* 68 [1993] 186–201). *P.Col.Zen.* 52, about 251 BC.



Loan of grain in Demotic,
 with a seal, dated to the reign of the pharaoh Ankhnesneferibre.
P. BM IV (Andrews) 19 (EA inv. 10831),
 194 BC.

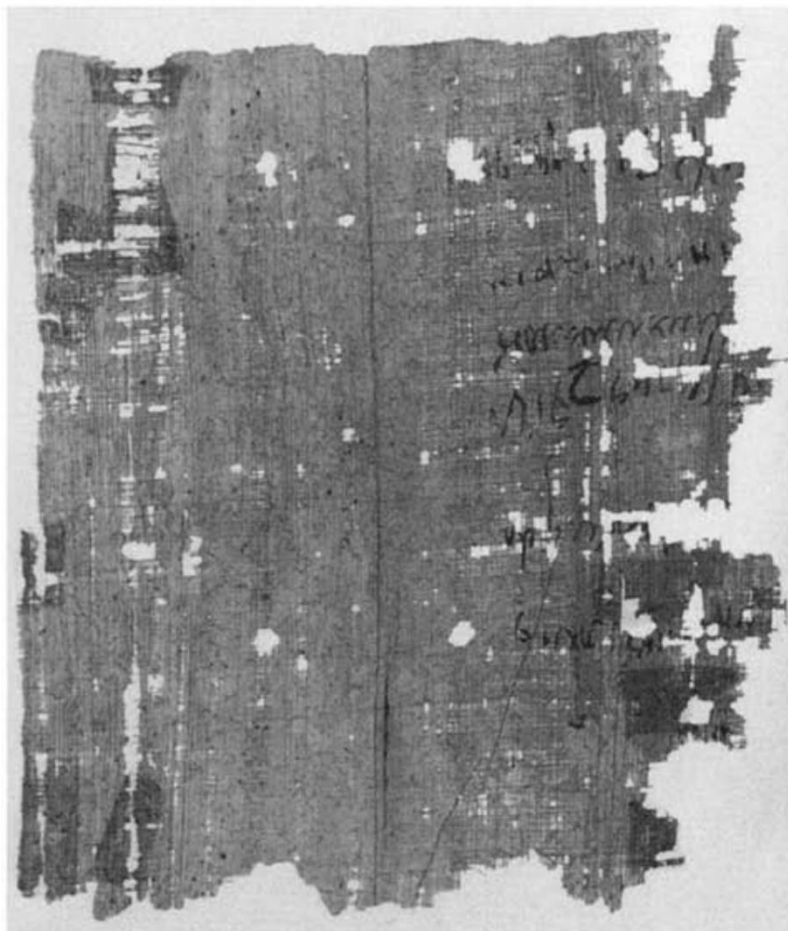
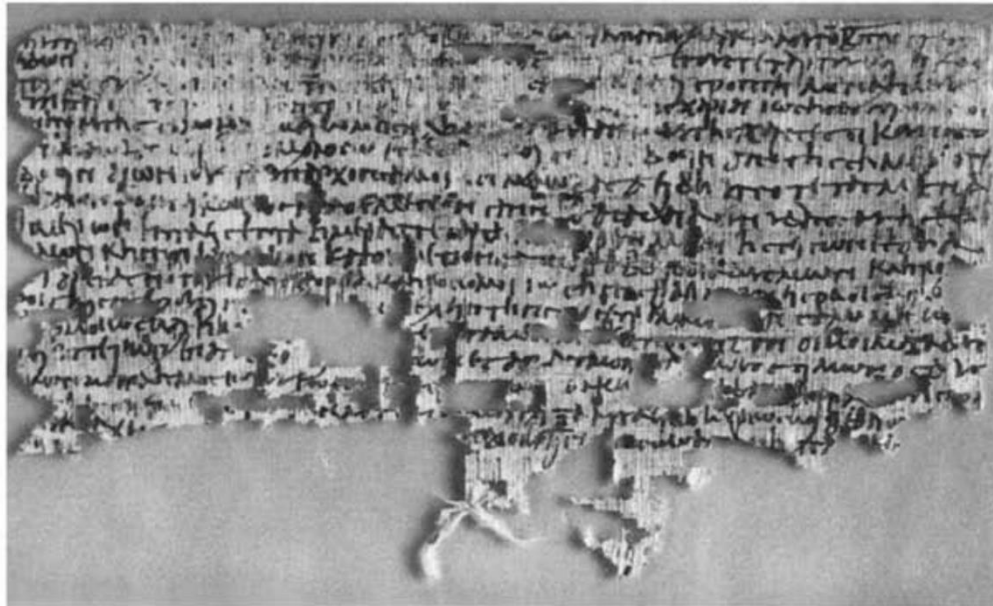
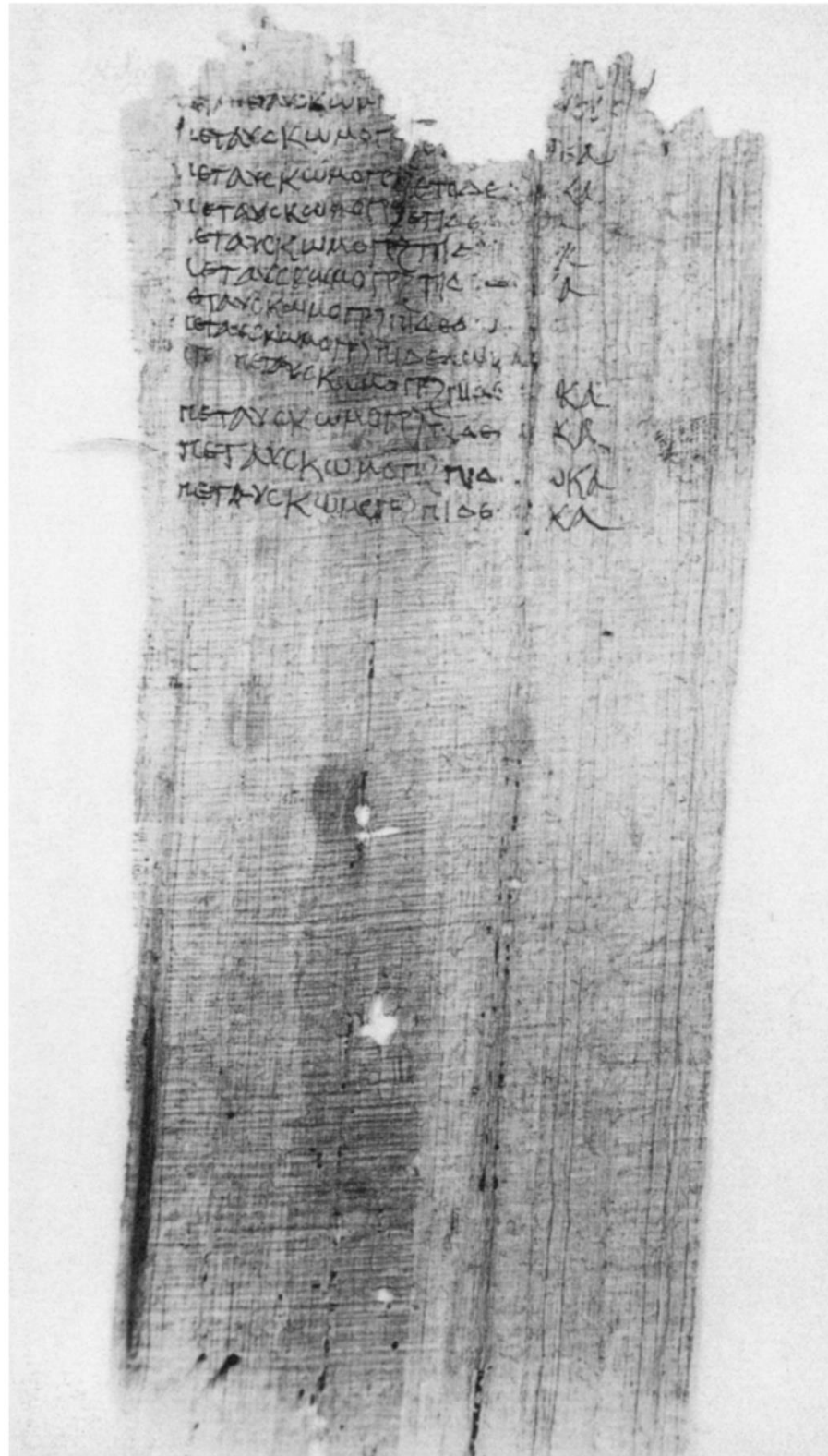
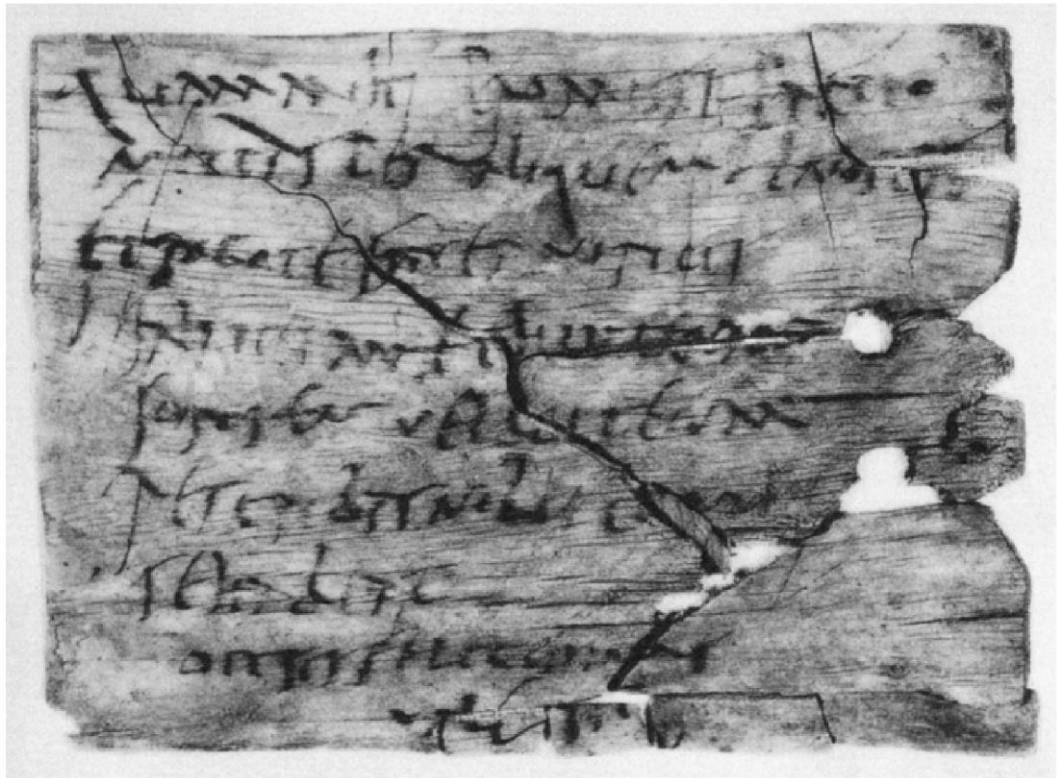


Figure 4 Deed of gift in Greek (innertext) with signature in Aramaic and Nabataean

Salome Komaïse Daughter of Levi: Another archive from the 'Cave of the Letters,'" *ZPE* 105 (1995) 171–208, AD 129.



Avillagesecretarypracticeshissignature.P.Petaus121(P. Kölninv. 328),c.AD



Tablet from Vindolanda with letter of Chrauttius to Veldeius in Latin. Tab.

Vindol. II 310 (inv. 86/470), c. AD 110.

Handwritten text in a medieval script, likely a lease or notarial contract, written on parchment. The text is arranged in two columns, with the left column containing names and the right column containing the main body of the text. The script is a cursive, possibly Carolingian minuscule, with some variations in letter forms. The parchment shows signs of age, including staining and wear.

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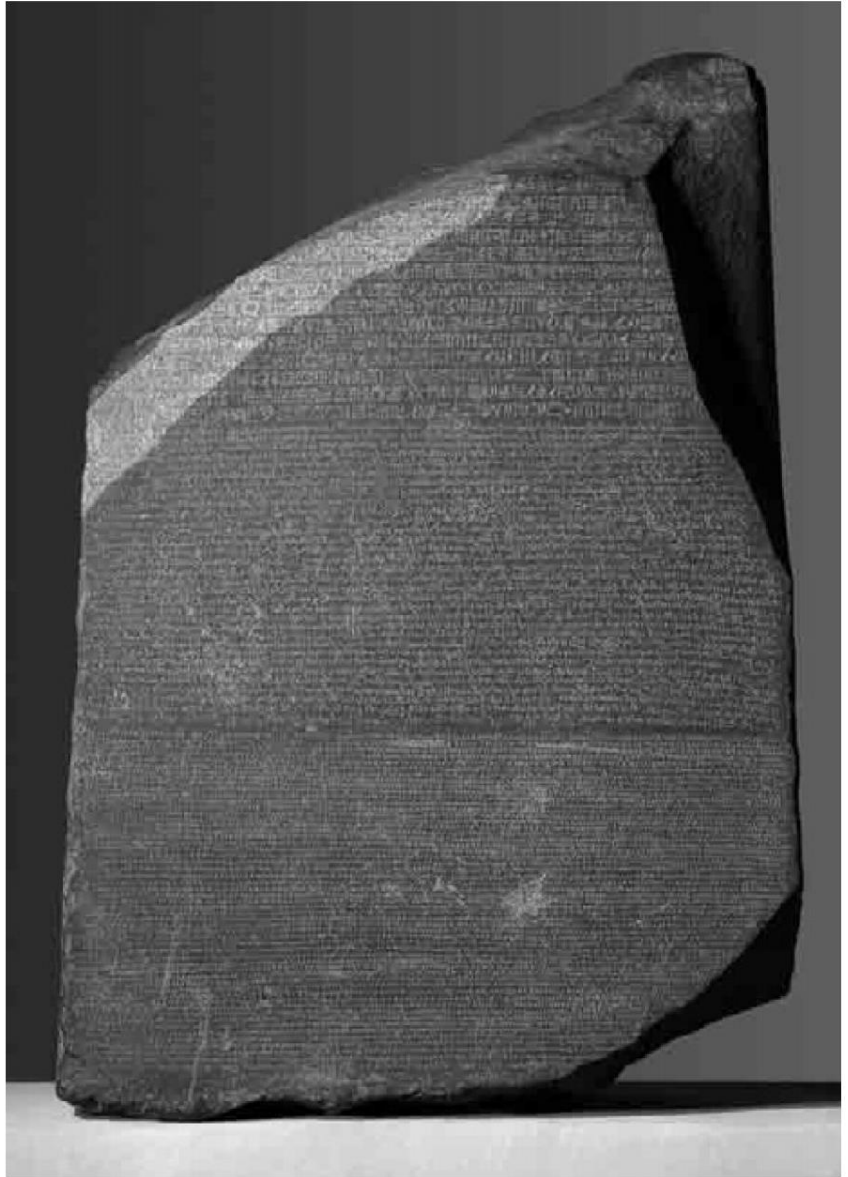
At the bottom of the document, there are several large, stylized signatures or initials, indicating the presence of witnesses or the parties involved in the contract. These signatures are written in a more decorative, possibly Gothic or later medieval script, and are accompanied by horizontal lines.

Lease of land in the form of a notarial contract with signatures.

SBVIII9876(P.Vindob.inv. G25870), AD 534.



Copticostrakon from the Monastery of Epiphanius: Letter concerning readmission of a person to communion, seventh century AD (cf. *Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* I 173 n. 5, 236 n. 1). Columbia Papyrus Collection, ostrakon inv. 24.6.4.



1. The Rosetta Stone as it is today, on display in the British Museum.

