Theoretical Approaches to the Archaeology of Ancient Greece

Manipulating Material Culture

Lisa C. Nevett, editor

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Introduction

Lisa C. Nevett

The present volume aims to stimulate debate about the direction being taken by the archaeology of culturally Greek communities during the first millennium BCE.[1] Scholarship in this field has long had a reputation for being largely empirical, with the bulk of research directed at questions about the nature of the data (e.g., the style of a building or the provenance of a pot) rather than about the lives of the individuals and groups who once used the buildings and objects. Some of the most widely used undergraduate handbooks, at least in American universities, cover Greek archaeology in combination with Greek art history, adopting a descriptive, rather than analytical, approach (e.g., Pedley 2012; Biers 1996). Nonetheless, the archaeology of first-millennium BCE Greece has seen an increasing trend toward using the material remains as a source of information about ancient society, independent of the texts which have so long dominated our understanding.[2] So radical has this change seemed, that Anthony Snodgrass, writing in 2002, speculated that classical archaeology was undergoing a "paradigm shift."[3] Using material culture in this way clearly offers a powerful means for addressing fundamental questions about the nature of society and about social change in contexts such as the Early Iron Age, for which significant textual evidence is lacking. It has also been used increasingly as an independent source that provides a counterpoint to the surviving texts, with their masculine and often elite and Athenocentric biases. In this context,

1. I am very grateful to the anonymous referees of the University of Michigan Press for helpful suggestions that have enabled me to clarify and draw out some of the major issues summarized here.

2. For recent examples of this more question-oriented approach, see, e.g., Haggis and Antonaccio 2015.

3. Snodgrass 2002. Several relatively recent textbooks reflect this trend, including Whitley 2001, Mee 2011, and Bintliff 2012. For evidence and detailed discussion, see Stone's chapter in the present volume.

the use of archaeology reveals disparities between the views and attitudes articulated by the ancient authors, those implied by other media (e.g., painted pottery), and/or those embodied in the daily practice of significant proportions of the population.

Hand in hand with taking this more active and independent approach, scholars are also increasingly realizing that to make the most of the evidence requires a self-consciously theoretical approach. It has often been assumed that one can approach the material record from some kind of "atheoretical" perspective that does not involve the application of implicit beliefs about the importance of different types of evidence or their relationship with ancient society. Such a view is becoming widely discredited in other archaeological subdisciplines, where scholars have argued that any piece of research necessarily invokes a theoretical stance, whether explicit or implicit, simply through the selection of problems for investigation, the evidence to address them, and the methods adopted to evaluate that evidence and to draw conclusions from it.[4] Thus, while a thorough knowledge of the physical evidence must be the starting point for any inquiry, a completely empirical approach that fails to consider its underlying assumptions or to invoke a theoretical stance can never use the data to their full potential. This is because it cannot reliably invoke a coherent methodology and will fail to address the wide range of questions about ancient Greek society to which such evidence can offer access.

There are, nevertheless, significant challenges to overcome in implementing theoretically based approaches in classical Greek contexts. As is also the case in the archaeology of other cultures, the adoption of a specific theoretical perspective does not necessarily provide a set methodology. The data sets are often relatively numerous, and the chronological control is relatively fine, but the information collected has sometimes been insufficiently detailed to sustain close scrutiny, which can cause difficulties in bridging the divide between abstract ideas (the theoretical framework) and the archaeological evidence itself (the case studies being used). At the same time, individual research projects have been shaped by the broad social, cultural, and political concerns of the contemporary world within which they were carried out, unconsciously drawing on modern notions such as concepts of Hellenism or the attitudes and practices of recent European colonialism. Greek archaeology has also had to deal with the legacy of its long history as a discipline, including its origins during the Enlightenment and its intimate relationship with the study of ancient texts, which have led to deeply entrenched assumptions about the scholarly value

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4. Some of the basic arguments are set out in an accessible fashion in Johnson 2010, 5–11.

of different kinds of material, about what questions can or should be asked of that material, and about the acceptable research methods and approaches.[5] The difficulties these assumptions present can be seen in the context of some of the textbooks that have tried to present more theoretically informed summaries of the archaeology of Greece in the first millennium BCE. The result can be a jarring disjunction between the picture of that period and the preceding periods in terms of the topics covered (as in Bintliff 2012), or there can be a degree of disconnection between the evidence and some of the theoretical ideas (as in Stansbury-O'Donnell 2015).

For reasons such as these, the explicit use of theoretical frameworks in the archaeology of first-millennium BCE Greece has not had a high profile in perceptions of the discipline. It is, nevertheless, not a new phenomenon and can be traced back at least as far as the 1970s. In 1979, the journal *Hephaistos* was founded with the specific aim of publishing articles that engaged in discussion of theory and method in classical archaeology (broadly construed to include Egypt and the Near East as well as Greece and Rome), and adjacent disciplines. In specifically Greek contexts, these kinds of approaches have taken hold in several well-defined research areas. Work on the iconography of Attic pottery from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, for instance, has incorporated sophisticated ideas about how the content of painted scenes might have been intertwined with the lives of the producers and viewers of such vessels. Early work includes articles published in *Hephaistos* by Herbert Hoffmann, in which the approach was influenced by anthropologists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss and Bronislaw Malinowski.[6] In 1984, an influential volume entitled *La cité des images*, edited by Claude Berard and Christiane Bron and translated into English, Italian, and German, drew significant attention to structuralist and semiotic approaches to this material, using them to explore how the original consumers of Attic figured pottery may have experienced and interacted with the imagery depicted on it, as well as what light the images may shed on social institutions such as the symposium or the hunt. The result was a lively and vivid picture of a variety of aspects of Athenian culture. Such approaches have continued to be used in major monographs by, for example, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, Gloria Ferrari, and Ann Steiner. Alternative theoretical perspectives such as post-structuralism and gender theory have also been explored in relation to ceramic iconography, by, for example, Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell and Susan Langdon.[7]

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5. For aspects of the discipline's history, see, e.g., Schnapp 1996; Morris 2000, 37–76.
6. Hoffmann 1979, 1980, 1982, 1985–86, 1988.
7. See Sourvinou-Inwood 1991; Ferrari 2002; Steiner 2007. For examples of other major struc-

Another area in which various explicitly theoretical frameworks have been applied is the morphology of the built environment. A strong element in this work has been the involvement of scholars whose training has lain outside the field of classical archaeology, in architecture and related disciplines. Early examples, again from the 1970s, include the study of Greek city plans and their relationship to the natural environment, using the architect Constantinos Doxiadis' theory of ekistics. A series of volumes featured a book by Doxiadis himself alongside a set of others whose authors included Arnold Toynbee and John Travlos.[8] Another architect, Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas, adopted the methods and perspectives of urban planning in an analysis of functional aspects of the organization of the settlement and sanctuary on Delos, published in 1981.[9] More prominent has been the work of Wolfram Hoepfner and Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner in their monumental volume *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*, originally published in 1986.[10] The theoretical framework for that volume was provided by ideas from the German discipline of *Bauforschung* (building research) about the nature of the connection between a society's built environment and its social ideals. As Ault points out in his chapter in the present volume, although the book by Hoepfner and Schwandner has frequently been cited, their methods and conclusions have often been perceived as problematic. Nevertheless, their fundamental starting point, that the form of the built environment can be related to social practices and ideologies, has proven influential in the development of work on one element of Greek urban space, the study of housing. It is also in harmony with a basic assumption—made in other disciplines, including anthropological archaeology—that the organization of space is shaped, in part, by the social requirements placed on it. Study of the physical remains of housing has thus been used as a means of investigating philosophical, social, and economic aspects of life in ancient Greek households.[11] Similar principles have been used on a larger scale to explore the implications of late Classical and Hellenistic palatial architecture for our

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turalist and semiotic approaches, see Hoffmann 1997. Ferrari 2002 (4–7) reviews earlier work incorporating structuralist ideas. Steiner 2007 uses additional theoretical perspectives such as information theory. Stansbury-O'Donnell 2006 incorporates Lacanian visual theory, while Langdon 2008 applies not only gender theory but object biography to the iconography of vessels from the Geometric period.

    8. Doxiadis 1972; Toynbee 1972; Travlos 1972. The full list of publications is available online at http://www.doxiadis.org/ViewStaticPage.aspx?ValueId=4307 (accessed August 23, 2016).

    9. Papageorgiou-Venetas 1981.

    10. See also other volumes in the series *Wohnen in der klassischen Polis*, such as Schuller et al. 1989.

    11. Walter-Karydi 1998; Nevett 1999; Cahill 2002; Ault 2005.

understanding of the nature of the power exercised by monarchs, particularly in Macedon.[12]

In the context of research on both iconography and the built environment, ancient texts have maintained an influential role. Not only have they provided a cultural milieu within which the evidence could be situated (e.g., by highlighting the importance of the symposium as a context for the consumption of painted pottery), but they have also tended to shape the questions that have been asked (e.g., raising the possibility that gender was an important domestic social dynamic). A final area to mention, study of the Early Iron Age, has had a slightly different emphasis. In various ways, Homeric epic has cast a shadow over attempts to understand this period (particularly its iconography, as has frequently been noted),[13] but the limited amount of surviving textual evidence has helped to give work on this period a distinctively different orientation in terms of the questions asked and the methods and theoretical frameworks applied. An escape from the text-based agenda can potentially set scholars free to address a wider range of questions. Again beginning in the 1970s, the New Archaeology was brought to bear on the Greek Early Iron Age by Anthony Snodgrass, where it is visible both in his systematic and quantitative approach to the evidence and in the goal of his narrative, which built toward an understanding of the processes involved in the "final emergence" of the polis.[14] While understanding the processes behind the formation of the citizen-state has remained a central issue, various postprocessual perspectives have since been invoked, particularly by scholars such as Ian Morris and James Whitley, in their attempts to interpret burial evidence.[15] Another seminal work, François de Polignac's *La naissance de la cité grecque* (1984), took a complementary approach, drawing on structural anthropology to model the role sanctuaries may have played in state formation in some communities.[16] That volume has remained influential although it does not account for the configuration of the sacred landscapes of all Greek cities.

While there have been occasional claims to the effect that archaeological theory has outlived its usefulness (see Bintliff and Pearce 2011), such views have not met with wide acceptance. The range of theoretical approaches and of topics to which they have been applied in Greek contexts has continued to di-

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12. Nielsen 1994, 1997.
13. See, e.g., Snodgrass 1998.
14. See, e.g., Snodgrass 1971, 1980, 1987.
15. Morris 1987; Whitley 1991.
16. The English edition is De Polignac 1995. Responses include Alcock and Osborne 1994.

versify. More recently, for example, ideas about Greek "colonization" have been subjected to particular scrutiny by not only archaeologists but also ancient historians and classical philologists, drawing on a wide range of postcolonial perspectives and on a number of other ideas, including network theory.[17] Such research has benefited from cross-fertilization with the work of scholars of the Early Iron Age working elsewhere in the Mediterranean who deal with similar questions and who make use of additional bodies of theory.[18]

While I have discussed only a limited selection of the topics and works that could have been mentioned here (e.g., I have concentrated almost exclusively on monographs, which tend to have a greater and more lasting impact than shorter articles and chapters), my point should be clear: studies of the archaeology of the Greek world during the first millennium BCE have used a variety of theoretical frameworks to help bridge the conceptual gap between the surviving material culture and the activities of the individuals and societies that once produced it. Given the number and diversity of such approaches, as well as the fact that they have now been in use for more than a generation, it is surprising that there has been only very limited explicit discussion of the role theory might play within Greek archaeology. Some past edited volumes have discussed the topic of theory in relation to the archaeology of the ancient Mediterranean more generally, but their scope has tended to be restricted to the problem of relating texts and archaeology rather than tackling the more general issue of the use of theory per se,[19] and none has focused specifically on first-millennium Greece, an area and time period often completely absent from the discussion.[20] Theoretical approaches represent only a tiny minority of the work carried out by Greek archaeologists. Indeed, as Stone demonstrates in his chapter in the present volume, the trajectory taken by the archaeology of the Greek world of the first millennium BCE contrasts markedly with those of the adjacent fields of Aegean prehistory and Roman archaeology. Since the appearance in 1972 of Colin Renfrew's *The Emergence of Civilisation*, which began a revolution by bringing Aegeanists into dialogue with ideas from anthropological archaeology, Aegean prehistory has incorporated approaches that are self-conscious about their methods and theoretical perspectives.[21] For Roman archaeology, the shift has arguably been more gradual and more recent. The wide geographical spread of the Roman Empire and the range of national traditions of archae-

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17. See, e.g., Hodos 2010; Malkin et al. 2009; Malkin 2011.
18. E.g., Dietler (2010) stresses the role played by consumption in cultural interaction between Greeks and Gauls.
19. See, e.g., Small 1995; Sauer 2004.
20. See, e.g., Leventhal and Papadopoulos 2003.
21. See Cherry 2011 for a retrospective evaluation.

ology that spread encompasses have made it a particularly pluralistic field. Nevertheless, the influence of European prehistory, especially on Romano-British archaeology, has been felt since the early 1990s, with the appearance of such books as Martin Millett's *The Romanisation of Britain*.[22] The Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, held annually since 1991, has provided a disciplinary forum for the discussion of theoretical topics, and the resulting publications are a widely accessible record of the directions taken by those discussions at different times.[23]

Given this history and these developments in adjacent fields, we are arguably overdue a conscious attempt to raise the profile of theoretical frameworks as an aid to investigating the material remains of the Greek world of the first millennium BCE. One way to do this is by encouraging dialogue among scholars who are using such theory. With this aim, I initiated the Theory in (Ancient) Greek Archaeology (TiGA) Conference, held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in May 2012, following an open call for papers. Participants shared the aim of actively using material culture to ask questions about ancient Greek society. They were energized both by a common concern with thinking rigorously about the assumptions made when interpreting their data and by a desire to explore the potential of relatively sophisticated theoretical perspectives.

Submissions to the conference clustered around several distinct, coherent themes:

1. The construction of ethnic and other identities through material culture at a variety of scales, ranging from the built environment and mortuary practices down to individual artifacts such as pottery and figurines
2. The nature of the relationship between people and their objects—looking at how artifacts were made, decorated, selected, and used—and what scholars can learn about ancient society from the choices that were made by manufacturers and consumers
3. The way in which the built environment is shaped by a range of cultural aspects (including religion, political ideals, and ideas about the status of different social groups) and how the archaeological evidence of the built environment can be used to investigate these different aspects of ancient society and culture

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22. See the concluding assessment of Phil Freeman in his review of the volume (Freeman 1993, 444–45).
23. The annual conferences and related publications are listed at http:trac.org.uk (accessed July 8, 2013).

4. Issues of marginality, focusing especially on the lives of individuals who lay geographically or socially outside the groups usually represented in our textual and iconographic sources, as well as on how best to study these groups using the material evidence

Following the conference, there was a common wish to stimulate and sustain a broader and more long-lived discussion of these issues, to which I hope this volume will contribute. It was not possible to include every paper from the event in a single volume, but the chapters presented here represent the work of a selection of the original participants whose papers were not being published elsewhere and whose topics seemed to "speak" to each other particularly well. To these are added contributions from two authors who attended the conference but did not present their work (Salminen and Stone) together with two brief responses to the volume by Archibald and Foxhall. Neither Archibald nor Foxhall attended the conference, which, together with the broad experience of both in the archaeology of Greek culture across the Mediterranean, puts them in a good position to contextualize some of the contributions and the topic of the volume as a whole, from a wider disciplinary perspective.

Out of the range of topics discussed at the original conference, the authors of the chapters included here address a cluster of interrelated questions about the Greek world in the first millennium BCE: In what ways were different aspects of social structure, political organization, and cultural norms expressed materially? What measures did individuals and groups adopt to express their similarity to or difference from others? How can archaeologists best use material culture to explore these issues and to examine change across time and space? The "manipulation" of material culture referred to in the title of this volume therefore operates at two distinct levels, highlighting the use of material culture, first, by individuals and groups in the classical Greek world in the course of their daily lives and, second, by archaeologists today for understanding ancient Greek society. In addition to exploring data at a range of scales, from objects such as ceramic vessels or figurines to religious, urban, and funerary landscapes, the potential of a wide variety of theoretical approaches is explored, including "entanglement" (Whitley), phenomenology (Paga), ideas about materiality (Çakmak, Salminen), network theory (Paga, Scott, Small), the *chaîne opératoire* (Smyrnaios), the "spatial turn" (Agelidis, Scott), identity and viewership (Lynch, Martin), postcolonial theory (Hofmann and Attula), and Alfred Gell's formulation of the agency of objects (Çakmak, Whitley). While ideas such as these do not necessarily have, by themselves, any explanatory power, nor does the application of any one of them necessarily bring with

it a clear methodology; their strength is that they invite us to ask fresh questions about Greek society and culture and to look at familiar evidence in new ways.

The chapters in this volume make use of theoretical ideas at a range of different levels. At the most fundamental, as Ault's chapter highlights, they assist in exposing the ideological frames of reference underlying the agendas of past researchers. Beyond this they also suggest a variety of analytical concepts the relevance and helpfulness of which in relation to ancient Greek society can be tested and argued for using the archaeological data, as demonstrated, for instance, by Whitley, Smyrnaios, and Çakmak. At the same time, as Small shows, theoretical concepts facilitate the construction of models that can be tested against the archaeological evidence. Finally, as Lynch argues, an explicit theoretical framework can serve as an important bridge between the ancient evidence and a variety of questions about social history that cannot be explored directly.

The range of theories, questions, and data covered in this volume is, of course, highly selective. Individual chapters are intended to serve as case studies—examples that, taken together, can be viewed as demonstrating three larger points. First, they show that a rigorous, theoretical approach enables investigation of issues that cannot be studied using traditional means. Second (and equally important), they reveal that (as we found out during the conference itself) a theoretical approach provides an excellent basis for dialogue around shared questions and problems with colleagues in adjacent disciplines, such as ancient history and classical philology, because it naturally shifts the emphasis of discussion away from esoteric points about the nature of the evidence itself and toward broader social questions with which other forms of scholarship can also engage. Third, they demonstrate the wide range of approaches, questions, and types of evidence that can come together under the broad heading of Greek archaeology, bringing students of the ancient world into dialogue with those studying a wide range of other cultural contexts using an array of methods, theories, and evidence. These include not just art historians but also, as Small suggests in his chapter, archaeologists and anthropologists concerned with quite different cultures, facilitating a fruitful sharing of ideas about how to address major issues. Such interchange with these different colleagues not only helps to move research forward but is vital for the continued survival of Greek archaeology itself in a context in which economic pressures are continually challenging both professionals and students to justify the importance of their discipline. Ultimately, as Small argues, we believe that studies like these not only will benefit our own discipline but will lead to the development of distinctive new insights that can be applied outside the field of Greek archaeol-

ogy, in other cultural contexts. To this end, the reader will find that passages of ancient Greek and specialized terminology relating to the ancient Greek world have been translated here, to make this volume accessible to those without a specialist's knowledge of the particular cultural context.

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PART 1

❦

Disciplinary Context

CHAPTER 1

❧

A Theoretical or Atheoretical Greek Archaeology?

The Last Twenty-Five Years

David L. Stone

One objective of this book and the conference that stimulated it was to take stock of theoretical developments in the subdiscipline of Greek archaeology. At the start of the book, it therefore seems appropriate to assess the prevalence of theoretical subjects within current discourse.[1] I do so in this chapter by looking first within the subdiscipline of Greek archaeology, then at comparable subdisciplines, and finally within the broader discipline of world archaeology. I draw conclusions based on an analysis of twenty-five years of scholarship in seven prominent journals. The purpose of this analysis is not to espouse a particular point of view—about the role of theory or any particular theoretical topic in Greek archaeology—but to elucidate trends. Just how prevalent are theoretical arguments today, and what sort of growth or decline have they seen? Are there particular journals that tend to publish theoretical papers or not, for whatever reasons? How prominent are theoretical arguments within Greek archaeology, in comparison to other Mediterranean archaeologies and to the larger discipline of archaeology as a whole?

That this inquiry should be necessary is due to the prevailing view that Greek archaeology and classical archaeology as a whole is different from other archaeologies. Colin Renfrew asserted that anthropological archaeology and classical archaeology split in the 1960s with the advent of processualism, and he termed the gulf between them the "Great Divide."[2] Renfrew's chasm was marked by the focus of classical archaeologists on descriptive typologies, classifications,

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    2. Renfrew 1980.

and stylistic analyses, at the expense of problem-oriented studies of peoples, cultural laws, and environments, favored by anthropologists. For others, such as Bruce Trigger in his *A History of Archaeological Thought*, the approaches of classical archaeologists equated to the outmoded era of "antiquarianism."[3] Previous statistical analyses have largely supported these conclusions. When one compares Stephen Dyson's 1985 assessment of fifty years of publication trends in *American Antiquity* and the *American Journal of Archaeology* with Nicola Terrenato's 2002 survey of classical topics in seventy-five years of *Antiquity*, one comes away with the impression that very little changed in the intervening generation.[4] Both authors documented Renfrew's "Great Divide" in these prominent journals, and no rapprochement could be discerned in either the late twentieth century or the early twenty-first.

A certain amount of time has passed since these arguments were made, and there have been some positive assessments in the interim. In a review article written in 2004, Robin Osborne cited Greek archaeology's important strides, acknowledging, among other things, its self-awareness and more sophisticated approaches to material culture.[5] At about the same time, Ian Morris opined that the 'Great Divide' was shrinking. Commenting on the famous cartoon titled "Archaeological Theory in 1988," in which an elderly classical archaeologist sits in the corner on a pile of *CIL*s wondering "what all that noise is" while the rest of the archaeological profession dukes it out over processualism and post-processualism, Morris claimed the stereotype was no longer applicable: "classical archaeologists have not been wondering what all the noise is. They went from despising it, to listening to it, to being part of it."[6] Some years ago, Sofia Voutsaki offered an optimistic judgment of developments in Greek archaeology. She argued that the gulf had been bridged as a result of theoretical and methodological changes in Greek archaeology.[7] Some anthropologists have argued that thinking in Greek archaeology is changing, too; in the same year as Osborne's review, George Cowgill wrote that "whatever the case in the past, a significant number of classical scholars are paying attention to anthropological theory, and there are serious efforts to connect dirt archaeology and text-based historical studies."[8]

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3. Trigger 1989, 27–72.

4. Dyson 1985; Terrenato 2002. See also Dyson's trenchant comments in a separate article on the unwillingness of classical archaeologists to consider theoretical issues (Dyson 1993, 195).

5. Osborne 2004, 95–96.

6. Morris 2004, 256. The cartoon, by Simon James, was originally published by Paul Bahn (1996, 72), and reproduced by Morris (p. 254).

7. Voutsaki 2008. The title of Voutsaki's article, "Greek Archaeology: Theoretical Developments over the Last 40 Years," is somewhat misleading, as the author considers methodological as well as theoretical developments.

8. Cowgill 2004, 534.

How theoretical, or atheoretical, is Greek archaeology? We have a range of reflections here—some statistical, some anecdotal—from well-informed members of the profession. But many of these were written at least a decade ago. As we begin this book, it seems appropriate to move beyond past observations, and to adduce some "big data" to evaluate the current situation.

Methodology

I selected seven academic journals for this study. One—the *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* (*Athens Annals of Archaeology*)—publishes reports written in modern Greek, and its main contributors hold university positions in Greece or work in the Greek archaeological service. Four—*Annual of the British School at Athens* (*BSA*), *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* (*BCH*), *Hesperia*, and *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* (*AthMitt*)—are publications of foreign schools in Athens. They publish the research of those affiliated with the schools and others, primarily in the subjects of archaeology, history, epigraphy, and art history.[9] These five journals provide the data I use here to assess how theory fits into current publication patterns within Greek archaeology. By including research published in English, French, German, and Greek, I am able to take into account several national traditions and to cover a broad spectrum of researchers. At the same time, since all five journals publish research conducted by established academic organizations within Greece, they share a similar profile and are very comparable.

Data from these five journals provide the basis for measurement against publication trends in larger contexts. For this analysis, I have chosen two journals. The scope of the first, the *American Journal of Archaeology* (*AJA*), encompasses "the art and archaeology of ancient Europe and the Mediterranean world, including the Near East and Egypt, from prehistoric to Late Antique times." I use this journal to compare Greek archaeology to its closest subdisciplines. Beyond European and Mediterranean archaeology, the second journal, *World Archaeology* (*WorldArch*), "aims to synthesize the best contemporary thought on matters of common interest to archaeologists the world over."[10] Its issues are devoted to a theme selected by the editors as a topic of current research interest; many of the articles concern theoretical issues, though *WorldArch* is, by design, a journal about debates that range beyond those of archaeological theory alone.

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9. For some comments and statistics on authors who publish in these journals, see Andreou 2005, 85-86; Cullen 2007.

10. Quotations are from editorial statements in *AJA* (Norman 2009, 1) and *WorldArch* (Platt 1969, iv).

I consulted the latest twenty-five full volumes of all seven journals while writing this chapter during the first half of 2013. For most journals the time period selected was 1988–2012, though table 1 indicates variation necessitated when the latest volumes published at the time of writing were from an earlier year.[11] A twenty-five year time period was selected for two reasons. First, it covered most of the postprocessual era in archaeology, when the most explicit theoretical discussions in the discipline's history have taken place. Second, it appeared long enough to demonstrate the existence of trends. The following procedures were used in this analysis. First, the titles and abstracts of each volume of the seven journals were examined.[12] Next, nearly thirty-five hundred articles were read at length or skimmed, as necessary, to determine whether an article was "theoretical." Certain types of short articles were excluded from consideration, on the grounds that they were not comparable to the other items in the journals.[13] All articles deemed "theoretical" were recorded in a database. Statistics for each year and each journal were compiled and then charted to facilitate the analysis (table 1.1, figs. 1.1a–g).

TABLE 1.1. Statistics for articles and theoretical articles from seven archaeology journals examined for this study

Journal	Years	Articles	Articles/year	Theoretical articles
Ανάλεκτα	1984–2008	218	8.7	3
AthMitt	1985–2009	340	13.6	5
BCH	1986–2010	852	34.1	13
BSA	1988–2012	427	17.1	42
Hesperia	1988–2012	454	18.2	44
AJA	1988–2012	520	20.8	98
WorldArch	1988–2012	676	27.0	440

What constituted a "theoretical article"? As many authors who have confronted theory in archaeology have observed, it is a difficult concept to define. There is a widely held opinion that theory is inherent in all archaeological work: as Matthew Johnson declared in a recent introductory textbook, "we all use theory, whether we like it or not."[14] Casting the net so broadly may be suit-

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11. Since the full complement of journal volumes and issues for 2013 had not yet appeared, it made sense to exclude all issues from this year.

12. Most but not all of the journals contained abstracts.

13. I excluded items identified as: news, notes, obituaries, reviews (including book reviews, museum reviews, and review articles), letters from the editor, editorial introductions, and the like.

14. Johnson 2010, 5. Johnson explained that he defined theory as "the order we put facts in" to highlight the dialectical relationship between data and theory (217).

Ανάλεκτα
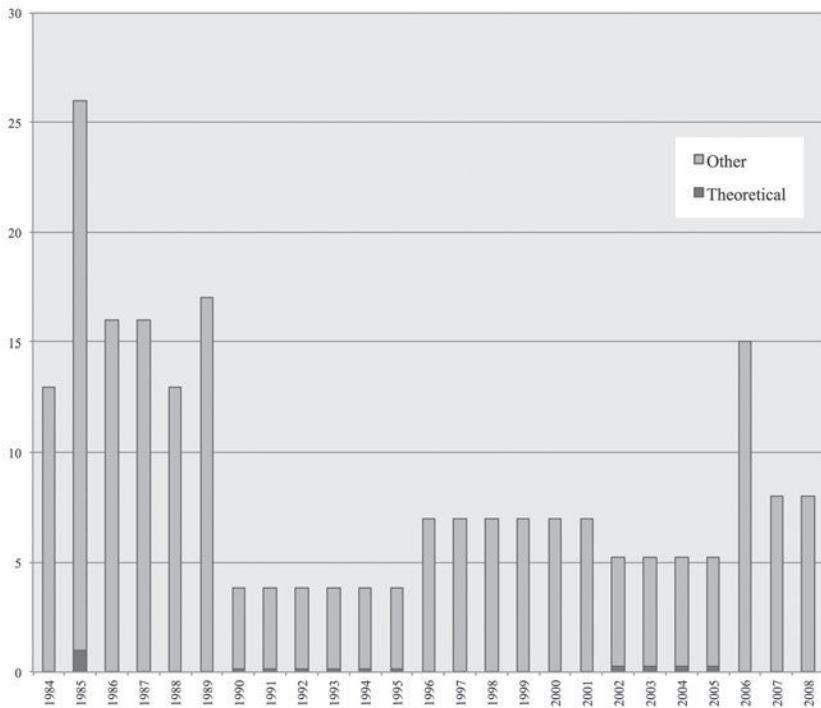
Figs. 1.1a. Articles per year and theoretical articles per year from seven archaeological journals

able for a textbook covering a range of archaeological applications of theory, but it is not likely to satisfy many professional archaeologists who distinguish between empirical and theoretical research. Nor will it persuade those who regard method and theory as separate spheres. There are many archaeologists—processual, postprocessual, classical, and anthropological alike—who identify theory as a discrete category of archaeological work. For them, it is as though an archaeologist may wear a "theoretical cap" occasionally, when writing about interpretative issues, but remove it at other times, such as when publishing fieldwork results.

Thinking about theory as a subset of archaeological endeavors may be helpful, since grounds for exclusion are as important as those for inclusion when defining what makes an article "theoretical." In a recent publication, Meg Conkey assessed what might or might not be theoretical. She recognized four aspects of

AthMitt
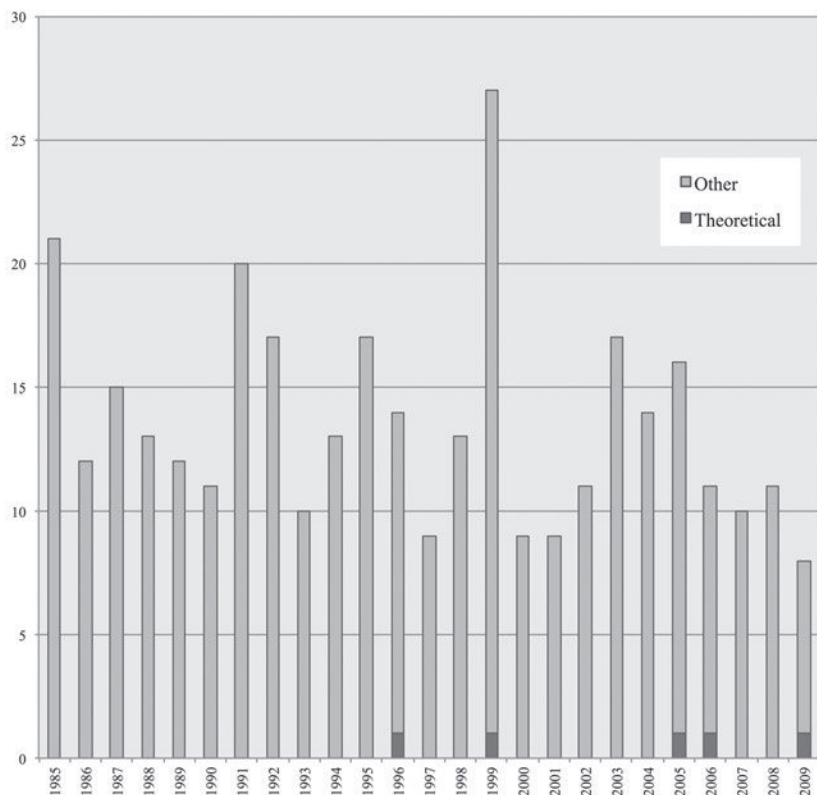
Fig. 1.1b. Articles per year and theoretical articles per year from seven archaeological journals

theory in archaeology: for some archaeologists, theory requires reflexivity; for some, it calls for a level of abstract thinking; for others, it is found in practical methods that provide a foundation for the approach one takes; finally, theory could also be viewed "as revelatory, as opening up new spaces, as challenging assumptions."[15] I found Conkey's ideas attractive because, in my opinion, archaeological theory could, and perhaps should

1. demonstrate a reflexive awareness of its approach to past societies,
2. engage with the past on an abstract level,

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15. Conkey 2007, 296–305.

BCH
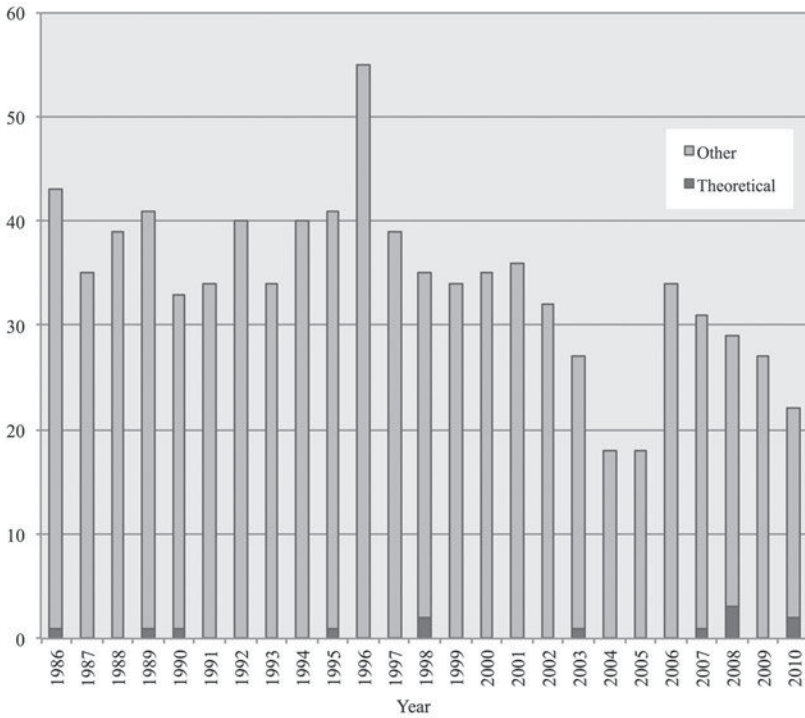
Fig. 1.1c. Articles per year and theoretical articles per year from seven archaeological journals

3. be founded in general principles supported by considerable evidence, and
4. expose new ideas or challenge existing frameworks.

To me, it also seemed important that an article should distinguish itself as theoretical by providing explicit and sustained discussion of the interpretative framework employed in reaching conclusions. This expectation emphasized one element that I felt was essential: that authors clearly indicate an awareness that their interpretations belong to a wider "theoretical" discussion of how to interpret archaeological remains.

Some more specific comment about how I decided that journal articles met these criteria is appropriate. My overriding aim was to be inclusive rather than exclusive. Since journal articles offer limited scope for elaboration in compari-
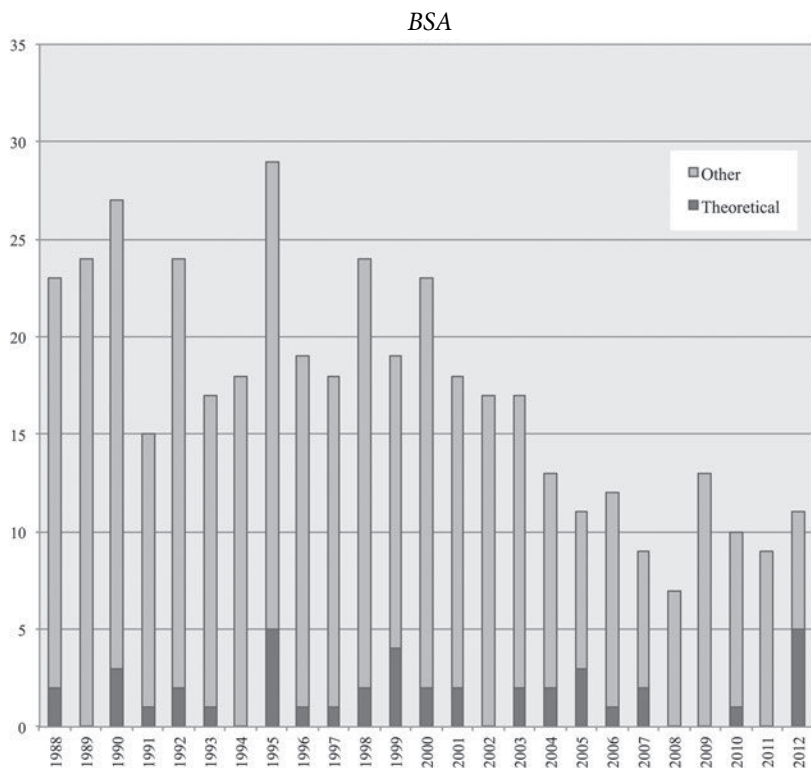
Fig. 1.1d. Articles per year and theoretical articles per year from seven archaeological journals

son to books, however, I felt it was not necessary for them to consider each of these areas at length. No preference was shown to the different "factions" of archaeological theory: articles demonstrably in processual, postprocessual, and culture-historical camps were evaluated equally and judged to meet the criteria or not.[16] I considered it important that the authors of a "theoretical article" were engaging with a wider "theoretical" discussion, but it was not essential that they were discussing a theory in the way that the proponents of the theory intended it to be used.[17]

The decision to categorize an article as theoretical was complicated in prac-

16. Many articles appeared to blend the approaches of a variety of theoretical positions, although I did not record this information and cannot comment on this subject in more detail here.

17. E.g., when citing Anthony Giddens's agency theory, an article in *Hesperia* referred to the settlement of Kromna as an "agent" (Tartaron et al. 2006, 511). Giddens himself, however, wrote that "only individuals, beings which have a corporeal existence, are agents" (1984, 220).

Hesperia
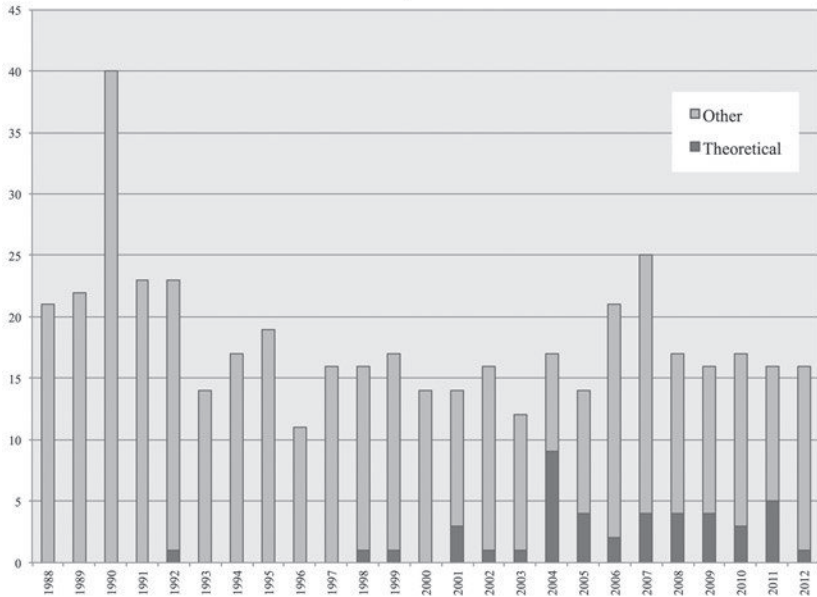
Fig. 1.1e. Articles per year and theoretical articles per year from seven archaeological journals

tice, since many articles did not indicate in the title or abstract that they fulfilled my criteria. A title such as "Flaked Stone from Isthmia" appeared no different in principle from "Capital C from the Argive Heraion," in that both communicated the goal of presenting material from a specific site. The abstracts of both articles contained no signs that a theoretical analysis might be found within. Yet the former article included a section entitled "theoretical perspective," which evaluated cultural materialist and formalist economic models. The author, P. Nick Kardulias, explained why he employed a formalist perspective to assess the use of stone tools throughout several millennia and within different types of sociopolitical organization. The latter article examined a single-column capital to determine whether it was fabricated during the Archaic or Roman period. The author, Christopher Pfaff, utilized stylistic analysis to date the capital to the Roman period but did not explore the wider significance of the refurbishment of the Argive Heraion from the perspective of imperialism, social memory, or another theoretical vantage point.[18] Even though titles and abstracts often did not specify whether articles were theoretical, there were general patterns

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18. Kardulias 2009; Pfaff 2005.

AJA
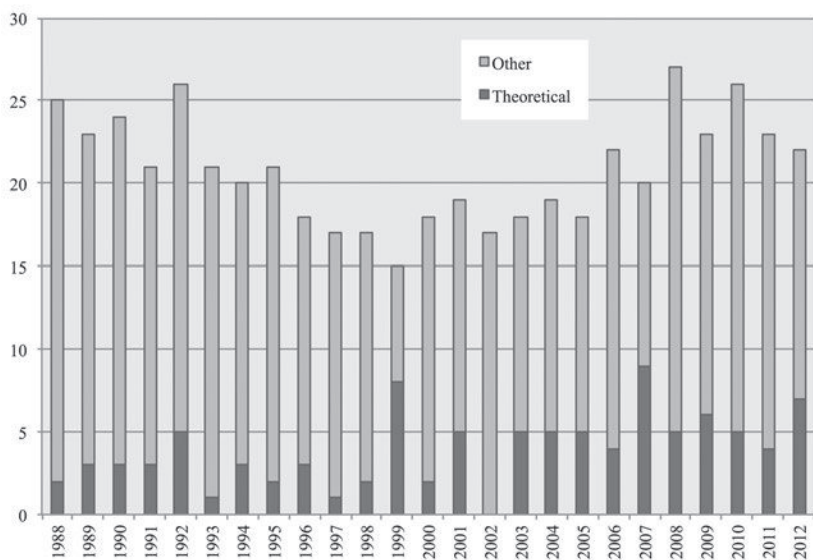
Fig. 1.1f. Articles per year and theoretical articles per year from seven archaeological journals

to articles categorized this way. Their aims were usually to understand social organization, and they focused on "why" or "how" questions, such as "Why did the inhabitants of a polis employ specific elements of material culture in certain ways?" and "How do tomb types indicate social differentiation?" They were not, on the whole, concerned with dates, typologies, or attributions—"when," "who," "what," or "where" questions. Many articles posed several questions, of course, and I consulted these articles in their entirety to determine whether the author(s) had made an explicit and sustained discussion of an interpretative framework.

The results from each journal are presented below in a series of charts, showing numbers of articles of various types and the relevant percentages. I considered field reports and syntheses, the two main types of articles published by the five Greek archaeology journals,[19] as equally likely to be theoretical. I did so despite obvious differences in the way that the journals conceive of each type of

19. In this paper, the terms "Greek archaeology journals" and "Greek archaeologists" should be understood to refer to publications about the subject and those studying the subject. They do not refer specifically to journals published in Greece or to archaeologists of Greek nationality.

World Archaeology
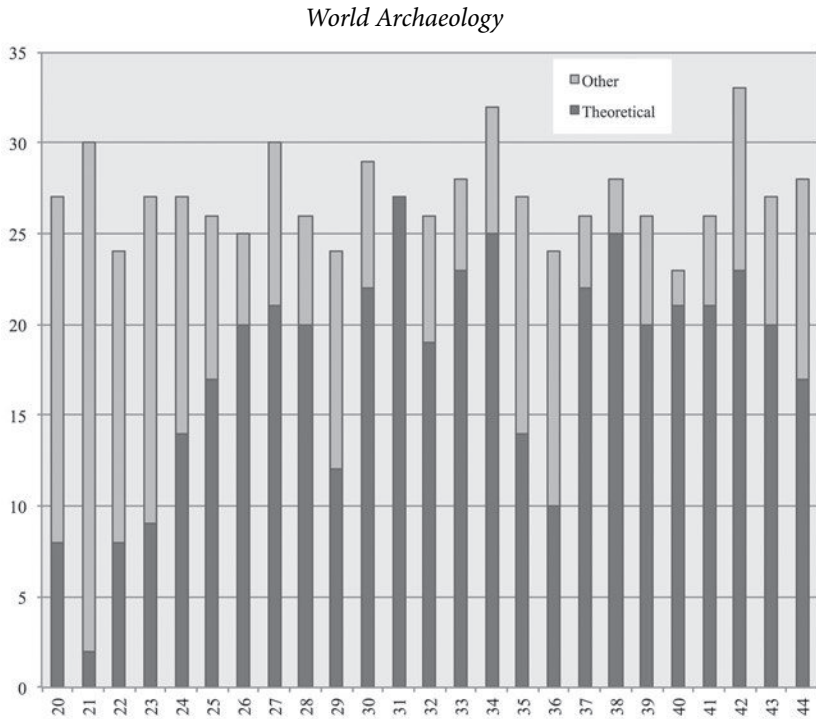
Fig. 1.1g. Articles per year and theoretical articles per year from seven archaeological journals

article. The *BCH* publishes six to ten annual field reports, which are intended as factual summaries of each season's discoveries. Perhaps not surprisingly, none of these reports qualified as theoretical articles, yet all were counted toward the number of articles published in the journal. Both the *BSA* and *Hesperia* have a broader conception of field reports; in those journals, one sometimes finds more reflexive, abstract articles concerned with the implications of findings for interpretative issues in archaeology. For example, *BSA* and *Hesperia* publications of projects at Karphi and especially Azoria regularly discussed theoretical arguments, such as those regarding state formation.[20]

20. For publications on Karphi, see Wallace 2005; Wallace and Mylona 2012. For publications on Azoria, see Haggis et al. 2004, 2007; Stefanakis et al. 2007; Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimons, Scarry, Snyder, and West 2011; Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimons, Scarry, and Snyder 2011.

Results: Theory in Greek Archaeology Journals

Data from my examination of five Greek archaeology journals are presented in table 1.1 and figures 1.1a–e. As readers of these journals know, they include research ranging from prehistory to the modern era.[21] Since the focus of this book lies on the archaeology of the Early Iron Age, Archaic, Classical, and Early Hellenistic periods (ca. 1000 to 150 BCE), I have organized the results to consider this as a single period. I considered all material earlier than these chronological parameters as belonging to a single period. I defined a third period for later material. I refer to these three periods as "Prehistory," "Early Iron Age–Hellenistic," and "Roman-Modern." Articles spanning more than one period were classified as "multiperiod." I utilize these chronological categories when discussing the results and in the charts analyzing the prevalence of theoretical articles by period.

Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών

The *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* is a publication of the Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Ελληνική Δημοκρατία (Ministry of Culture, Republic of Greece). Founded in 1968 to bring discoveries quickly to the attention of scholars through brief reports, it still has an emphasis on recent discoveries but now includes longer and more analytical pieces in two sections, "χρονικά" (annals) and "σύμμεικτα" (collected articles). The journal contained three theoretical articles in the twenty-five years considered, spread evenly throughout the period (fig. 1.1a). These three articles all concerned prehistory (fig. 1.2). On five occasions, the journal published multiple volumes as a single issue; thus the numbers were averaged over a multiyear span as necessary.[22]

Athenische Mitteilungen

The twenty-five volumes of *Athenische Mitteilungen* considered contained five articles on theoretical topics (fig. 1.1b). The frequency of theoretical articles may be said to have increased in recent years, as three appeared in the last five volumes. Three of the articles concerned the Early Iron Age–Hellenistic period, one prehistory, and one the Roman–modern era (fig. 1.2).

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21. They also publish epigraphic, historical, and art historical studies but do not, as a general rule, publish literary studies.

22. E.g., the twenty-three articles of volumes 23–28 (1990–95) were divided evenly among six years. The single theoretical article published during these six years was also averaged between them.
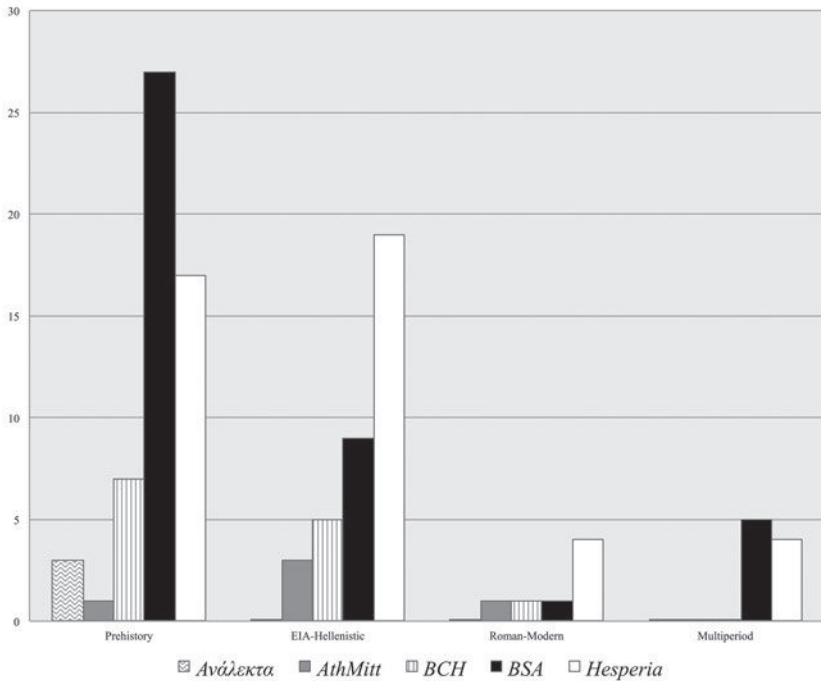
Fig. 1.2. Number of theoretical articles by period in five Greek archaeology journals

Bulletin de Correspondence Héllenique

The *BCH* has the largest average number of articles per year (34.1) of any of the Greek archaeology journals. It contains two sections, "Études" (synthetic analyses) and "Chroniques" (annual field reports).[23] Articles in both sections were counted, although none in the "Chroniques" section were deemed theoretical. Thirteen theoretical articles in total were counted; more recent volumes tended to have more of these, especially if the percentage, rather than number of articles, is considered (fig. 1.1c). Theoretical articles were divided among seven articles dealing with prehistory, five with the Early Iron Age–Hellenistic period, and one with the Roman–modern period (fig. 1.2).

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23. The 150th anniversary issue of the journal of the École française d'Athènes appeared in 1996, and many topics relevant to this special issue differed from those regularly found in the journal. Also, the volumes for 2004–5 (vols. 128–29) were published together, and the thirty-six articles were divided evenly between the two years. No theoretical articles appeared in any of these volumes.

Annual of the British School at Athens

The *BSA* had the highest percentage of theoretical articles identified in this study. Forty-two articles were counted in total, and there were only six years in which no articles deemed theoretical appeared. The breakdown of its theoretical articles by period is twenty-seven prehistory, nine Early Iron Age–Hellenistic, one Roman–modern, and five multiperiod (fig. 1.2).

Hesperia

The journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens also published a large number of theoretical articles (forty-four) in the twenty-five years considered. These cluster in the last dozen volumes, with only three present prior to 2001. There was a particularly high number of theoretical articles in 2004, with many of these appearing in a special issue titled "The Mycenaean Feast." By period, they were distributed among seventeen articles dealing with prehistory, nineteen with the Early Iron Age–Hellenistic period, four with the Roman–modern period, and four with multiple periods (fig. 1.2).

Percentage of Theoretical Articles

There was a great variety in the annual percentage of theoretical articles within Greek archaeology journals. The *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών*, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, and *BCH* contained only a few theoretical articles: 1.38, 1.47, and 1.53 percent, respectively. In the *BSA* and *Hesperia*, the numbers were much higher: 9.84 and 9.69 percent, respectively. Throughout the twenty-five years considered, the percentage of theoretical articles published in the five journals combined has risen substantially (fig. 1.3). Within the first five years of that time span, theoretical articles accounted for 2.23 percent of the total; within the last five years, the number rose to 8.87 percent, an almost fourfold increase.

Chronological Periods

All five of the Greek archaeology journals cover the prehistoric to modern periods. To assess which periods theoretical articles covered, I created three chronological divisions and an additional category for multiperiod articles.[24] The results indicated considerable divergence by period (fig. 1.4)

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24. The divisions provided only a limited view of chronological distinctions. It would have
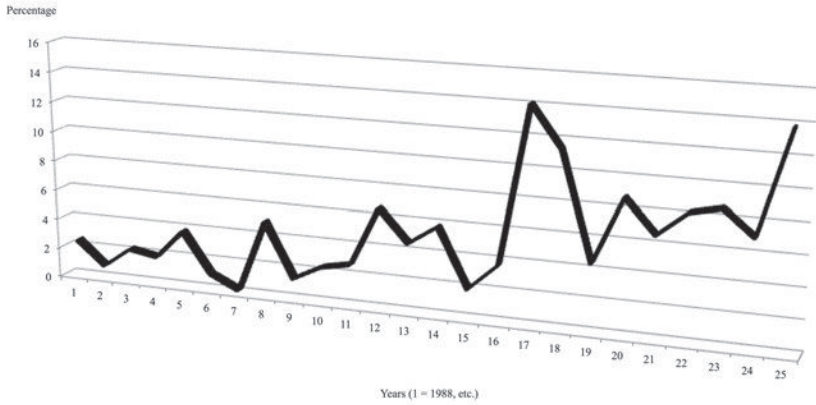
Fig. 1.3. Percentage of theoretical articles published in five Greek archaeology journals, during the twenty-five years consulted. Year 1 represents the first volume of each journal, year 2 the second, and so on.
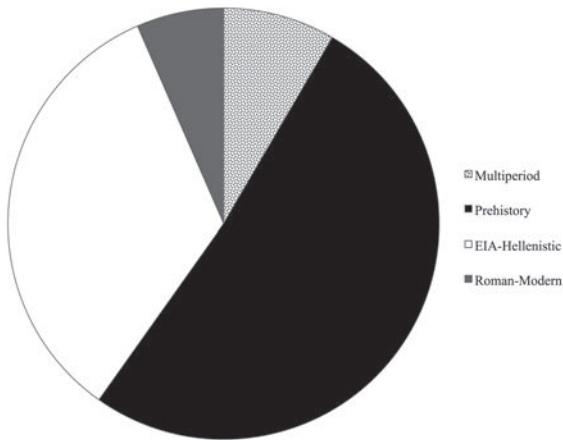
Fig. 1.4. Percentage of articles discussing different periods in five Greek archaeology journals

and, as has already been discussed, by journal. The largest number of theoretical articles considered the prehistoric period (fifty-five, 51.4 percent), followed by Early Iron Age–Hellenistic (thirty-six, 33.6 percent), multiperiod (nine, 8.5 percent), and Roman–modern (seven, 6.4 percent).

Three comments may be made about these figures. First, the frequency of theoretical articles on the prehistoric period is high in comparison to other

been possible to subdivide the period boundaries further (e.g., the Early Iron Age-Hellenistic could be split into the Early Iron Age, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods), but, in the interest of time, this was not pursued.

periods. I did not investigate the number and percentage of other articles of each period that were published during the twenty-five years considered, so I cannot make a statistical comparison of the relative frequency of theoretical articles to total articles from each period. John Cherry and Lauren Talalay considered publication trends in Greek archaeology journals a few years ago and identified 43.8 percent of articles published in the *BSA* between 1982 and 2001 as covering the prehistoric period. During approximately the same period, they found that the percentages in other journals concerning prehistory were quite different: *Athenische Mitteilungen* 8.4 percent; *BCH* 14.5 percent; *Hesperia* 12.1 percent.[25] Surveying Greek-language journals in the same volume, Stelios Andreou determined that prehistory was the subject of 18.2 percent of the articles in *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών*.[26] These frequencies suggest that articles concerning prehistory tend to be more theoretical than those on other periods, though to determine by how much would require more detailed analysis.

A second observation is that the four foreign schools whose journals are included in this study have emphasized research on these periods very differently throughout their histories. One might surmise that the differences in emphasis among these schools should, to a certain extent, be reflected in the research published in their journals. Thus, the patterns in fig. 1.2, with many theoretical articles on prehistory in the *BSA* and relatively many theoretical articles on the Early Iron Age–Hellenistic period in *Hesperia*, should bear some resemblance to the research foci of the schools on these periods. For example, the excavations at Knossos by the British School at Athens spawned nine prehistoric articles in the *BSA* during the twenty-five years considered. At the same time, the Azoria project of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens was responsible for five articles, on both the prehistoric and Early Iron Age–Hellenistic periods. Research on Thasos conducted by the École française d'Athènes accounted for three theoretical articles in the *BCH* during the twenty-five years, all on the Early Iron Age–Hellenistic period. Some of these articles contained theoretical discussions in the context of reporting new discoveries,[27] while others are studies revisiting material previously published by the projects.[28]

Third, given the relative similarity of the five journals, it would appear that the "research climate" of each school and of the Greek Ministry of Culture places a different emphasis on theoretical work. This is not to claim any delib-

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25. Cherry and Talalay, 2005, 38.
26. Andreou 2005, 75.
27. E.g., Haggis et al. 2004; Lespez and Papadopoulos 2008.
28. E.g., Knappett 1999; Preston 1999.

erate promotion or rejection of theory by any group, but rather to suggest that the differences mirror the research climate within each School, and the wider academic environments in which the schools participate.

Results: Theory in Comparative Contexts

American Journal of Archaeology

The *AJA* offers a good comparison to the five Greek archaeology journals; its articles consist mainly of field reports and syntheses, although its geographical focus extends throughout the whole of Europe and the Mediterranean. The data I gathered from the *AJA* indicate clear differences in treatment of archaeological theory. Theoretical articles were more common in the *AJA* than in any of the five Greek archaeology journals; 18.85 percent of articles (98 of 520) were so classified (fig. 1.1f).[29] During the twenty-five years considered, theoretical articles increased in frequency in the *AJA*; from 1988 to 1997, 11.89 percent of articles were deemed theoretical, but from 2003 to 2012, 25.81 percent were (fig. 1.5). Nevertheless, from the beginning of this period, theoretical articles were more prevalent in the *AJA* than in Greek archaeology journals.

In the *AJA*, theoretical articles were distributed by geographical region as follows: Central Asia, four articles, 4 percent; Egypt, two, 2 percent; Greece, forty-eight, 49 percent;[30] the Near East, twenty, 20 percent;[31] and the Roman Empire, seventeen, 17 percent.[32] The number of articles in Greek archaeology was particularly striking. It was higher than all the other geographical regions and even higher than the number of articles found in the *BSA* (forty-two) or *Hesperia* (forty-four) during the twenty-five years. It is clear that many Greek archaeologists publish theoretical articles in the *AJA*. The forty-eight articles on Greek archaeology can be further subdivided into prehistory (twenty-nine,

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29. In assessing the *AJA*, I counted articles appearing together in the "Forum" section (which featured multiple short articles on a common topic) as only one article, due to their brevity. This approach was admittedly conservative, but it seemed better than inflating numbers, perhaps artificially.

30. For the purposes of this study, "Greece" was defined as mainland Greece, Crete, Cyprus, and other islands.

31. For the purposes of this study, "the Near East" was defined as Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Levant.

32. An additional six articles covered multiple regions or made theoretical arguments not related to data from particular regions.
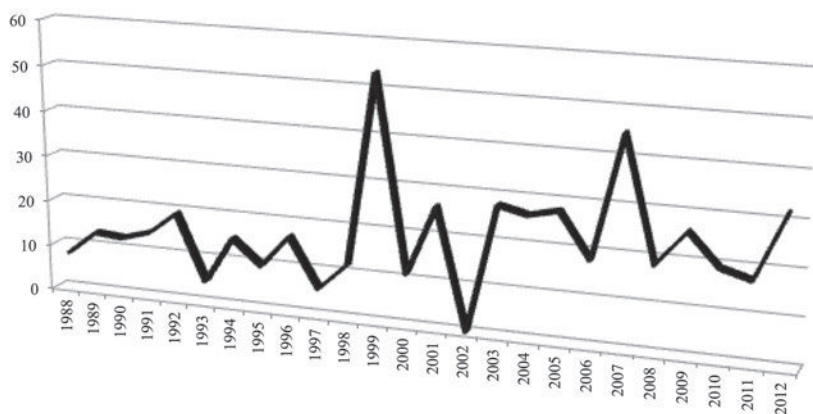
Fig. 1.5. Percentage of theoretical articles in *AJA*, during the twenty-five years consulted.

60 percent) and Early Iron Age–Hellenistic (nineteen, 40 percent).[33] The percentages of articles of each period are similar to those found in the five Greek archaeology journals.

World Archaeology

Each issue of the final journal under consideration here is devoted to a particular theme or debate, not simply the latest fieldwork or synthesis. This arrangement makes *WorldArch* conceptually different from the other journals. In practice, however, many *WorldArch* articles present recent fieldwork or syntheses on the topic in question, and the journal formats are not incomparable. In my analysis, 65.09 percent of *WorldArch* articles (440 of 676) were "theoretical" (fig. 1.1g).[34] The number of theoretical articles in *WorldArch* has varied during the twenty-five years under consideration, but it was much higher than the numbers for any of the other journals considered. At the start of the evaluation

33. There were three articles on the Roman–modern period of Greece in the *AJA*, but these were classified with the articles on the Roman Empire.

34. I examined volumes 20–44 of *WorldArch*, as they were the last twenty-five complete volumes at the time this chapter was written. Volumes 20–35 spanned calendar years. Beginning with volume 36 (2004), each *WorldArch* volume has been published within the same calendar year. At that time, the journal also expanded from three to four issues per year. One issue per year was devoted to "debates" rather than thematic topics. Since the "debates" issue contained papers of differing size, had a different focus from other issues, and was present in only nine of the twenty-five years considered, I excluded articles in it from consideration for this study.

period, theoretical articles were less common in *WorldArch*, but during the last twenty years, the figure has not been much below 65 percent. The variation in numbers may best be explained by the format of *WorldArch*. Many topical issues were of a theoretical nature (e.g., postcolonialism, cultural biography), but others (e.g., zooarchaeology, shipwrecks) contained a balance of theoretical and nontheoretical articles.[35] Although not explicitly a theoretical journal, the format of *WorldArch* arguably makes many of the journal's authors demonstrate a reflexive awareness of their approach, challenge existing frameworks, and couch their arguments as part of a wider theoretical discussion.

Topics in Greek archaeology figured regularly among submissions to *WorldArch*. The number of articles on Greek archaeology was thirty-six, and twenty-seven of them were deemed "theoretical." At 75 percent, this rate was higher than the general population of articles in the journal. A difference of 10 percent may not be very significant, though perhaps the interesting point is that contributions in Greek archaeology were not less theoretical than the majority of the journal's articles. The articles break down by chronological period as follows: prehistory, seventeen total, thirteen theoretical; Early Iron Age–Hellenistic, fifteen total, eleven theoretical; and multiperiod, four total, three theoretical.[36] Between 73 and 76 percent of submissions from all periods were theoretical.

Conclusions

This examination has surveyed five Greek archaeology journals and two journals with wider contexts, to assess the place of theory in Greek archaeology, particularly from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period. All of the journals were well established and were regarded as prestigious and influential. Four were published primarily in English and one each in French, German, and Greek, enabling a variety of national traditions and perspectives to be considered.

Archaeological theory made a solid contribution to Greek archaeology during the twenty-five years considered, particularly among English-speaking practitioners, who have used it in about 10 percent of articles published in major journals in the field. When Greek archaeologists presented their work to the wider audiences of the *AJA* and *WorldArch*, they deployed theoretical argu-

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35. Contributions to *WorldArch*'s topical issues were always open to the public, though some were solicited by editors. The editorial practices did not prevent submissions on topics and thus differ from those of the other journals.

36. Articles on the Roman–modern period did not figure in the total.
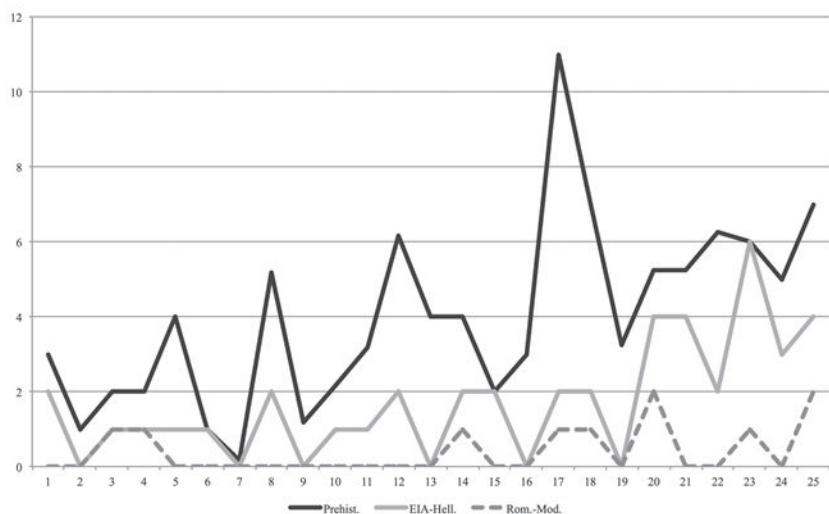
Fig. 1.6. Number of theoretical articles by period in seven archaeology journals during the twenty-five years consulted.

ments with even greater frequency. Among the journals considered, there was a noticeably smaller amount of archaeological theory in German, French, and Greek scholarship. Yet, in the majority of instances, the percentage of theoretical articles has grown considerably, and it is much more common for Greek archaeologists to discuss theory now than at any point in the last generation.

Archaeological theory was most prevalent among Greek prehistorians during the twenty-five years considered; just over half of all theoretical articles in Greek archaeology journals belonged to this period. Beginning with Renfrew's *Emergence of Civilisation*, which utilized systems theory to understand developments in the Aegean Bronze Age, prehistorians have taken theoretical approaches to Greek material. Morris, among others, has noted that the theoretical work in Greek archaeology first appeared among prehistorians.[37] The data from the seven journals consulted here bear these conclusions out. Prehistory consistently accounted for the highest number of articles per year in fig. 1.6. For prehistory, it is possible to detect a significant uptick in the production of theoretical articles in the late 1990s (around ten years into the sequence in fig. 6). The percentage of articles on the Early Iron Age to Hellenistic periods

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37. Renfrew 1972; Morris 2004, 261–64.

might raise some eyebrows, as some commentators have considered the Iron Age, Classical, and Hellenistic periods to be the most lacking in theoretical approaches. More than one-third of all the theoretical articles in Greek archaeology journals discussed these periods, and the numbers were higher in journals covering broader contexts. The rise of theoretical articles on the Early Iron Age to Hellenistic periods postdates those concerning Prehistory; a substantial increase is noticeable in the second half of the first decade of the 2000s (around twenty years into the sequence in fig. 1.6). While this development has been noticed before, with the examples of Snodgrass or the "Paris School of Art History" during the 1980s most frequently being cited, the data I have collected show that theoretical work on the Early Iron Age to Hellenistic periods has become common in journals only much more recently. Tracking theoretical trends with the methodology I have described has thus revealed a slightly different picture than that on the radar elsewhere.

A far smaller percentage of articles on the Roman to modern periods in any publication utilized archaeological theory. It is harder to assess the numbers in this case, however, since no record was kept of the percentage of total articles on these periods. The general impression gained from this study is that the vast majority of publications in Greek archaeology consider earlier periods. The low percentages may simply reflect a smaller overall number of articles, but the subject deserves further investigation.

Where is theory in Greek archaeology today? Theory may not now be at the center of disciplinary debates in Greek archaeology, but the growing popularity of research discussing theoretical topics suggests that interest is on the rise. The subject has become more theoretical at a rapid rate, first in Prehistory, and lately in the Early Iron Age to Hellenistic periods. Rumors of the "death of archaeological theory," as mentioned by contributors to a recent book,[38] are quite premature, in Greek archaeology at any rate.

Future Paths

The primary aim of this study was to evaluate the place of theory in Greek archaeological journals. Future analyses on the prevalence of the topic could be undertaken in different ways, and some discussion of alternative structures seems relevant. The most obvious would be to make a different selection of

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38. Bintliff and Pearce 2011. The critics of archaeological theory in that book appear to be talking more about the death of the utility of archaeological theory than about the death of theory per se.

journals. Additional journals focusing on the Mediterranean or the world could be included (e.g., *Antiquity*, *Hephaistos*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, *Papers of the British School at Rome*). Similarly, journals that specialize in the publication of theoretical articles (e.g., *Archaeological Dialogues*, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, or *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*) could be examined. The goals of comparison would necessarily vary, depending on the journals chosen. Given that there was a higher percentage of more theoretical articles on Greece published in *AJA* and *WorldArch* than in Greek archaeology journals, it would be interesting to see what work Greek archaeologists have published in other wider contexts. Newer journals, in particular, tend to publish articles that do not always appear in the more mainstream venues that I considered. It would also be valuable to compare theory in Greek archaeology to that in Roman archaeology, and a study of Italian journals as well as those of foreign schools in Rome could parallel the route taken in my analysis.[39]

Another potentially fruitful alternative to the study I conducted would be to examine books or conference papers rather than journals. Books arguably provide a better means of considering topics like archaeological theory, because topics may be explored in books at greater length and in greater depth. To consult the many published books making use of Greek archaeological theory would, however, demand a very well-stocked library, which may not be easy to procure.[40] It would also be possible to examine the presence of theory in archaeological conferences, such as the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America or the International Congress of Classical Archaeology. Journal articles, however, are usually more substantial than conference presentations, and I did not think I could apply my definition of a theoretical article to the sort of brief discussion found in a conference paper title or abstract.

A different sort of study might have surveyed the opinions of authors publishing in these seven journals as well as others in the field. It would be useful to ask which journals Greek archaeologists regard as good places to present theoretical arguments, and which ones are better for empirical studies. How do their perceptions influence where they choose to publish, and the way they frame their arguments? Do they feel that a specific journal editor, editorial board, or editorial policy statement influences the decision to include or exclude theory? Are decisions made in an effort to follow "academic fashion"? Or are they based on deeply held convictions about the best way to present one's research? Such a

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39. Any analysis of theory in Greek and Roman archaeology would need to consider the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference and its regular publications (see http://trac.org.uk/).

40. Acquiring a twenty-five-year run of journals was a difficult task but was made easier by the presence of several journals in electronic format. Books tend to be less available in that fashion.

study focusing on perceptions of theoretical work might expose a wide variety of opinions about this subdiscipline of archaeology.

My evaluation did not focus on the theories employed in the articles (e.g., state formation, identity, agency), but keeping track of them would be worthwhile. Charting the prevalence of brands of theory (e.g., Marxism or feminism) or topics to which theory is applied (e.g., the economy or mortuary analyses) would help to follow changing approaches within Greek archaeology. The data I have gathered would lend themselves to this sort of analysis, but I did not pursue this avenue, as it would have required more space than was available here. Some topics certainly stand out as particularly prominent foci of theoretical work during the last twenty-five years, such as tomb cult, feasting, and identity, but there was also a wide variety of subjects considered, including gender, postcolonialism, agency, state formation, war, and cultural biography. It is not possible to treat the subject briefly here, but perhaps it will be possible to revisit it on another occasion. A longitudinal analysis of theoretical topics at the first seven Roman Archaeology Conferences has shown the rapidity with which approaches are changing in a closely parallel field. "Romanization" was prevalent in titles and abstracts at the first conference, giving a sense of its importance within that field in 1995. Just a dozen years later, the debate had shifted considerably, and the issue of "identity" had become a central concern for Roman archaeologists.[41] While some have questioned whether the old paradigm has been replaced by a useful new one,[42] I do not doubt that the change in discourse marks a significant shift in perspectives inspired by theoretical models. Roman archaeologists are now reluctant to mention the concept of "Romanization" in print and instead deploy a variety of new concepts, arguably with novel agendas. A study of the less frequently used concepts of "Hellenization," "Minoanization," and "Mycenaeanization" might be valuable in the Greek context. It would also not be surprising if Greek archaeologists have explored different theoretical issues, suited to the historical contexts and the nature of the material remains that they have encountered. This would be worth discovering.

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41. For a comparison of the use of the terms *Romanization* and *identity* in titles and abstracts of papers presented in the first seven years of the Roman Archaeology Conference, see Mattingly 2010.

42. See especially Pitts 2007.

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Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland

Its Theoretical Impact Twenty-Five Years On

Bradley A. Ault

In 1986, Wolfram Hoepfner and Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner published *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*. The authors' volume was the first in a projected series, *Wohnen in der klassischen Polis*, which was envisioned to include some twenty-five additional volumes.[1] Alas, only two of the planned volumes ever appeared, Maureen Carroll-Spillecke's ΚΗΠΟΣ: *Der antike griechische Garten* and Wolfgang Schuller, Wolfram Hoepfner, and Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner's edited volume *Demokratie und Architektur: Der hippo-damische Städtbau und die Enstehung der Demokratie* (both published in 1989). Nevertheless, a revised and expanded second edition of *Haus und Stadt* arrived in 1994, and both Hoepfner and Schwandner have since overseen a range of re-lated publications that, to a certain extent, accomplished their original intent,[2] to disseminate studies related to ancient Greek housing, urbanism, social his-tory, and *Alltagsleben* (daily life) generally.

   The subject of this chapter, as foretold by its title, is an assessment of the theo-retical importance of Hoepfner and Schwandner's book for studies of Greek ur-banism and the household and for my own thinking in particular. Their work has certainly not been without detractors (see Étienne 1991). Because both Hoepfner and Schwandner were trained in the august tradition of German *Altertumswis-senschaft*, they are not anthropologists or theoreticians but, rather, classicists, ar-

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1. A list of the volumes projected was included in Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986, 293.

2. Among the most important of these related publications is Hoepfner 1999, a massive edited collection of studies treating not only Greek housing and cities but the history of housing and settlement in antiquity generally. Schwandner, too, has overseen a collection of papers on Greek housing, as guest editor for three issues of *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* (Schwandner 2009–10). Most recently, Hoepfner has published an analysis of Greek settlements in Ionia (Hoepfner 2011), con-tinuing the pursuits of *Haus und Stadt*.

chaeologists, and architects, skilled practitioners of the equally revered discipline of *Bauforschung*, which, for the purposes of this collection of essays devoted to theory in Greek archaeology, we might want to define as "studies of the built environment." Basically, the criticism directed at *Haus und Stadt* rests on the perceived aspirations of Hoepfner and Schwandner to impose order and regularity onto plans of cities and houses that were considerably less tidy and uniform in reality. In so doing, it is argued, they have erased variability, individuality, and nuance, negating the human element in favor of an overarching ideal of classical perfection (see Cahill 2002, 82–84, 194–95). It is not my purpose here to refute this argument.

The standardized city and house plans that appear throughout *Haus und Stadt* and in other publications associated with Hoepfner can be argued to reflect the architectural tradition in which he was raised and trained, that of post–World War II Germany, pervaded by the Bauhausian functional simplicity and homogenized tract housing popular during the rebuilding following the wartime destruction of German cities. Whether we like it or not, we are all products shaped by our times—"nurtured by nature," if you will—which we conform to and react against accordingly, however consciously or unconsciously. In their favor, in addition to much else, Hoepfner and Schwandner initiated or at least fueled a resurgence of urban and household studies, which had previously lain largely dormant, confined to relatively isolated studies or site-specific projects. For Anglo-American scholarship, two chapters by Michael H. Jameson signaled this renaissance of interest (Jameson 1990a, 1990b), but European academics fell equally under its spell (see Hellmann 2010).

In turning to specific examples of Hoepfner and Schwandner's influence on research and theory (or perhaps "theories") in Greek archaeology, I would like to focus on two themes that I deem of paramount importance for our understanding of the Greek city. The first of these relates to developments in planned urbanism and orthogonal planning. The second involves the evolution of Greek house forms. While the first is more strictly based on Hoepfner and Schwandner's work, it draws on research that preceded their own, as well as that which has occurred since. The second topic is even more the product of others' contributions, but I present a summary here. Both are indebted to the momentum created by *Haus und Stadt*.

Stadt

The earliest regularly planned Greek cities are found in the colonies, with Megara Hyblaea in Sicily taking pride of place (see Gras et al. 2004). Already in the

second half of the eighth century BCE, Megara Hyblaea appears to have been envisaged with houses laid out in long rows, two house plots deep. These proto-*insulae*, containing up to twenty-four houses apiece, were embedded within a network of streets, itself not entirely regular, a fact likely indicative of its early, experimental nature. Although only fully implemented in the seventh century, we see a similar scheme adopted at numerous other early regularly planned cities, primarily those in Magna Graecia and Sicily. Such organization likely developed hand in hand with the practice of land division used to divide up the *chora* into regularized agricultural allotments for citizens, first into squares, which could then be subdivided into long rectangular fields, called *boustrophe-don* because they were the shape most efficiently plowed by draft animals (see Boyd and Jameson 1981). These early cities were dubbed *Streifenstädte*, "strip-planned cities," by Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, 1–9, with fig. 2; 299–301, with fig. 291).

A major development occurred in the fifth century BCE, in Ionia and on the Greek mainland, and can be associated with an albeit shadowy historically at-tested figure, Hippodamos of Miletus (see Gill 2013). Following its destruction by the Persians in 494 BCE, Miletus was reestablished after 479 BCE. Although we know little of its old layout, classical Miletus bears the stamp of an important innovation in city planning. Instead of being laid out as a *Streifenstadt*, the ur-ban grid of the city was now divided up into more compact rectangular blocks, containing perhaps six houses apiece, with a correspondingly denser grid of streets (see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 17–22). Such a plan is "modular" and so lends itself increasingly to elements of design, as well as to zoning into specialized districts, conceptualized, for example, as residential, civic, commer-cial, and religious. While this makes for a more complex city plan, it also makes for a more navigable one. The plan simplified traversing distances, since shorter routes could now be taken—no small matter for pedestrian traffic, which would have predominated in the city. It also enhanced the city's "permeability"—to use the terminology of Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson in their influential work *The Social Logic of Space* (1989). This, then, is the most basic and obvious contribution that we may rightly attribute to innovations in city planning as-sociated with Hippodamos. While it should be noted that the plan of Miletus is nowhere in the surviving sources attributed to Hippodamos, there is every reason to believe that he was influenced by it, if not actually involved, in some capacity, with its realization.

A similar scheme was applied by Hippodamos to his plan of Piraeus, which is securely associated with him (at Aristotle *Pol.* 2.5.1, cited below) and came within a generation or perhaps even just on the heels of Miletus. Unfortunately,

at neither Miletus nor Piraeus can we gain a full appreciation of Hippodamian innovations, since both cities' original plans from the fifth century BCE are obscured by later overbuilding. Miletus was transformed into a Roman city, Piraeus into a modern one. Enough piecemeal information can be gleaned, however, that reconstructed layouts can be offered, as Hoepfner and Schwandner's 1994 detailed analysis and overall plan of Piraeus demonstrates (22–50, with fig. 14).

To see the full measure or at least the influence of Hippodamian city planning, we need to return to Ionia and travel just north to the city of Priene. Although dating a century later than Miletus and Piraeus, the city had an impressive pedigree: both Mausolus of Halicarnassus and Alexander the Great had a hand in its relocation and rebuilding in the mid-fourth century. Priene was dubbed by Hoepfner and Schwandner a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a "total work of art," and careful study of the plan bears this out (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 188–225). Priene is remarkable for its preservation. Unlike Miletus and Piraeus, the city did not flourish beyond the first century CE, when its harbor silted up (much of the population likely relocating to Miletus). Like these two Hippodamian cities, Priene is ingeniously integrated into its landscape, but rather than conforming to the Hippodamian cities' peninsular extensions that incorporated multiple harbors, the plan of Priene is imposed on the steep declivity of the foothills below Mount Mycale, just above the floodplain and course of the Maeander River.

Prior to Hoepfner and Schwandner's book, while Priene was widely recognized as Hippodamian in plan (i.e., influenced by the precepts of Hippodamos), it had not been associated with any known practitioner. However, Priene's temple of Athena Polias was notable for its architect, Pytheos, who reputedly also worked for Mausolus on his famed sepulchral monument. Vitruvius, writing in the time of Augustus, states,

> This is what led one of the ancient architects, Pytheos, the celebrated builder of the temple of Minerva at Priene, to say in his *Commentaries*, that an architect ought to be able to accomplish much more in all the arts and sciences than the men who, by their own particular kinds of work and the practice of it, have brought each a single subject to the highest perfection. (1.1.12; trans. M. H. Morgan)

Attributing the urban plan of Priene to Pytheos is, therefore, a logical conclusion (see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 196). Making this attribution all the more interesting is the observation that the major proportions used at

2:1 (Athena Temple: Sacred Sphere)

Octave 2:1

3:2 (Agora: Civic Sphere)

Fifth 3:2

Fourth 4:3

4:3 (Insula: Private Sphere)
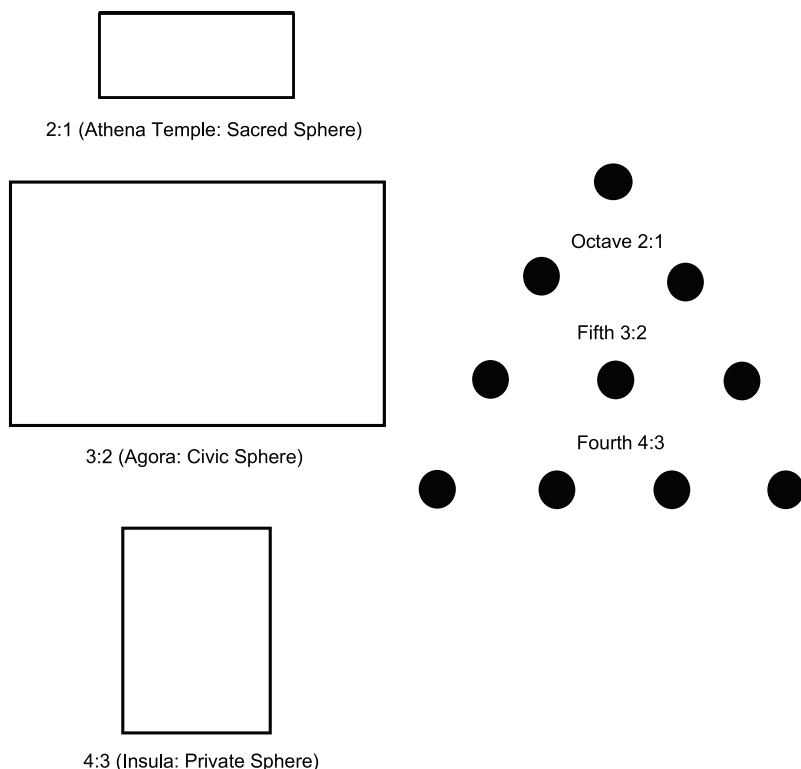
Fig. 2.1. The hierarchical relationship of sacred, civic, and private spheres at Priene, compared with the Pythagorean *tetraktus*. (After Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 311, fig. 296.)

Priene—2:1 for the Athena temple, 3:2 for the Agora, and 4:3 for the majority of the *insulae*—are those of the Pythagorean *tetraktus*, a diagram illustrating the harmonious and hierarchical relationship between the sum of the first four integers and the "perfect" musical intervals: octaves, fifths, and fourths (fig. 2.1; see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 310–12).[3]

Aristotle reports in the *Politics*,

Hippodamos the son of Euryphon, a citizen of Miletus, was the first man without practical experience of politics who attempted to handle

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3. To demonstrate his observations between measurement and music, Pythagoras utilized (and perhaps invented) an instrument known as the monochord, fitted with strings and movable bridges whereby the principal intervals and their corresponding string lengths could be validated (Hoepfner and Kose 2002, 400–401).

the theme of the best form of constitution. He was a man who invented the planning of towns in separate quarters, and laid out the Piraeus with regular roads. In his general life, too, [apart from these innovations] he was led into some eccentricity by the desire to attract attention; and this made a number of people feel that he lived in too studied and artificial a manner. He wore his hair long and expensively adorned; he had flowing robes, expensively decorated, made from a cheap but warm material, which he wore in summer time as well as in winter; and he aspired to be learned about nature generally [as well as about town planning]. (1267b22–30; trans. E. Barker)

In the next lines (1267b31–38), Aristotle goes on to describe the Hippodamian constitution.

The state which he planned to construct was one of 10,000 citizens, divided into three classes: the first of artisans, the second of farmers, and the third a defense force equipped with arms. The territory was to be similarly divided into three parts. One was intended for religious purposes; the second for public use; and the third was to be private property. (trans. H. Rackham)

It is precisely this latter tripartite and hierarchical division of the urban plan into religious, public, and private spheres that we see emphasized at Priene through the incorporation of Pythagorean proportions.

That Hippodamos was influenced by Ionian natural science in general and by Pythagoras of Samos in particular, a century before Pytheos, is perfectly reasonable. He was not alone: Pythagorean numerology played a part in Polykleitos' treatise *The Canon*, for which Polykleitos' Doryphoros is the model (see Hurwitt 1995). The Parthenon, too, surely incorporates Pythagorean proportions and precepts (see Bulckens 1999). By imbuing the plans of his cities with the ratios of natural order recognized by Pythagoras, Hippodamos sought to enhance, if not actually instill, social harmony—hence his identification as a "social planner," rather than merely a spatial one. Accordingly, Hoepfner and Schwandner have dubbed the plans of cities like Miletus, Piraeus, Priene, and a number of others as *Hippodamisch-pythagoräische Städte* (Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 306–10). That the Greeks were as dubious of the merits of such theosophical orientations as we might find ourselves is evidenced by the following exchange from Aristophanes' *Birds* (995–1109), where, much to the annoyance of the protagonist Pisthetaerus, Meton, a veritable Hippodamos, has appeared in Cloud Cuckoo Land to demonstrate his lofty ideals of city planning.

(Enter METON, a surveyor)

METON: I come to you . . .
PISTHETAERUS: Damn it, another bore!
    For what milord . . . what mission, what design
    What deep intent? And why the buskined tread?
METON: I would survey for you the Realm of Air . . .
    Partition it in lots.
PISTHETAERUS: For heaven's sake,
    Who are you anyway?
METON: Meton, by name
    All Hellas knows me . . . and Colonus!
PISTHETAERUS: What have you there?
METON: Measures, to plot the sky.
    To illustrate, the air, in total form,
    Is very like an oven top. So, then,
    Applying from above this metric arc,
    With compasses thereon . . . You follow?
PISTHETAERUS: No!
METON: I use a ruler, thus, until at length
    The circle has been squared, and in the midst
    A market place is set, from which the streets
    Are drawn, to radiate as from a star,
    The beams of which, itself a circle, shine
    Straight forth to every point. (trans. R. H. Webb)

Considering the manner in which the work of Hoepfner and Schwand-ner has influenced our thinking about Greek city planning and housing, let us return to the formative period of Greek urbanism in the eighth century. At Zagora on Andros, from the time of its establishment around 850 BCE, the settlers built not according to an established grid but along either side of a linear "spine wall" oriented northwest to southeast. Such a feature, therefore, serves as a guideline for building—urban planning at its most rudimentary. A similar technique has been identified as being incorporated into the construction of a number of Early Iron Age settlements, including the recently excavated seventh century Azoria, on Crete (see Haggis and Mook 2011).

Haus

Especially interesting at Zagora are the two principal phases of house construction (fig. 2.2a; see Cambitoglou 1981). In the first, dated between the second half of the ninth and the early eighth centuries BCE, the houses exist as one-room "megaron" structures. In a second phase, dated between the middle and late eighth century BCE, additional rooms are added to enclose a central unroofed area. In this sequence, we can see, in essence, the evolution of the courtyard house, the hallmark of later Greek domestic architecture. These phases also evidence a concurrent social transformation, the increasing desire for privacy and security in the domestic sphere amid the growing density of urban space.

A similar scenario can be traced over the course of the eighth and seventh centuries at Megara Hyblaea, where houses situated (unlike Zagora) on regularly allotted parcels expand from single-room dwellings to multiple-room structures that transformed the open areas into courtyards (fig. 2.2b). It was originally suggested that the inhabitants utilized the unencumbered free space of their plots for garden cultivation (e.g., Vallet et al. 1983, 147), merging the phenomena of the *oikopedon* (house allotment) and the *gepedon* (land allotment), perhaps at an early stage of their development. Recent reconsideration of the matter suggests that the unbuilt portions of the original house plots were not used for gardens (see Gras et al. 2004, 533–34). In any case, we are again witnessing the birth of the courtyard house, in quite different settings (on Andros and Sicily respectively) and so independently of one another, yet at nearly the same time. Just as the case has been made for agrarian land division influencing practices of urban planning, the development of the courtyard house shows the adaptation of an essentially rural form of freestanding farmhouse to urban landscapes.

Finally, it is generally understood that virtually the sole surviving architectural legacy of the Greek Bronze Age is the megaron form (although we should add to this the propylon entry as well). Since the Mycenaean megaron is merely a monumentalized version of houses from the Middle and Late Helladic periods, we see its persistence in the plan of Dark Age structures, ranging from the Heröon at Lefkandi to the houses at Zagora. As already demonstrated, the houses at Zagora evolved from megaroid forms into courtyard plans, which, in time, become the norm for Greek domestic architecture. The megaron lives on, however, in the plan of sacred structures, the temple being the example *par excellence* (see Mazarakis Ainian 1997). Zagora has evidence of this bifurcation, in form and function, from a megaroid footprint for both houses and temples throughout the Dark Age to the development of courtyard-centered domes-

a. Zagora:
   Houses H24-H25-H32-H33-H40-H41
   & H26-H27-H42-H43
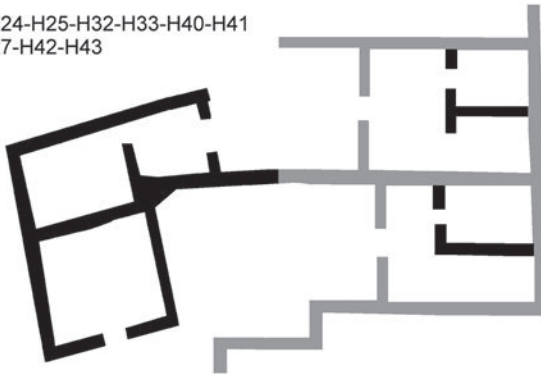
b. Megara Hyblaea:
   Houses 58.17 & 58.20
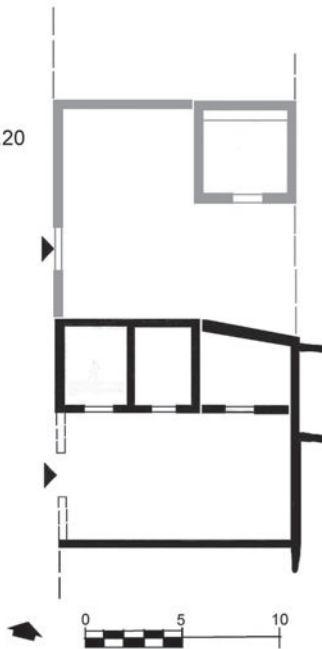
Fig. 2.2a. House growth in Zagora in the mid-ninth to mid-eighth centuries BCE (*gray*) and in the middle to late eighth century BCE (*black*)

Fig. 2.2b. House growth in Megara Hyblaea in the eighth century BCE (*gray*) and the seventh century BCE (*black*)

tic structures and megaron-based temple plans. In the mid-sixth century BCE, following the abandonment of the settlement at the end of the eighth century BCE, a temple was erected on the site of a previously open-air sanctuary. By no coincidence, the temple lay in the free space between Zagora's two residential areas, itself likely a nascent agora, the agora of Zagora—another subject altogether (see Hellmann 2010, 239–92; Holscher 1998).

Classical archaeology, as a whole and as practiced in the Greek world in particular, is seen in certain academic corners as both theoretically and methodologically deficient (see Morris 1994). Such a position, though having a basis in fact when comparing the history of the discipline with that of other "world archaeologies," is not entirely true, particularly considering more recent developments and orientations within the field. Taking *Bauforschung*, the study of the built environment, as one example (there are many others, as the chapters collected in this volume demonstrate), we have seen that theories of structure and process as well as generalizing and particularizing explanatory models have all been offered. Part of what sets classical archaeology apart is the richness of its data set, from the abundance of primary written sources at its disposal to the sheer quantity and quality of its preserved remains. That richness does not permit a willful ignorance of a theoretically informed and methodologically robust research framework, but it does mean that such a framework may be more implicitly built into investigative design and interpretation, rather than explicitly structuring it. Thus, as I have argued here, one of the most vigorous areas to emerge in contemporary archaeological approaches to ancient Greece has been inspired by the rigors of a venerable Teutonic academic tradition.

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CHAPTER 3

❦

Classical Archaeology Comes of Age

Supplying Theory to
Other World Archaeologies

David Small

In this chapter, I argue that classical archaeology is on the verge of becoming a world archaeology capable of generating theoretical models that can be used in the analysis of other ancient cultures. The most salient characteristic of Classical Greece was that it was not a unified political system but a region of very interactive small polities. The rich database in classical archaeology allows us to create sensitive understandings of the dynamics and structure of small polities evolving in an interactive network, which provided a context for social power outside the limits of the small polity. Observations from work in Greece are here applied to an examination of the Maya of the Classic period, a culture similar in its regional makeup of interactive small polities. The application of small polity concepts gained from ancient Greece frames important political and economic issues among the Maya and allows us to begin to ask more sensitive questions of the Mayan material.

Theory in Classical Archaeology and Its World Context

Over thirty years ago, Colin Renfrew wrote that there was a great divide between classical and other world archaeologies, which were more involved in anthropological thought.[1] Much research completed since then indicates that

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1. Renfrew 1980. See also Snodgrass 1985; Dyson 1981, 1989.

the divide has been bridged, at least marginally.[2] There are now numerous cases of archaeologists using theoretical models in Aegean prehistory (see Stone, this volume). Some prominent examples include James Wright and Daniel Pullen, who have applied neoevolutionary models to the Bronze Age; William Parkinson and Michael Galaty, who have used concepts of secondary state formation; Nick Kardulias, who has applied world systems; and Ilse Schoep and Carl Knappett, who have marked out initial concepts of heterarchy in Minoan evolution.[3] There are fewer examples of archaeologists using theoretical models from the period after prehistory, the temporal focus of this volume. Yet some examples are salient. Irad Malkin has successfully incorporated systems theory into an analysis of Greek "colonization."[4] I have employed concepts of social structure and dual processualism to Archaic and Classical poleis.[5] Donald Haggis has used concepts of phase transitions in community evolution in Iron Age Crete.[6] Lisa Nevett has applied anthropological concepts to housing and Greek social structure, and Ian Morris and James Whitley have applied anthropological theory to the study of burials.[7]

Such an expansion of Greek archaeology, using models and procedures from the discipline of anthropology and its numerous archaeologies, can only be said to be good. But there is a significant shortfall in this development: the traffic on Renfrew's bridge has clearly been traveling one way, with classical archaeology borrowing heavily from theory that was born out of anthropology in general or from its archaeological subdiscipline. With an incredibly rich database, including not only millions of traditional artifacts but a growing corpus of geological, environmental, faunal, floral, and human data and an enviable textual record, one would have hoped that classical archaeology would have been producing models from its archaeological record that could find wider application within the archaeological world. The purpose of this chapter is to outline one important case where classical archaeology can definitely contribute.

My topic here is evolutionary theory. Some but not many scholars studying classical Greece have explored evolutionary theories. Van der Vliet (2000, 2002, 2011) is one of the best known. His focus is on issues of type and traits in the definition of an archaic state, much like the work of Hansen (2004, 2006). My approach here is different, in that I am concerned less with what we label a

2. See Davis 2007; Tartaron 2008; Voutsaki 2008.
3. Wright 1995; Pullen 2011 (cf. Small 1998, 2007); Parkinson and Galaty 2007; Kardulias 1999; Schoep and Knappett 2004.
4. Malkin 2011.
5. Small 2009, 2010, 2011.
6. Haggis 2013.
7. Nevett 2007; Morris 1990, 1992; Whitley 1991.

Greek polity or even with its many traits than with what we can discern of its operationalization. My point is that classical archaeology, because it is essentially the archaeology of small polities within a rich database, provides an overlooked but extremely important opportunity to study the general operational features of small polities and to apply some of those observations to the larger archaeological world.

Small "States" in World Context

In the archaeological past, numerous small polities have been variously termed "states" (see Nichols and Charlton 1997). In the New World, the basin of Mexico was periodically occupied by small states from 1000 to 1300 BCE. Small Mayan polities were common further to the south in Central America from 300 BCE to 1100 CE. The Moche small states spanned the Peruvian coast from 500 BCE to 600 CE. There were various and periodic pre-Incan polities in the Andes from 500 BCE to 1400 CE. Europe was populated by small polities in Greece from 1100 BCE to 300 BCE, and the small polities of Etruscan Italy flourished from 800 to 300 BCE. Perhaps the earliest examples of small polities we have come from Mesopotamia in the period 2600–1500 BCE; small Harrapan polities within the fertile Indus valley in from 2600 to 1900 BCE; preimperial China, fragmented with small polities from 2000 to 200 BCE; and, finally, Egypt, a land of small polities for hundreds of years before its unification ca. 3000 BCE.

Characteristics of Greek Small Polities

In my view, one of the most valuable assets of classical archaeology is that it examines a relatively well-understood example of an ancient culture that was not politically unified but was composed of a variety of extremely active city-states (poleis) and looser polity configurations (*ethne*). The best way in which to analyze this community of small polities is through network theory (see Nohria 1994 and Czarniawska and Hernes 2005 for some basic concepts; Knappett 2011 for Greek prehistory), which takes into consideration the totalizing effect of the networked connections between entities. Network questions often focus on issues of self-organization and the emergence of new configurations between units in change over time. Malkin (2003, 2011) has effectively used network theory in his work with colonization, and I (Small, forthcoming) have

recently employed network concepts in my application of complexity theory to community evolution in Iron Age Greece (for networks in complexity theory, see Bentley and Maschner 2007; Kohler 2011). A critical feature of these small polities and their relationship to their network was that their control of this network was limited militarily and, more important, economically, which had a profound effect on their internal evolution. Ancient Greek polities, whether they were poleis or *ethne*, evolved as communities of similar institutional contexts within a preexisting network of interaction that began as early as the trading network of the Euboeans in the early eighth century BCE and continued up until the end of the period of Greek migration in the fifth century.

Ancient Greek polities evolved and existed in an interconnective network of many dimensions. I have previously argued that one elite economic connection centered on staple goods (Small 1994, 1997), that is, the control of the flow of wheat between parts of the Greek world. I would quickly add that there were political, military, and religious connections between almost all of the polities. The powerful agents in these networks, it would seem, would have been elite men, who were connected to one another through the institution of *xenia,* or guest friendship. This institution was celebrated through meetings in "neutral" "interpolital" contexts, such as sanctuaries. Just as important, it was a theme for male gatherings at home in the *andron*, with its focus on male identity and obligations.

Examples of such connections are extremely numerous. We have evidence that elites from different polities were connecting with one another through the sanctuary of Delphi, even to the point where some *apoikiai* (settlements in new lands) were founded by families from different poleis. Noted examples would be the foundation of Pithekoussai, by families from Eretria and Khalkis shortly after 800 BCE, and the foundation of Astakos, by families from Megara and Athens near 720 BCE.[8] We have other examples of Greek elites from different polities connecting as members of a *koine* through centers such as the Panionion in west Anatolia (see Forrest 2000). Religious connections were extremely frequent as well. Greek elites were frequently visiting and holding positions of responsibility at various sanctuaries throughout the Greek world, with primacy of place going to those like Olympia, which also held athletic contests. These

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8. As most readers are aware, we do not have any real accuracy in our dates for Greek *apoikiai*. I am using a combination of recorded founding dates, which come from celebrated Greek historians such as Thucydides and the earliest on-site material that *could* indicate a Greek ethnic presence. A useful table has been constructed by Osborne (2009, 83–87). Many very important issues remain unresolved, not the least of which is what the nature of these early settlements was like and what the act of "founding" actually means. Strong and important views on these points can be read in Osborne 1998 and Malkin 2004.

sanctuaries often connected polities that were quite distant from one another, as witnessed by the dedications of the Massalians at Olympia and by the creation or perpetuation of a common cult to Ephesian Artemis at Phokaia in Asia Minor and at Emporion in the western Mediterranean.

Yet these connections had a distinctly deleterious effect on the polities themselves. The ability of elites to control an important economic sphere beyond the polis inhibited the internal evolution of a robust political economy within the polis. As Earle recently phrased it, political economies take on various forms, but "a political economy . . . takes no special form, except the ability to mobilize and direct resources in support and extension of ruling institutions" (2011, 241). In most cases, except for Athens' brief imperial episodes and the extremely unusual Spartan conquest of Messenia, the Greek polis was not mobilizing or directing resources in support and extension of ruling institutions. Armies were structured so that equipping was the responsibility of the individual, and navies, even in Athens, were supported to a great extent by private funds. The only time a military institution was used for social control was in the cases of tyrannies, which, by their very definition, were outside the accepted customs of the polis. A great percentage of what we would consider public expenditure was under the aegis of private financing. Choregic liturgies paid for dramatic presentations, gymnastic for the development and running of the gymnasium, hestiac for public banquets, architheoric for sacred embassies, and arrephoric for community processions. In essence, because the territorially limited polis could not control large-scale trade, it was not able to pay for institutions that would have tied in directly to rulership. A case in point comes from when Athens gained its empire; it began to use extraterritorial taxation to finance its navy and other institutions. The empire was new and very much an institution with which Athens had little experience. This can be seen in the barely nascent understanding of the assembly as to the potentials of such a larger political organization. The assembly retained its myopic view of what taxation could do to create a "rulership-directed" integration and leveled a tax on shipping in the empire. But the tax was not born from considerations of growing any ruling institutions, because it was placed on Athenians as well as other peoples in the empire.

The condition of the Greek polis, limited in its ability to manipulate an economic base for its own institutional growth, has even led Moshe Berent (2000) quite rightly to label the ancient polis as "stateless." Although I try to avoid the use of many labels in viewing past cultures, his charge that the ancient polis does not fit state types well is very instructive of the issues embedded in the use of labels that do more to mask unique cultural features as they attempt to fit a

past society into their conceptual framework. Unfortunately, debate over this issue has been limited to assembling trait lists that would identify ancient poleis as archaic states (see Hansen 2002; van der Vliet 2005; Berent 2006). Such debate does little to inform us further on the nature of the internal structure of the community and its dynamics. The economics of the polis were such that it falls outside our common state definitions. In a parallel study several years ago (Small 1995), I pointed out the marked difference between islands in the Pacific that did not have important economic control beyond their shores and those that did. One example was the Trobriand Islands involved in the famous Kula ring, an institution within which men would travel from island to island creating important social and economic connections. The communities on the islands themselves could not control this network and suffered, not only from an inability to employ the economic vigor of this network to build any ruling institutions, but also from an inability to shield themselves against the maneuvering of these traders as they sought to gain social capital from their network connections. In direct contrast to the Kula situation, the Yapese were able to spread out and control the networking between islands, which supplied them with the basis for developing ruling institutions.

In addition to the effect of an extraterritorial economy on the polis, political connections between families in different polities could and often did lead different factions within one polity to unite with those in another to foster internal division and often civil war within the polis. A clear case is the example of Thebes in 382 BCE, when different elite families in the city were allying themselves with either Athenian or Spartan families. Some Theban elites were even harboring political exiles from Athens.

Summary of the Ancient Greek Context

For the small polity in Greece between the collapse of the Bronze Age palaces and the advent of Macedonian power, we can point to a number of salient characteristics. The polities themselves grew up in a preexisting intercommunity network. Except for brief instances, such as the Athenian empire, they were seldom able to reach out economically, politically, or militarily to control activity in this network. The results were detrimental to the strength of the polis: it had a very underdeveloped political economy, which did not fully allow it to create internal ruling hierarchies that were stable, and it was subject to the play of intranetwork factions that would engender civil strife. Therefore, we should

be able to use the Greek example, because its rich database allows a somewhat fine-grained analysis, to suggest the applicability of some concepts inherent in clusters of small polities to evolution in similar but less well-understood ancient cultures.

The Classic Maya

In the second half of this chapter, I am going to compare the Classical Greeks with the Classic and Preclassic Maya. I am not the first person who has suggested that there might be some benefit in cross-cultural analysis involving the Maya and the ancient Greeks. Tartaron (2008; cf. Parkinson and Galaty 2007) suggested that important parallels between the cultures of the Classic Maya and those of the Late Bronze Age on the Greek mainland would facilitate useful comparative analysis. I am pleased that Tartaron is making such an argument, but I think that a better parallel is between the Classical poleis and the Classic Maya. Tartaron's points of similarity—the history of research, hierarchical organization, dominant political class, use of writing, active economies with exchange of prestige goods, and elite using rituals, feasting, and warfare as means to power—could be points of similarity between many cultures. We also do not know enough about the range of actors within the Late Bronze Age polities to make a useful comparison to the Classic Maya. I think it would be a more useful comparison if a linking characteristic between the Maya and the Late Bronze Age polities were the concept of a dualistic economy (see Scarborough and Valdez 2009), which has been elaborated for the Classic Maya and carefully delineated for the Bronze Age (see Halstead 1993, 2011; Shelmerdine 2011). However, the Classic and Preclassic period Maya share many of the same organizational features with the Greeks of the Classical period. Maya polities were territorially small. They evolved in an active interpolity economic and political network. The Preclassic and Classic period Maya (about which there is a good overview in Demarest 2004) had a regional system very similar to the Greeks and provide an excellent opportunity for applying insights gained from the study of this system.

Located in the Mesoamerican countries of Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras (fig. 3.1), the Maya peoples have had a tremendously long history, which reaches back to at least 9000 BCE, when lithic tools and mammoth bones were somehow deposited in the Lotan Caves in the Yucatan. The Mayan culture is temporally divided into the following phases (see also Demarest 2004, 14–17):

Fig. 3.1. Principal Mayan sites. (Adapted from http://www.latinamericanstudies.org.)

Archaic, 6000–2000 BCE: Hunters and gatherers were moving from a nomadic lifestyle to one of settled agriculture.

Early Preclassic, 2000–1000 BCE: People began using pottery, working swidden agriculture and perhaps began the cultural institution of shamanism.

Middle Preclassic, 1000–400 BCE: This period is the source of our first examples of monumental architecture concomitant with social, political, and religious institutions. The Maya were interacting with the Olmec culture of eastern tropical Mexico and, during this period, first began writing with glyphs (see Coe 2012).

Late Preclassic, 400 BCE–100 CE: This was a period of intense development, with the construction of large centers, such as Nakbe or El Mirador, with its colossal El Tigre temple (see Demarest 2004, fig. 4.20). During this time, the Maya were further codifying their political institutions, beginning a calendric system known as the Long Count, which was correlated with rulership. This was also a period of further refinement of hieroglyphic writing.

Terminal Preclassic/ Protoclassic, 100–250 CE: This period saw further diversification of Maya hieroglyphic writing, with monumental architecture adopting standard forms. The Maya population along the Pacific Coast began to decline, with a contemporary flourishing in Maya lowland centers.

Early Classic, 250–600 CE: Trade between Maya polities reached its height. There was a further codification of monumental architectural forms, which mirrored institutional refinement.

Late Classic, 600–900 CE: This period marks the height of Mayan artistic achievements. Toward 900 CE, there was a population decline in southern regions and a rise of large-scale warfare.

The cultural situation of the Maya compares with that of the Classical Greeks to a great extent and in important ways. Like the Classical Greeks, the Classic Maya evolved out of an active interpolity network (see Reese-Taylor and Walker 2002).

There is mounting evidence that the Late Preclassic period witnessed the disintegration of large regional Maya polities like El Mirador and their transformation into a landscape of smaller polities with smaller controlling territories. One of the reasons for this change was increasing instability that arose from competition over long-distance trade routes after El Mirador's collapse. This competition was between elites who were trading in commodities such as jade, shell, obsidian, and pyrite. Kinship was most likely fluid at the moment and negotiated between elite lineages. Tokens of these connections were most likely high-value pottery such as Ixcanrio Orange Polychrome (see Reese-Taylor and Walker 2002, fig. 4.9), which is found principally in burials and caches and was probably associated with the moon goddess Ix Chel. Such pottery was most likely exchanged between various elites from different polities as they gathered for feasting events. In looking at the presence of this pottery in a frame of social dynamics, it was probably used by powerful lineages and nascent dynasties who were constructing powerful relationships through ceramic production and exchange. Reese-Taylor and Walker (2002) contend that a later pottery, Dos Arroyos Polychrome, was associated with the rise of ruling elites in Tikal, who were developing alliances between elites from various polities as they were cementing their power at Tikal.

As Mayan polities moved into the Classic period, especially toward the Late Classic period, evidence for this exchange becomes even more pronounced, with the appearance of high-quality Late Classic pictorial polychrome. Often decorated with depictions of rulers, affairs of feasting, or elegant designs, these pots were presented to visitors at feasts, as tokens of political and economic ties

between lineages from different polities. They were taken back to home polities by invited elites and must have held a high importance in the profiles of different lineages, because there are several identified nonnative elite pots in foreign contexts (see Coggins 1975; Reents-Budet 1994, 164–233; Reents-Budet et al. 2000; see also Halperin and Foias 2010).

So Maya polities of the Classic period must have been nodes on a larger interactive network such as we have seen for the Greeks. Important connections were between elites from various polities. The connections were created by participation in feasting, and the pots themselves were powerful tokens of those connections. These connections were not limited to the ruling elites but were part of the generalized elite network. Mayan polities were assembled of multiple elite lineages. Not all could be rulers, but many were negotiating for increased power, possibly even rulership, and these interpolital connections must have played an important part. In this regard, we should see identified subelite compounds such as Las Sepulturas at Copan (see Webster et al. 1989; Sheely 1991) as interpolital feasting venues that could create competition with the ruling elite for local power.

This ruler-subelite relationship of partial independence is well documented (see Golden and Scherer 2013). A dramatic example of compounds with semi-autonomous elite residences comes from the Lower Motagua Valley in Guatemala (see Schortman and Ashmore 2012). In this valley, several settlements were apparently occupied by different elite families, each of whom had an apparently different interpolital network within which it would operate. Factional distinctions can be seen at centers such as Las Quebradas, where different elite compounds had distinctly different symbols of authority. That the elites in these compounds were cooperating in larger factions through intercommunity networks is signaled by the fact that people within this valley system apparently did not succumb to allying with either Copan or Quirigua after the apparent political instability launched by the beheading of Copan's ruler Waxaklahun-Ub' ah-K'awil by the ruler K' ak' Tiliw' in 738 CE, after the Copan ruler raided Quirigua. This manner of networking created a great danger of internal instability within the Mayan polity. As Cioffi-Revilla and Landman (1999) have demonstrated, most of the Mayan polities were highly unstable, and only a few of the older polities (e.g., Tikal or Copan, who had perhaps cemented internal hierarchy early on) were able to enjoy any measure of internal stability. Polities without such a historical pedigree (e.g., Bonampak or Uxmal) were not able to withstand the force of networking outside the polity.

As successfully argued by multiple Mayan scholars (see Rice 2008; Stuart 2005), the basis of Mayan royal rule does not lie on an accepted concept of po-

litical economy, where a ruler would use his economic power, be it the owner-
ship of large tracts of land or slaves, to establish power in other contexts within
a Mayan polity. Rather, the power of the lord, or *ajau*, lay in his role in the larger
religious context of the polity. In an important way, he created power over oth-
ers when he let blood, burned incense, and danced. In each action, he was cre-
ating divinity and connections to powerful deities who would ensure the good
fortune of his kingdom, whether in agricultural abundance or military victory.
These observations have led some scholars, such as Demarest (1984; 1992;
1997; 2004, 215–17) to underline the unstable internal structure of the Mayan
polities and to use models, such as galactic polities, coined by Tambiah (1976,
1977) to describe polities in Southeast Asia with rulership based primarily on
ideology and a great degree of internal instability.

Summary of the Classic Maya

The archaeological record for the Classic Maya outlines a culture of small poli-
ties that evolved in a preexisting active interpolital network. Agents in this in-
terpolital network were the Maya elite. Evidence shows that nonroyal elites were
active in this network. These polities could not control this network, which left
them with little on which to build a robust political economy. Rulership within
the Mayan polity was largely based on the use of ideology in strategies to gain
and maintain power, rather than control of polity-wide economics.

Benefits from Employing the Greek Model

The material evidence for ancient Greece is much richer than for the Maya,
which prompts us to ask if the richer observations gained from our study of
the ancient Greeks can aid us in work with the Maya. The answer is an obvious
yes, in that those observations help us place issues stemming from the Maya
into richer analytical frames. One of the most salient features of our analysis of
the small Greek polities was the internally underdeveloped political economy,
which did not provide a good base for the development of rulership oversight
of the economy and even impeded a conquest state like Athens from effectively
integrating its empire. There are three ways in which we might make use of this
observation.

The first application is in examining possible cases of increased bureaucratic
oversight within a single polity. Chase and Chase (1996, 1998, 2004) have re-

peatedly made the argument that Caracol internally evolved a large bureaucracy in the Late Classic period. They point to the archaeological record's evidence for architectural connections of market areas within the urban zone of the polity. Chase and Chase would see these features as indicating that some sort of bureaucracy was controlling the distribution of goods in the polity. The application of observations gained from the study of the control of economics in ancient Greek polities can be of some assistance here. With knowledge that small polities could not often control economies outside their own territory, the exact importance of the connection of these internal market squares can be looked at with greater acuity. It is telling that Mayan archaeologists often have problems with the overused applications of "ideal type" models (house societies, lineage-based societies, etc.). These models do not give them much to work with in understanding internal economic oversight, and I argue that some actual cross-cultural analysis between Caracol and polities in Classical Greece would prove to be of greater utility.

The second application for our observation of Greek polities relates to the ability of small polities to integrate conquered lands under some sort of economic control, after periods of conquest. The last twenty years of research into the ancient Maya has seen an increasing awareness of political alliances and sometimes outright conquest of different polities by conquest polities in the later part of the Classic period. At least by the Late Classic period, there was notable inequality between many Mayan polities, with several polities in relationships of overlordship and subservience (first noted in Marcus 1976). Hieroglyphic references to war from this period tell us that there were at least four types of aggression and conquest between different polities (see Chase and Chase 1998). There was the *ch' ak*, or ax event, where a losing ruler was decapitated. There was *hubi*, or destruction, probably referring to that of a community. Maya also described a *chuc' ak*, or capture of an individual, and a "star war," which apparently referred to the major conquest and destruction of another polity.

The Maya historical landscape is populated with several different instances of recorded overlord-subservient relations: Yaxchilan over Machaquila in 664 and 729 CE, Piedras Negras over Pomona in 793 CE, Caracol over Ucanal in 800 CE, Caracol over Naranjo in 631 CE, and Caracol over Tikal in 562 CE. In general, it seems that the unequal relationship between these polities was mainly along a political plane. The relationships between these polities were extremely unstable and in a state of constant change.

The use of observations gained from our work with the Greek evidence

could be of special interest in these cases. Did Maya polities' lack of control over extrapolity trade, with the consequent underdeveloped political economy, create a situation whereby conquest did not lead to economic incorporation? The changing nature of these relationships would certainly suggest so. Important research could be directed to isolating evidence for an evolving rulership control of production and distribution within these warring states, to see whether or not the lack of incorporation could be blamed on an underdeveloped political economy, such as we saw with Athens and its empire.

The issue of economics and political economies suggests a third fruitful research focus. What gave the Postclassic Maya, in polities such as Chichen Itza and Mayapan, the apparent ability to incorporate territory economically? Comparisons to the Greek examples, which have a better understanding of small polities' political economies, could put the issue into fruitful focus. What was the major internal difference between these Postclassic communities and their Classic predecessors when it came to the form of their political economies? Did the Postclassic Maya begin from an underdeveloped political economy, much like their earlier counterparts, and if so, when and through what agency did the economy change?

Final Thoughts

Classical Greek archaeology is finally coming of age. Its rich material database has allowed me (and hopefully will allow others after me) to use concepts generated by its study in the context of other world archaeological cultures. I have here applied observations gained from my work on the structure and dynamics of small polities in Classical Greece to framing important questions for another archaeological culture composed of small polities, the ancient Maya. There is so much more that we can begin doing. The Greek material offers excellent opportunities to focus on other characteristics in cross-cultural investigations. To take just one case, I see questions of the structure, position, and power of assemblies in small polities as critical to our understanding of past human societies. Public assemblies are found in numerous small polities in the past, but these communities are not well understood. From the other side of Renfrew's bridge, Richard Blanton (1998; Blanton and Fargher 2008) has begun to analyze such communities, but we still lack the observations and framing that close work in classical archaeology can supply. It is time for us to enrich the study. Let us move from a stage of "becoming-of-age" to one of robust adulthood.

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PART 2

❧

Artifacts

CHAPTER 4

❧

The Material Entanglements of Writing Things Down

James Whitley

Much has been claimed about the (beneficial) cognitive and cultural effects of the introduction of the alphabet—maintained (in the past) to be the mother of rational thought. Questions about the origins and effects of the introduction of alphabetic writing in the Archaic Mediterranean (ca. 800–480 BCE) are clearly important but have hitherto been looked at largely from a literary perspective, where "orality" is seen as yielding to literacy. Interest has focused on the relationship of alphabetic writing to the composition of the Homeric poems and on the gradual penetration of a "literate culture" into all spheres of life. In the material dimension to these debates, the number and variety of inscriptions have been looked at as an index of degrees of literacy.

It is true that different regions of Greece had markedly different "epigraphic habits" in both Archaic and Classical times, and these differences have partly been explained in terms of degrees of literacy: areas that possess greater numbers and a greater variety of inscriptions have generally been thought to have had more literate populations. This chapter argues that this relationship cannot be seen, however, as a simple one of cause and effect, with different kinds of literacy causing different kinds of epigraphic habits. Rather, this relationship is indirect and best accounted for by invoking the related theoretical concepts of agency and material entanglements. A distinction can be made between "entangled" and "disentangled" inscriptions. In Archaic Attica, for example, inscriptions are highly entangled with images (on painted pots, tombstones, and votives) and with institutions (the sanctuary and the symposium). Attica is also full of *oggetti parlanti*, objects that speak to us in the first person. In Crete, by contrast, inscriptions appear "disentangled," and writing was used largely (if not exclusively) for the purpose of writing down laws. If we want to understand the origins of writing, we have to understand the agency of inscriptions, which is not limited to what they say. Understanding material entanglements of this

kind will help us write a proper "archaeological history" of the Archaic Mediterranean, putting "literary" agendas on the backseat.

Over the past thirty years or so (and especially since the publication of Harris' *Ancient Literacy*), the question of literacy has gained a new centrality in classical studies.[1] The number of publications on the subject has become unmanageably vast. Much scholarship—following Harris—has been preoccupied with determining how many people in the ancient world could have been literate at any particular time or place. Harris' work overlapped with (and revived) an older issue, the long-term intellectual, cultural, and cognitive effects of the widespread use of alphabetic scripts. This issue was first raised explicitly by Goody, Watt, and Havelock, scholars interested primarily in the consequences, not the causes, of alphabetic literacy.[2] It was taken for granted, both then and now, that the alphabet, being the most economical form of writing, was bound to prevail in the end over other Mediterranean and Near Eastern scripts.

For all these scholars, an opposition between orality and literacy—the idea that as people and societies make more use of alphabetic scripts, their culture becomes somehow less "oral"—was crucial. It took some time for this neat opposition between orality and literacy to be questioned.[3] This breakdown of an old orthodoxy raises further questions. If orality does not straightforwardly yield to literacy, what is the relationship between literacy and epigraphic habits? Are societies that make greater use of inscriptions more literate than those that do not? How do "orality" and "literacy" interact, especially where we have numerous inscriptions on vases whose imagery (as has been claimed for, among other things, the François vase) is interpreted as being derived from a transitory, oral performance of a particular poem?[4]

In this chapter, I adopt a firmly archaeological approach to these questions. Whether or not we regard literacy as an alternative (rather than as being complementary) to orality, alphabetic literacy in the Archaic Mediterranean was, first and foremost, a material practice, involving the tasks of painting, scratching, or carving on a particular material (whether parchment, papyrus, clay, wax, bronze, or stone). Such practices are intimately connected to other material practices that the archaeologist studies, such as sculpting and painting vases. Concerned not so much with the long-term consequences as with the causes of alphabetic literacy, I here concentrate on the Archaic period (ca. 800–

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1. Harris 1989.
2. Goody and Watt 1968; cf. Goody 1987; Havelock 1963, 1982.
3. R. Thomas 1992, 74–93.
4. Stewart 1983; Wachter 1991; Giuliani 2003.

480 BCE) in the Greek-speaking portions of the Mediterranean.[5] The reasons for the alphabet's adoption, I argue, are not what they seem. The singular virtue of the alphabet—its economy of signs as compared to earlier syllabic scripts[6]—was first directed not to transcribing human speech but, rather, to allowing an object to "speak for itself."

Here we enter the realm of anthropological theory, which has changed a lot since the time of Goody and Watt.[7] In particular, there is now a whole raft of theories concerning the relationships between humans and things (artifacts) and relevant to my argument: Alfred Gell's notion of agency[8] and the extended or distributed person; the related concepts of the "dividual" and personhood, devised first for Melanesia and applied to prehistory but also applicable to Homer and the Homeric person;[9] the notion of an entangled object; and Ian Hodder's idea of material entanglements.[10] Briefly, Hodder's view is that the particular configuration of human-thing entanglements manifested in certain patterns that the archaeologist can discern in material culture defines a particular period or civilization in human history. I argue here that alphabetic scripts were adopted because the alphabet was the most economical means of enabling persons to extend these entanglements, to extend their personhood and thus change their relationship with gods and men through things. The entanglement of writing with other aspects of material culture—*not* the gradual separation of "literacy" from "orality"—is key to fostering habits that will, in turn and through a longer period of time, encourage or enable rational thought. Where these entanglements went deep—where writing was most embedded in day-to-day living, these habits developed further and fostered conditions that favored widespread literacy. Where writing was disentangled—as in Archaic Crete—these habits did not develop quite so much.

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5. Wilson 2009.

6. See Havelock 1982, 77–82. Of course, each local "epichoric" script in the Archaic period used a slightly different number of signs (between twenty-six and twenty-eight; see Jeffery 1990, 21–42), and only in the fourth century BCE did one version of the "Greek alphabet" become standard.

7. An irony, which anthropologists might note, is that there has been no scholar more vigorous in overturning the whiggish orthodoxy of Goody and Watt than Jack Goody (both in his own work and through the work he has inspired in other scholars, in anthropology, history, and elsewhere).

8. Gell 1998. Gell's approach has now been explored thoroughly within classical studies by both art historians (see Osborne and Tanner 2007b, especially the introduction) and classical archaeologists (see, e.g., Whitley 2012). This chapter refers to agency in Gell's sense (not in Bourdieu's or anyone else's).

9. For the concept in the anthropology of Melanesia, see Strathern 1988; for its applicability in European prehistory, Fowler 2004. Bruno Snell's (1953, 1975) concept of the Homeric self has remarkable similarities to the Melanesian "dividual"; see Whitley 2013, 395–99.

10. For the "entangled object," see N. Thomas 1991; for "material entanglements" or "human-thing entanglements," Hodder 2011.

To make this argument, I first have to deal with theories of literacy that depend on the "linguistic turn," on the residual post-structuralist habit of "reading" images, or treating objects as part of some semiotic code. This habit of "reading" things (images, iconography) is deeply embedded in classical studies. Where everything is to be "read," structuralism and its theoretical successors continue to flourish. Structuralist concepts derived ultimately from Saussure are not, however, compatible with more recent general theories of material culture, notably those that emphasize agency. Inscriptions are part of material culture. As things before they were words, inscriptions underlined and reinforced the agency of objects. Such agency can be seen clearly in my first concrete example.

The Good Cup

An Attic "Little Master" cup from Ialysos, assigned to the potter Eucheiros (son of Ergotimos) on the basis of its signature (ΕΥΧΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝΕΜΕ, "Euch[ei]ros made me"), bears a further inscription on its other side: ΚΑΛΟΝ ΕΙΜΙ ΠΟΤ[Ε]ΡΙΟΝ (I'm a good cup).[11] There are other examples of this form of words, made in Athens and elsewhere.[12] Such objects speak to us directly. Though this band cup is not included in Burzachechi's original 1962 catalog of these objects, such *oggetti parlanti* (speaking objects) have been known for some time. This peculiarity of many early Greek inscriptions—where the object speaks, in the first person, as if it were animate—has been known since the nineteenth century. But it has occasioned very little comment. Like the Homeric habit of heroes talking about not themselves but their parts (e.g., τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη; καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ᾽ ἔτλης, "Bear up [my] heart; you have once suffered worse [more doglike] things," Homer, *Odyssey* 20.18),[13] the animated character of many early inscribed objects has been treated simply as a *façon de parler*, nothing more than a convention, with little bearing on our understanding of such objects. We profess to know what the inscriptions mean and that the objects are not really meant to speak in the first person. If they were—that is, if we are to read these inscriptions literally, as the words of animated objects—then they and the early Greeks might appear a little primitive, a little less than fully rational. When Burzachechi first suggested that this habit, when seen in

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11. Rhodes 10527; Beazley 1956, 162 no. 1 (Eucheiros); Beazley 1932, 178.
12. Similar forms of words are found on side B of an Attic cup "near Kleitias" from Naukratis (London BM B 601.10 and 601.7; Beazley 1956, 79), inscribed [ΚΑΛΟΝ ΕΙΜ]ΙΠΟΤΕΡΙ[ΟΝ, and on a Corinthian cup (Louvre F66 = COR 121 in Wachter 2001, 110) inscribed ΚΑΛΟ ΕΜΙ ΤΟ ΠΟΤΕΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΥ.
13. Snell 1953, 1975.

inscriptions on statues in Samos, Athens, Miletos, and Rhodes, could be accounted for not by oriental influence but "da un motive psicologico tipico della civiltà primitive: si ritiene nelle statue alberghi lo spirit dell'entita raffigurata, e perciò si dà ad esse la parola,"[14] such a suggestion was, for the most part, greeted with indifference, as a rather embarrassing legacy of Frazerian anthropology that positivist scholarship had yet to expunge.[15]

This is not, I think, because the Greeks could never have been primitive. Rather, in the grand narrative of Archaic and Classical Greek history, the alphabet—alphabetic literacy—has been the highway for the Greeks to become less primitive, to acquire habits of democracy and rational thought. Alphabetic literacy led the Greeks away from the oriental and the primitive and toward the high rationality of Periclean democracy and Platonic philosophy. Literacy was a precondition for rationality, and in such a scenario, people (who might have minds or souls), not objects (inanimate by definition), were allowed to speak. This particular "rationalist" prejudice survived even the post-structuralist era. For Jesper Svenbro, the object does not really speak of its own volition; the reader evokes the "spirit" of the inscription by reading it out loud. While Svenbro argues (correctly) that the statue of Phrasikleia and its accompanying inscription work together,[16] that the one continually evokes the other, and that they form an ensemble that fully represents Phrasikleia, the full implications of the notion of *oggetti parlanti* are not brought out. Though Phrasikleia remains the *kore* statue who will always remain a *kore* (maiden, unmarried woman), she is rendered mute again when the passerby departs. "I write, therefore I efface myself," says Svenbro.[17]

Svenbro is committed, no less than any Anglo-Saxon scholar, to the idea that Archaic Greece witnessed a progressive separation of literacy from orality, which, in turn, brought about a gradual separation of thought from speech. Alphabetic literacy is thus rendered central to the many other things that *rose* in Archaic Greece—democracy, rationality, and the individual.[18] I think this view is wrong. It is not the disentanglement of literacy from orality that leads to rationality, and it is not the disentanglement of writing from other forms of material practice or from particular institutions (sanctuaries, the symposium) that encourages widespread literacy. These institutions and practices (e.g., giving to the gods and making sure that the gift has a suitable inscription) are not

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14. Burzachechi 1962, 49.
15. His proposals were never forgotten, though: see, variously, Lowenstam 1997; Carraro 2007.
16. Svenbro 1993, 8–25.
17. Svenbro 1993, 26–43.
18. e.g., Snodgrass 1980, 160–200.

necessarily "rational." The reasons why the Greeks first adopted the alphabet are, in my view, not rational at all.

One scholar has, however, seemingly provided a number of compelling reasons for both why the Greeks might have adopted the alphabet and when they did it. His theory deals with the relationship between the West Semitic consonantal syllabary and an early Greek alphabet that includes vowels. It is time to look at the arguments for "Homer's alphabet."

Homer's Alphabet?

Theodore Wade-Gery's theory of the Homeric origins of alphabetic writing has been given new life in the past twenty years or so by Barry Powell,[19] who argues that the major period of composition of the Homeric poems required the invention of the alphabet. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* whose composition must have taken place in the years around 700 BCE, are poems whose length stretches the limits of oral composition and whose quality required that they be made permanent. This demanded literacy, specifically a form of alphabetic literacy that took over symbols from the Phoenician "consonantal syllabary" and used some of the redundant symbols for vowels. In this way, the alphabet proper was developed, as symbols that could accurately reproduce and represent the sounds of speech in general and hexametric poetry in particular. It was a system of writing that, for the first time, brought speech and symbol into a more or less direct relationship.

As a theory, Powell's argument has a lot going for it: it fits in with the general move within Greek culture from "orality" to "literacy," and it is consistent with the available epigraphic evidence, which points to a Euboean origin for the alphabet. The case for a Euboean origin has, if anything, been strengthened by finds from both Lefkandi[20] and Eretria.[21] The letter forms on these Euboean inscriptions are very similar to examples both from Pithekoussai[22] and from Methone in Macedonia (Pieria). The case for one version of the alphabet being developed in and around Euboea and spreading out to all corners of the Mediterranean seems, on this basis, quite strong. It is also an enormous help to Powell that the two longest early inscriptions we know of—the Dipylon oino-

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19. Wade-Gery 1952, 9–14; Powell 1989, 1991, 2002.
20. Jeffery 1980; 1990, 433 no. 24A.
21. Johnston and Andreiomenou 1989; Kenzelmann Pfyffer et al. 2005. These finds are mainly concentrated around the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros.
22. Buchner and Ridgway 1993, nos. 2/1, 168-1, 168-9 (Nestor's cup); Buchner 1971, 67 fig. 8. See Jeffery 1990, 453–54.
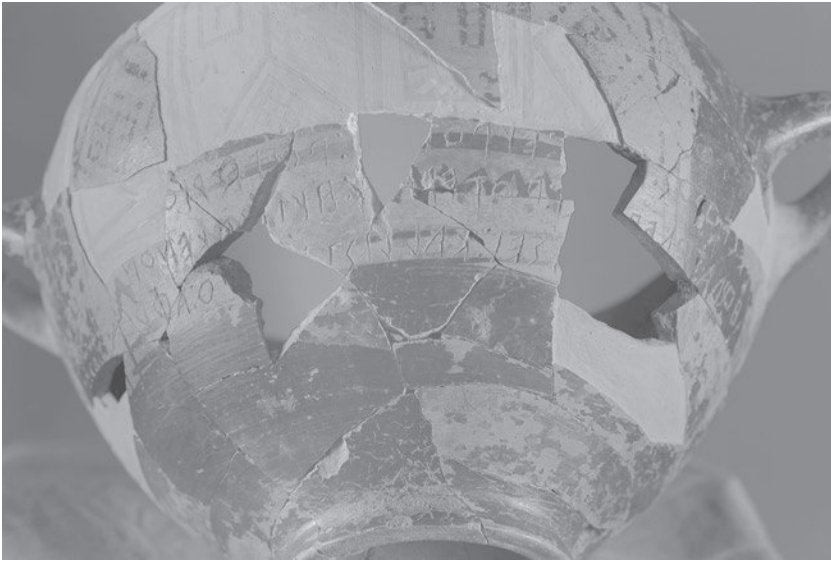
Fig. 4.1. "Nestor's Cup": Rhodian cup of the late eighth century BCE found at Pithek-oussai, Ischia, with inscription (D-DAI-ROM 54.1050). (Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.)

choe from Athens[23] and "Nestor's cup" from Pithekoussai—appear to have been written largely or partly in hexameters and both date to around 700 BCE.

Powell is happy to conclude that the epigraphic evidence is "consonant with Wade-Gery's thesis that the Greek alphabet was *designed specifically* [emphasis mine] in order to record hexametric poetry."[24] It certainly seems so when we look at "Nestor's cup" (fig. 4.1).[25] Its inscription, a graffito on a Rhodian cup found in a child's grave at Pithekoussai, seems to show an awareness of Homeric verse. Incised retrograde in three lines in Euboean script, it reads,

Νεστορος ε[ιμ]ι ευποτ[ον] ποτεριο[ν
*h*ος δ᾽α<ν> τοδε π[ιε]σι ποτερι[ο
Αυτικα κενον hιμερος αιρεσει καλλιστε[φα]νο Αφροδιτες

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23. For this, see Powell 1988; 1991, 158–63; Jeffery 1990, 76 no. 1.

24. Powell 1989, 350.

25. For the full context of this inscription (nos. 168–69), see Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 219–20. This has been much discussed; see Powell 1991, 163–66 (see also Jeffery 1990, 239 no. 1). Fara-one's (1996) entirely philological approach, one that entirely ignores archaeological context and treats the inscription as a "text," exemplifies everything that is wrong with the "semiotic prejudice" in classical studies.

[I am the cup of Nestor, good to drink from
Whoever drinks from this cup, straightaway
May desire for fair-crowned Aphrodite seize him]
    (trans. Powell)

In the *Iliad* (11.632–37), Nestor's cup is an elaborate vessel, made of gold, lavishly decorated with doves, and fit for a king. Homer's description is so completely unlike the utterly banal Rhodian Geometric *kotyle* on which these three lines were inscribed that the *ensemble* (the cup and the inscription together) must be seen as quite a sophisticated joke. The context of the inscription also links writing to the symposium.[26] Further finds of similar inscribed vessels, especially from Eretria but also at Al Mina, link this vessel to the Euboean trading network, a people whose Ionic dialect would not be very much different from the language of the Homeric poems. It seems to confirm Powell's inference that "Greek literacy first flourished in an *aristocratic* world that was socially symposiastic, temperamentally agonistic and morally good humored."[27] His only word here that I would quarrel with is *aristocratic*.[28]

Powell's thesis, though superficially attractive, has a number of problems, especially when applied to "Nestor's cup." First, the archaeological evidence for early inscriptions is much less neat than Powell presents it. The Dipylon oinochoe and "Nestor's cup" are not the earliest Greek alphabetic inscriptions. That distinction is shared between the (possibly Greek) graffito from Osteria dell'Osa near Rome and a more clearly Greek inscription (a name?) on a Middle Geometric cup from Naxos.[29] Moreover, to talk of an alphabet being *"designed"* is to suggest that it was a single invention that then diffused from a single point, the result being a single alphabetic script. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence presents a much messier and more ambiguous picture, which has been (if anything) further complicated by both the recent finds from Methoni in Macedonia[30] and a reappraisal of the evidence from Gordion.[31] If these finds in some way reinforce the case for an early "Euboean" alphabet being adopted around 800 BCE, they also further disassociate Homer from the early alphabet, as no scholar would date Homer as early as this.

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26. Murray 1994.
27. Powell 1989, 348.
28. For the whole issue of Archaic Greek "aristocracy," see Duplouy 2006.
29. On the inscription from Osteria dell'Osa, see Bietti Sestieri 1992, 185 and below note 34. On the Naxos inscription, see Powell 1991, 131; Jeffery 1990, 466. A. Johnston (in Jeffery 1990, 467) is much less convinced than Powell that this Naxian inscription is a name in the genitive.
30. Besios et al. 2012.
31. Brixhe 2004.

If we look at the picture closer to 700 BCE, when most scholars would still date "Homer," the picture looks messier still. Around 680 BCE, there were not one single Greek alphabet but several Greek scripts,[32] partly because there was no single Phoenician model: there was greater variety in the forms of West Semitic scripts than some scholars have allowed.[33] Moreover, the adaptation of signs from Phoenician to Greek was not a straightforward process but one where there was great ambiguity about which sibilants (sigma or san) and gutturals (kappa or qoppa) to use—one reason why different (if similar) Greek scripts emerged. Even if we allow that Powell might have been speaking not of Greek scripts in general but of the Euboean script in particular (from which all other Greek scripts were then derived), the evidence speaks against a single "invention" and in favor of a more complex and longer process of experiment and adaptation, beginning around 800 BCE.[34]

A second problem with Powell's thesis is that both the school of thought associated with Gregory Nagy and the work of Martin West have undermined the scholarly consensus that the Homeric poems must have reached their definitive (and written) form in the years around 700 BCE, which cannot be taken as an established fact.[35] No scholar would now want to argue for the definitive composition of the Homeric poems between 800 and 750 BCE, discussed above as the date the epigraphic evidence now suggests for the earliest adoption of the Greek alphabet. Third, as Anthony Snodgrass has shown, an awareness of the cycle of oral tales associated with the Trojan War may not be the same thing as an acquaintance with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as we understand them today.[36] Indeed, vase painters of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE seem to be showing us alternative, presumably oral versions of these tales. Finally and crucially, the early Greek alphabet—including its Euboean version—is very far from being the perfect instrument for recording the quantities of Homeric and

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32. Fully described in Jeffery 1990.

33. This is one reason why, despite Naveh's (1982, 1991) revival of the old "letterform argument," most scholars prefer to see this process of adaptation beginning no earlier than 800 BCE. For recent reviews of the early evidence, see Coldstream 2003, 295–302; Johnston 1983, 2003; Jeffery 1990, 1–42, 425–28.

34. This early date is suggested by the inscription from Osteria dell Osa, mentioned above, an apparently Greek inscription on a vessel found in a Latin Early Iron Age cemetery (see Bietti Sestieri 1992, 185; discussion in Johnston 2003, 263), datable to around 775 BCE. A reappraisal of the evidence from Gordion for early use of the Phrygian alphabet (see Brixhe 2004) now seems to date it to the early eighth century.

35. See, in particular, Nagy 1997; M. L. West 1999; Burgess 2009. Many scholars have simply stopped trying to "date Homer," turning their attentions to the reception of what (by then) must have become a fairly definitive version of the Homeric poems in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. See Graziosi 2002, 90–124.

36. Snodgrass 1998; for a slightly different view, see Giuliani 2003.

hexametric verse. Early Greek scripts had only five symbols for vowels, lacking the symbols for the long vowels eta (H) and omega (Ω), which did not appear before 650 BCE and did not become a regular part of East Greek Ionic scripts until the sixth century BCE.[37] You cannot accurately represent Homeric speech or the quantities of Homeric verse without these long vowels.

Ironically, if what was needed was a script that could accurately represent Greek speech and the quantities of Homeric verse, there was already one available in the years around 700 BCE, a script that would have been as well known to Euboean traders operating in the Levant as the Phoenician and that would have posed far smaller linguistic barriers. The Cypriot syllabary had developed from the Cypro-Minoan script during the early Iron Age.[38] Scholars often do not know what to make of it.[39] There is the problem of the lacuna in the evidence on Cyprus in the Cypro-Geometric period, between the obelos of Opheltas[40] and the two earliest inscriptions from Marion, datable to the seventh century BCE.[41] But no one seriously doubts that this lacuna is in the evidence: the "Cypro-Minoan" scripts from the Late Bronze Age and the earliest Iron Age Cypriot syllabaries are too similar to one another for the former not to be the ancestor of the latter. Now that we have the Opheltas inscription, the derivation of the Iron Age syllabary from its Bronze Age predecessor is clear, and its early use to write a form of Greek is confirmed.[42] Moreover, the Cypriot syllabary of Archaic/Classical times is a more advanced, phonetic script than its Bronze Age antecedents. Unlike Linear B (which retained a large number of ideograms and where the relationship between sound and syllable was not always clear), the

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37. The earliest examples of Ω and H (not used as an aspirate) are from Old Smyrna: Jeffery 1964, 42 no. 20, which has ΔΟΛΙΩΝΟΣΕΜΙΘΥΛΙΧΝΗ (I am the *kylix* [cup] of Dolion) inscribed from right to left on the disk foot of a Rhodian bird bowl (*skyphos*); and Jeffery 1964, 45 no. 1 (=Jeffery 1990, 473 no. 68a), which has ΙΣΤΡΟΚΛΕΗΣΜΕ[ΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ? (Istrokles [made] me) inscribed on the rim of a *dinos*. Both inscriptions are then associated with symposium shapes, and both address us in the first person.

38. See Masson 1983; discussion in Sherratt 2003, 2013; Olivier 2013; Egetmeyer 2013. Wade-Gery (1952, 13) briefly discussed this point and was dismissive of the Cypriot syllabary's ability to convey hexameters.

39. Woodard 1997 is a conspicuous exception to this.

40. The original context for this bronze obelos (object no. 16) is tomb 49 in the Palaepaphos-Skales cemetery (Karageorghis 1983, 59–76), datable to the Cypro-Geometric I period, which is broadly between 1050 and 950 BCE. The inscription seems to be in the genitive ("Of Opheltas") and is thus similar in some ways to early alphabetic Greek inscriptions (see Masson and Masson 1983; Sherratt 2003, 225–27; Duhoux 2013).

41. These inscriptions are nos. 158 and 157 in Masson's catalog (Masson 1983, 174–5, 38–42). There are other relevant inscriptions possibly from the eighth century, from Kyrenia (Masson 1983, 299 no. 252) and Kition (Masson 1983, 273–74 no. 256 and 416 no. 258), and one very doubtful earlier one (eleventh/tenth century) from Maroni (Masson 1983, 271–72 no. 254). See Olivier 2013, 19–24; Egetmeyer 2013.

42. See Masson 1983, 38–39. On the Opheltas inscription, see Sherratt 2003, 225–27; 2013; Olivier 2013, 16–19; Duhoux 2012.

Cypriot syllabary is rigorously phonetic.[43] Anna Morpugo Davies has argued that the resulting syllabary is the most perfect instrument ever devised for recording Greek speech.[44] Indeed, it was used exactly for that purpose between 700 and around 300 BCE, albeit in a dialect (Cypro-Arkadian) slightly removed from the "Ionic" of Homer. By one recent estimate, there are at least 1,378 such syllabic inscriptions, 1,206 from the island itself, most of them representing Greek rather than "Eteocypriot."[45]

The use of the Cypriot syllabary was, then, no bar to widespread literacy; graffiti in this script continued to be made by "craftsmen" after the Ptolemaic takeover of Cyprus and have been found as late as the first century BCE.[46] Powell would have to argue that grasping the sixty or so symbols of the Cypriot syllabary would prove an insuperable barrier to a mainland Greek living in the eighth century BCE—that the twenty-six or so letters of the early Greek alphabet were that much easier to learn and use.[47] If this were the case, why is it that we have so many more syllabic inscriptions from the island of Cyprus than we have alphabetic ones from the equally large island of Crete?

It may, of course, be objected that while the Cypriot syllabary is a perfectly good phonetic script that is fine for its particular dialect of Greek (Arkado-Cypriot), it is not as well suited as the early Euboean alphabet for the recording of verse in hexameters. This was certainly Wade-Gery's view and seems to be Powell's.[48] It is, however, possible to write hexameters in this script, as the Golgoi inscription shows,[49] and this is really no test of the script's fitness for the purpose of conveying Greek. As Woodard[50] puts it,

> To claim that the syllabic script of Cyprus was not "practical" for the recording of verse is little different from claiming that the present spelling system of English, phonetically obscure and highly conventionalized, is not a "practical vehicle" for recording rhyming couplets.

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43. See Powell 1991, 89–101; Woodard 1997, 15–18.

44. Morpugo Davies and Olivier 2012.

45. Bazemore 2002, 156. See also Masson 1983; Hirschfeld 1996 (the PASP database); Perna 2013, 158–60.

46. Iacovou 2013.

47. Masson (1983, 51–65; see esp. fig. 1) discusses the various local syllabic scripts used for writing Greek at Paphos, Idalion, and Akanthou, combining these into a theoretical grid of no more than fifty-five characters ("Eteocypriot" seemed to have required more signs).

48. Wade-Gery 1952, 13. Powell (1991, 89–101) is more generous. See also Woodard 1997, 11–12.

49. This is a fourth-century votive inscription (Masson 1983, no. 264; see Woodard 1997, 254–55).

50. Woodard 1997, 255. I agree with Woodard's general arguments to the effect that the Greek alphabet must have been devised by literate Greek speakers who were also competent scribes of the Cypriot syllabary. These were the necessary conditions for adapting the Phoenician script for Greek.

For all these reasons, I find Powell's arguments unconvincing. I think that the key to understanding the reasons why the alphabet was adopted lie in another, neglected and nonhexametric feature of the inscription on Nestor's cup: ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΣ Ε[ΙΜ]Ι ΕΥΠΟΤ[ΟΝ] ΠΟΤ[Ο]ΕΡΙΟΝ (I **am** the cup of Nestor, good to drink from). The cup speaks, and so it possesses agency. Writing is a device for *inscribing* agency, for transferring it from human to object and so entangling both within a new relationship, a new form of human-thing material entanglement. The cup invites you to partake of its content and to be seized by another outside agent, Aphrodite. Although this is a joke, it is one that involves agents other than the human and the divine.

Speaking Objects

Oggetti parlanti (speaking objects) are particularly common in the earliest period of Greek alphabetic literacy. The verb ειμι, "I am," is frequent on inscriptions of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE from Attica (Mount Hymettos)[51] and from key nodes in the "Euboean trading network."[52] A newly discovered lip of a Euboean *skyphos* from Methoni in Macedonia proclaims, "I am OEM's";[53] an eighth-century Rhodian cup states, "I am the cup [*kylix*] of Qoraks";[54] a slightly later cup from the Athenian Agora says, "I am the cup [*poterion*] of Tharios";[55] and an early seventh-century *lekythos* from Cumae (fig. 4.2) tells us, "I am the *lekythos* of Tataie; whoever steals me will be struck blind"[56]—a threat

51. For inscriptions from Mount Hymettos, see Langdon 1976, 11–41 nos. 4, 6, 29, 41, and possibly 95 and 122, all of seventh-century date.

52. These nodes include Eretria, Pithekoussai, and Etruscan sites such as Caere (Cerveteri). For Eretria, see Kenzelmann Pfyffer et al. 2005, nos. 1, 44, and E, all from the late eighth century. For Pithekoussai (in addition to Nestor's cup), there are the Late Geometric inscribed amphora "Sporadici 2/1" (Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 699–70 and fig. 241) and the earliest potter's signature on an LG krater (Buchner 1971, 67 fig. 8; see discussion in Osborne and Pappas 2007), **]ΙΝΟΣ Μ'ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ ([someone whose name ends in—] inos made me). For Caere, see inscriptions on imported Attic/Euboean SOS amphorae (Jeffery 1955, 67–69 nos. 6 and 11 (ΚΟΡΑΩΟΣ ΕΙΜ[1), which Jeffery thinks are Attic (Jeffery 1990, 77 nos. 10a–h).

53. Besios et al. 2012, 350–51 no. 7 (Μθ 2255). This is part of a cache of recently discovered inscribed sherds (at least twenty-five inscribed with Greek inscriptions) recovered from what appears to be a filled-in well at Methoni, in Pieria in Macedonia. This discovery has, of course, begun to be embroiled in a debate about the "Greekness" of present-day Greek Macedonia from an early date. Important for my argument is that both the letter forms and pottery appear to be Euboean (Richard Janko, personal communication).

54. Copenhagen 10151; see Jeffery 1990, 356 no. 1 and plate 67,1.

55. Agora Museum P 4663; Lang 1976, F3; Jeffery 1990, 76 no. 4 and plate 1,4. Other examples from the Agora include Lang 1976, F5 (late seventh century); F12, F13, and F18 (sixth century); and F32, F56, F63, and F65 (fifth century).

56. London BM 1885,0613.1 (once BM A 1054). See Jeffery 1990, 238 and 240 no. 1 (plate 47); Powell 1991, 166–67. The inscription reads (retrograde), ΤΑΤΑΙΕΣ ΕΜΙ ΛΕΘΥΘΟΣ hΟΣ Δ'ΑΝ ΜΕ ΚΛΕΦΣΕΙ ΘΥΦΛΟΣ ΕΣΤΑΙ'.
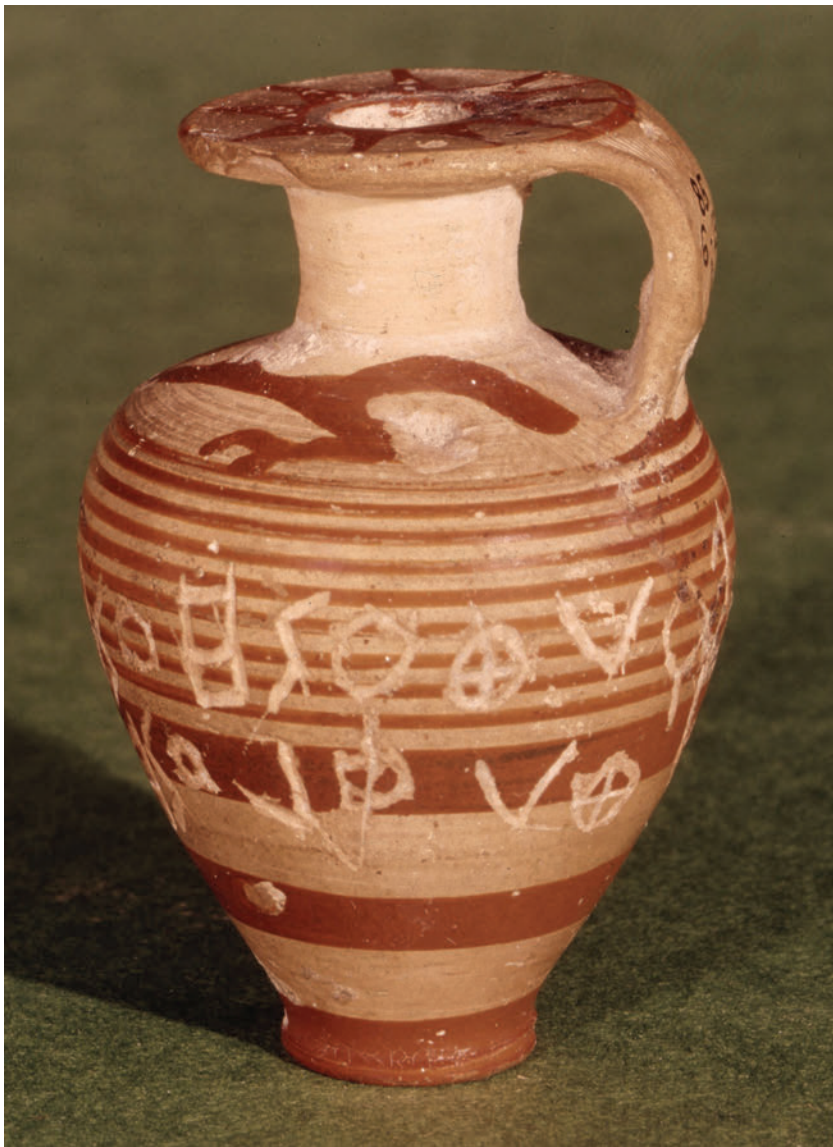
Fig. 4.2. Proto-Corinthian *lekythos* / pointed *aryballos* of the early seventh century BCE found at Cumae, Italy (BM GR 1885, 01613.1). (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

that implies that the *lekythos* itself can invoke divine agency. The significance of this formula needs to be underlined. If a pot—a humble *lekythos*—can invoke divine agency, it must also possess agency itself. The *lekythos* is thus, in a sense, animate. This is perfectly in accordance with Gell's 1998 thesis. For Gell, what matters about objects is not what they mean but what they do—how they "work" on (or through) someone looking, using, or touching them.

Can objects, in themselves, be animate? Certainly the idea of objects caught up in a web of "human-thing entanglements"[57] has proven very controversial. Objects cannot feel; feeling is something we may attribute to them, falsely and only when we are not being rational. For critics, what Gell proposes is therefore immediately and demonstrably false. One of the things we know about objects is that they are *inanimate*. But while this may be true in physics, it is not true for society. Gell argues that as far as most human societies are concerned, all objects are animate—either in themselves (having a kind of personality) or as extensions of human persons. While our head may be telling us that our car, computer, or cell phone is "just a thing," that is not actually how we treat cars, computers, or cell phones.[58] We habitually deal with these more personal objects as if they were animate—either having an inherent spirit or soul or being extensions ("prosthetic limbs") of the spirit or agency of a person (often ourselves). This is what Gell means when he talks of a car's "vehicular animism."[59] It would be an unusual driver who fails to think of his or her car as sometimes having a will of its own and who has never dwelt on the "capriciousness of things, and their propensity to break down, or misbehave, just when they are most needed."[60]

For the ancient Greeks, the agency of such objects was less of an embarrassment, which is why so many Greek objects quite literally "speak to us." Speaking objects do not always simply speak to us in the nominative case. The formulas "so-and-so made me" or "so-and-so set me up / dedicated me" are so common in early Greek inscriptions that we have ceased to notice them. Like the examples I gave above, many early inscriptions of this kind are often associated with the "Euboean trading network," such as the signature (*dipinto*) from a Late Geometric, Euboian-style krater from Pithekoussai.[61] Such signatures are not confined to "Euboeans," however, but swiftly become characteristic of the whole of "Central Greece," comprising, in Ian Morris' sense of that area,

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57. *Sensu* Hodder 2011.
58. Those making and selling these products seem perfectly well aware of the apparently animate character of cell phones. Mine (a Samsung) now calls itself a "lifetime companion."
59. Gell 1998, 18–19.
60. Jones and Boivin 2010, 334.
61. Buchner 1971, 67 fig. 8; see discussion in Osborne and Pappas 2007.

Euboea, Corinth, Attica, Boeotia, Lokris, Phokis, the Cyclades, and Ionia.[62] What is true for much of Central Greece is also true for many (although not all) of the early Greek settlements in the central and western Mediterranean—at least certainly for those early Euboean "colonies" of Pithekoussai and Cumae[63] and even for parts of the "Doric" Aegean such as Thera.[64] The Greek signature on the Aristonothos krater from the Etruscan city of Cerveteri (Caere)— "Aristonothos made me"—is as characteristic of "Central Greek" material practices as anything found in Athens.[65]

One of the other features that become characteristic of Central Greece from the eighth century onward is the rise in the number of votives—offerings made to the gods in solid, durable materials such as bronze or stone (marble). One of the first ways in which literacy was used was to inscribe this relationship.[66] The formula "so-and-so dedicated me" appears in some of the earliest dedicatory inscriptions (e.g., the Mantiklos dedication from Thebes)[67] and can be seen strikingly on the dedication of Nikandre from Delos, datable to around 650 BCE,[68] which reads,

Νικανδρη μ'ανεθεκεν [ε]κηβολοι ιοχεαιρηι , ϙορη Δεινο-
δικηο το Ναϙσιο εϙοχος αληον Δεινομενεος δε κασιγνετη
Φραϙσο δ' αλοχος

[Nikandre set me up to the goddess, the far shooter of arrows; excellent daughter of Deinodokos of Naxos, sister of Deinomenes, wife of Phraxos]
 (trans. Powell)

The writing inscribes a whole series of human/divine/thing relationships onto the object, which now becomes a "visible knot" that "ties together an invisible

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62. Morris 1998.

63. I realize that the term *colony* is contested. Both Osborne (1998b) and De Angelis (2009) have pointed out that it has many connotations that are, in many respects, misleading or unhelpful. But they have not as yet provided either historians or archaeologists with a convenient, alternative shorthand for "Greek settlements / political communities abroad." Many of the material practices we find in these "Western colonies" closely resemble those of Morris' "Central Greece." Central Greece does, however, exclude much of the Peloponnese, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and—most starkly—Crete, which have different material practices and distinct material entanglements.

64. Possessive inscriptions include that on an early sixth-century *skyphos* from grave 17 of the cemetery of Sellada on Thera: ΤΕΡΠΣΙΑ ΗΜΙ, "I am Terpsias' [cup]" (Dragendorff 1903, 33, grave 17, no. 20; Jeffery 1990, 323 no. 9, plate 61. 9).

65. Dougherty 2003.

66. Duplouy 2006, 185–215.

67. Jeffery 1990, 94 no. 1; Powell 1991, 167–69.

68. Jeffery 1990, 303 no. 2 and plate 55; Powell 1991, 169–71.

skein of relations, fanning out into social space and social time."[69] Writing allows these relationships to *become* visible (as they were not in Gell's original example, a Congo nail fetish). Inscribed votives of this kind become one of the key features of Central Greece, most apparent in the major sanctuaries to Hera (at Argos and on Samos) and to Athena. Inscribed marble votives that employ the formula "so-and-so dedicated me to Athena" are common on the Athenian Akropolis in the sixth century BCE and are often thought of as "aristocratic."[70] They are certainly characteristic of a highly agonistic, competitive society, but not necessarily of one where wealth, power, and political office were retained by a closed group of hereditary "aristocratic" clans. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest the opposite, as in the dedication of "Antenor's kore" (Acr. 681), sculpted by Antenor but dedicated by Nearchos the potter.[71]

Nearchos and many of the craftsmen of late seventh-century and sixth-century Attica (potters, painters, sculptors) were clearly highly literate, to judge from the number of "signatures" that we possess. From the time of the Netos painter in the late seventh century, Athenian painters (and potters) had begun, following a lead set by Corinthian vase painters, to add names (painted labels) to figured scenes. These added names are usually interpreted as helping "clarify" mythological scenes—that is, as resolving an inherent visual ambiguity that could not be accomplished by purely visual clues. When we look at many certainly figurative and possibly narrative scenes on Late Geometric pottery, we can identify the *type* of scene—a shipwreck, a departure scene, two Siamese twins in battle—that *may* refer to some kind of myth known from later sources,[72] but we cannot tell whether the shipwreck is Odysseus', the departure scene is that of Helen and Menelaus, or the apparent twins are the Aktorione-Molione pair we encounter in the *Iliad* (11.709–10). Writing helps to resolve this visual ambiguity. Yet it is not the only means of doing so; ambiguity can be resolved iconographically. We have no difficulty identifying some of the earliest (seventh-century) scenes of the "blinding of Polyphemos" (from Argos and Eleusis) that have no helpful inscriptions.[73] Strictly speaking, additional inscriptions are unnecessary.[74] The growing symbiosis between image and

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69. Gell 1998, 62.

70. For a critique of this idea in relation to Athens, see Keesling 2003, 63–93; generally, see Duplouy 2006.

71. Keesling 2003, 43–60.

72. Giuliani 2003, 39–75; Hurwit 2011; Powell 2002, 146–87.

73. Snodgrass 1998, 89–93; Giuliani 2003, 96–105.

74. So Immerwahr realized when he noted that the "purpose" of the *dipinti* on the François vase (discussed below) "is not so much to clarify the scenes, as to accompany them as an independent narrative" (Immerwahr 1990, 24).

Fig. 4.3. Attic black-figured *dinos* of the early sixth century BCE (BM GR 1971,1101.1), signed by Sophilos as potter and painter. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

inscription that develops from the mid-seventh century onward[75] is, then, a phenomenon that demands a more rigorous explanation. Writing is clearly *entangled here* both within narrative (and visual culture) and with other institutions characteristic of Central Greece.

The close relationship between a vessel's shape, its decoration (with images and inscription), and the symposium can be seen clearly on a *dinos* (a type of krater) painted and potted by Sophilos and now in the British Museum (fig. 4.3). Its central image is the marriage of Peleus and Thetis (parents of Achilles), and Sophilos is careful to make sure that every participant in the marriage ceremony has been noted with both an inscription and an image.[76] These inscriptions are then clearly associated with vessels whose shape (and decoration) links them to the symposium. At other times, drinking cups, in particular, are decorated solely with these painted labels.[77] Nowhere is this mutual dependency between image and inscription more evident than on the François vase.

75. Osborne and Pappas 2007; Snodgrass 2000; Giuliani 2003, 115–58.
76. Brownlee 1995.
77. Particularly associated with "Little Master" cups; see Beazley 1932.

The François vase, an Athenian black-figure volute krater uncovered in an Etruscan tomb in Chiusi (ancient Clusium) in 1844 and now in the archaeological museum in Florence, is remarkable for the sheer number of its inscriptions.[78] It is dated stylistically to around 570 BCE and is signed (more than once) by both its painter (Kleitias) and its potter (Ergotimos). The krater is decorated with a profusion of scenes, most of which seem to relate stories about Achilles (e.g., his encounter with Troilos) and about his father, Peleus (e.g., as one of the hunters of the Kalydonian Boar).[79] Although it recounts part of the story of Achilles, it is not a version of the "wrath of Achilles," that is, the *Iliad*; it lacks the crucial encounter with Hector, and its version of the funeral games of Patroklos has a quite different *dramatis personae* from that given in our version of the *Iliad*.[80] This has led some scholars, notably Andrew Stewart, to suggest that it relates not to Homer but to some other lost poem; Stewart suggests a lost work by the lyric poet Stesichoros.[81] In this form of interpretation (*Bild und Lied*), an original poem (or song, *Lied*) is seen as primary and as providing a model for a pictorial narrative (the *Bild*). There are several objections to this school of thought. First, there is the improbability of there being a *definitive* version of any kind of oral performance in Archaic Greece. It seems more likely that any one time would have seen several versions of various oral tales, none of which (before late Archaic times at the earliest) could be said to be more authoritative or definitive. Second, this kind of interpretation routinely fails to address the context of such vessels, which is Etruria, not mainland Greece, in this and many similar cases.

But my principal objection to Stewart's suggestion is that this kind of interpretation cannot hold if we follow Gell's logic.[82] Gell asks us to consider the agency of both image and inscription, which are clearly working together on this vase. The inscriptions are not simply labels clarifying a scene; there are too many for them to be simply identifying figures (an effect that could, in any case, be achieved, as noted above, through some kind of iconographic code for well-known gods and heroes).[83] Rather, the inscriptions indicate not merely the presence but the agency of the *dramatis personae* in certain key scenes: sometimes, inscriptions do this by substituting for figures (as in the case of Amphitrite, Poseidon, and Ares); sometimes, this role is emphasized by the *redundancy* of an inscription that "labels" a supposedly inanimate object whose

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78. Florence 4209; 1956, 76.1. For the inscriptions, see Wachter 1991.
79. Beazley 1986, 24–34.
80. Snodgrass 1998, 118–20.
81. Stewart 1983.
82. Whitley 2012, 586–89.
83. Wachter 1991; Immerwahr 1990, 24–28.

identity is perfectly clear, such as an altar, stone, spring, seat, or water jar. The label—the inscription—is necessary not to "clarify the scene" but to *animate the object*; and the object needs to be animated—to be endowed with agency—for the tale to be told or reenacted on the surface of the vase. Writing and imaging are complementary forms of magic used in the service of both extending and dividing agency: the story is divided into its component parts, which are not simply the scenes but the animate agents (human, divine, animal, and object). The François vase, then, does not depict "stories" but embodies persons and objects that (in turn) have their own agency.

Both the Sophilos *dinos* and the François vase stand at the beginning of a broader trend. During the sixth century BCE, more and more Athenian vase painters—first black-figure and then red-figure—add inscriptions to their scenes.[84] The shapes of most of these inscribed and decorated vessels clearly link them to the symposium. The François vase might be thought to be an extreme case. But it is not the only example of Athenian/Mediterranean entanglements mediated by and through writing and the symposium. Similar forms of agency can be found on many contemporary Athenian exports to Etruria. A Tyrrhenian amphora from Vulci shows Achilles and Hector fighting over the body of Troilos.[85] As we would expect, the protagonists in this duel are clearly labeled; as we might not expect, so is the (inanimate?) altar at the very center of the scene: it reads, ΒΟΜΟΣ (altar), retrograde and upside down. Labeled on the surface of another such amphora showing the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus are not only the relevant deities (Eileithya, Dionysos, Zeus, Athena, and Poseidon) but also the throne (*thronos)* on which Zeus sits.[86] These labels do not, then, simply clarify the scene or draw attention to an altar (or to a throne) as a necessary component of the story (*pace* Osborne 1998a, 96). Rather, they animate the stories in which the altar (or throne) is another (and equally necessary) protagonist.

Entanglements such as these enabled the spread of "craft" literacy throughout Athens in the sixth century BCE. Images continue to be animated by inscriptions well into the appearance of red-figure pieces: the well-known krater from Cerveteri by Euphronios and Euxitheos has fifteen names, including a label for a "Leagros kalos" whose presence is indicated not by an image but only by an inscription.[87] That literacy was widespread in Athens in particular is, I

84. Snodgrass 2000; Osborne and Pappas 2007.

85. Munich 1426; 1956, 95 no. 5 (attributed to the Timiades painter); Immerwahr 1990, 40–41 no. 173.

86. Louvre E 852; 1956, 96 no. 13; Immerwahr 1990, 40 no. 172 (now attributed to the Prometheus painter).

87. Boardman 1975, 32–33, frontispiece and figs. 22–23; Immerwahr 1990, 64 no. 364; Whitley

think, the only inference one can draw from statistics such as these (table 4.1). That the agency of inscriptions was an integral and unconscious aspect of Athenian culture can perhaps best be grasped when we look at the earliest Athenian public inscriptions. Unlike (and in contrast to) other regions, these public inscriptions speak to us in the first person: "I am the boundary of the Agora."[88]

Crete: A Counterexample

Such patterns are not as true for other regions as they are for Attica. They certainly apply less to Crete, the area with the earliest and most numerous public inscriptions, as well as a region that clearly took a distinct path from Central Greece.[89] Early Cretan public inscriptions, such as the Laws from Dreros, employ an impersonal style and form of writing (boustrophedon) that cannot have made them easy to read. I have argued elsewhere that Cretan literacy was quite different from that of Athens and Central Greece—that it was more public, more impersonal, more restricted to a closed and established elite of aristocrats and scribes.[90] The evidence I put forward to support this hypothesis was the relative rarity of private inscriptions, in contrast to the relatively large number of public inscriptions (table 4.2). Whereas private inscriptions remain uncommon in both the seventh and sixth centuries, the number of public inscriptions increases dramatically as we approach 500 BCE. Therefore, the major public inscriptions of Crete cannot have functioned to make the law public—to foster democracy and the "rise of the individual."

TABLE 4.1. Archaic inscriptions from Attica

Date range (BCE)	Dedications	Epitaphs	Laws	Graffiti	*Dipinti*
700–650	2	0	0	49	2
650–600	8	2	0	64	6
600–550	35	12	0	63	45
550–500	101	66	4	32	531
500–480	249	2	4	32	174

Source: Data from Whitley (1998, 314; 1997) and (Wilson 2009, 560).

2012, 590–91. This krater was formerly in New York (NY 1972.11.10) but is now in the Villa Giuliia in Rome, closer to Cerveteri.

88. Lalonde et al. 1991, nos. H25, H26.
89. Wallace 2010. See also Morris 1998; Whitley 2009.
90. Whitley 1997, 1998. See also Whitley 2009, 288–91.

TABLE 4.2. Archaic Cretan inscriptions known in 1997

Date range (BCE)	Dedications (a)	Dedications (b)	Epitaphs	Laws	Graffiti	*Dipinti*
700–650	0	0	0	0	5	0
650–600	2	13	1	3	2	0
600–550	0	0	0	7	0	0
550–500	2	0	1	16	4	0
500–450	2	0	3	12	2	0

Source: Data from Whitley (1998, 317; 1997) and Wilson (2009, 560).

Note: Dedications (a) represent dedications with the normal *anetheke* formula, and dedications (b) represent the inscribed armor from Afrati (Hoffmann 1972).

TABLE 4.3. Archaic Cretan inscriptions known in 2013

Date range (BCE)	Dedications (a)	Dedications (b)	Epitaphs	Laws	Graffiti	*Dipinti*
700–650	0	0	0	0	**53**	0
650–600	2	13	1	3	**4**	0
600–550	0	0	0	**8**	0	0
550–500	**3**	0	**2**	16	**11**	0
500–450	2	0	3	12	**13**	0

Source: Data from Whitley (1997 and 1998).

Note: Some numbers have been revised to take into account new evidence presented by Perlman (2002); Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimmons, Scarry, Snyder, Stefanakis, and West (2007); Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimmons, Scarry, Snyder, and West (2011); Kritzas (2010); W. C. West (2007); Csapo, Johnston and Geagan (2000); Tsipopoulou (2005, 269); and Johnston (2005). Numbers that have been revised are given in bold.

These arguments have received much criticism, mild from Alan Johnston and stern from both Paula Perlman and Zenon Papaconstantinou.[91] Perlman adds a number of private inscriptions that had escaped my notice. More Archaic inscriptions have come to light in Eltyna, Kommos, Azoria, and Praisos.[92] There is, moreover, one more votive inscription; inscribed (retrograde) on a bronze cauldron from the Idaean cave and datable to around 550 BCE, it reads, Παιστος ανεθηκε Συβριτας ταν δεκαταν (P[h]aistos son of Sybrita dedicated this tithe).[93]

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91. Johnston 2013; Perlman 2002, 2004; Papakonstantinou 2002.

92. For Eltyna (a new legal inscription dating to ca. 600–525 BCE), see Kritzas 2010. For Kommos, see Csapo et al. 2000; Johnston 2005. For Azoria, see W. C. West 2007; Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimmons, Scarry, Snyder, and West 2011, 57–58. For the context, see Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimmons, Scarry, Snyder, Stefanakis, and West 2007. For Praisos, see Tsipopoulou 2005, 269 no. AN1364, a Late Geometric / Early Orientalizing *skyphos* inscribed retrograde with the (Eteocretan?) letters ΑΛΕ.

93. Chaniotis 2010 (trans. Chaniotis).

So the figures have to be revised (table 4.3). I argue that this revision does not overturn my original thesis; the number of private inscriptions remains small. If you contrast the number of private inscriptions uncovered from the extensive American excavations at Azoria (17) with the number from the (only slightly) more extensive American excavations in the Athenian Agora (194; Lang 1976), the case for a rich history of informal literacy in Crete can hardly be sustained (table 4.4).[94] To put the comparison differently, the total number of Archaic or early Classical inscriptions from the totality of excavated areas in Azoria (17) hardly exceeds the number of graffiti and *dipinti* (16) from one single well deposit (J 2:4) deriving from one late Archaic house near the Athenian Agora.[95]

More troubling for my thesis is the number of private inscriptions (chiefly epitaphs or graffiti) that use the first person—two out of the three gravestones from Kydonia employ this formula. A grave inscription from Chersonesos datable to around 500 BCE reads, Τιμος ημι: Ευαγρος μ'εστασε (I am Timos; Euagros set me up).[96] I think several observations in response to such inscriptions support my thesis. First, the bulk of the new informal inscriptions come from

TABLE 4.4. The Athenian Agora and Azoria (Crete) compared

Date range (BCE)	Athenian Agora	Azoria (Crete)
750–700	3	0
700–650	5	0
650–600	7	0
600–550	23	0
550–500	32	7
500–450	124	10
Total	194	17

Source: Data for the Athenian Agora from Lang 1976 and for Azoria from Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimmons, Scarry, Snyder, Stefanakis, and West 2007; Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimmons, Scarry, Snyder, and West 2011; W. C. West 2007.

Note: The figures from the Agora do not represent the total numbers found but come from a sample of 859 inscriptions out of a total of 3,000 found in the Agora.

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94. For the 17 inscriptions from Azoria, see Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimmons, Scarry, Snyder, Stefanakis, and West 2007; Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimmons, Scarry, Snyder, and West 2011, 57–58; W. C. West 2007app. 2. For the 194 inscriptions from the Athenian Agora, see Lang 1976.

95. Figures are from Lynch 2011, nos. 23, 84, and 88–92 (*dipinti*) and nos. 139, 140, 144, 148, and 150 (graffiti); Lawall 2011, A10 and A33–35 (graffiti). This is a sample of 16 from a total number of 223 cataloged sherds.

96. Perlman 2002, no. 32; originally published in Petrou-Mesogeites 1937–38 (*non vidi*). For the most recent discussion of this inscription and the Kydonia grave inscriptions, see Erickson 2010, 292.

Kommos. They are early and (with one or two exceptions) were written not by Cretans but by Boiotians. For this reason, Perlman discounts them. Second, those informal Cretan inscriptions that seem to employ the first person (which display agency) were found more often than not on the coast and are often written not in Cretan but in Aeginetan script. It is not, then, too surprising that they seem to represent Central Greek forms of material entanglement. Third, not one *dipinto* related to the symposium has come to light recently, and there is nothing to contradict my earlier thesis that the sixth century witnessed a gradual Cretan distancing from the symposium.[97] Cretan cups of the sixth century are mostly uninscribed and often not decorated at all.[98] The majority of the cups are plain, and it is not clear how they relate (if they do) to mainland-style symposia as opposed to Cretan-style *andreia*.[99] Fourth, votive inscriptions remain rare. Only two employ the *anetheke* formula, and none make use of the first person (*anetheke me*, "set me up"). The majority of inscriptions resembling dedications—those from the Afrati armor—seem to indicate something quite different from a dedication to a god.[100]

Finally, Cretan public inscriptions are both monumental and impersonal. They are set up on walls of temples and sanctuaries.[101] Unlike the Agora *horos* stones, they invariably use not the first but the third person and the impersonal pronoun: the Dreros inscription begins, αδ' εϝαδε πολι (It seemed good to the polis), that is, "The polis decided."[102] This impersonal style—found on other contemporary inscriptions[103]—distances the reader and (deliberately) does not entangle him or her in what is being said or seen. Moreover, image and inscription are kept rigorously separate. Cretan inscriptions thus set themselves apart, in a trend that accelerates with time. In brief, Crete remains a region where reading and writing are disentangled from those institutions characteristic of Central Greek culture (the sanctuary and the symposium). Scribal literacy is more characteristic of Crete than of other regions, partly because of the greater importance of public writing on the island (as in the Spensithios contract).[104] Writing assumes a largely public form that remains impersonal, the logical consequence of which is the Gortyn Law Code. Crete remains an instructive dead end.

As a final aside, it is worth looking at Cretan pithoi, objects that were clearly

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97. Whitley 2004; 2009, 284–87.
98. Erickson 2010.
99. Erickson 2011; Wallace 2010, 384–90.
100. Raubitschek 1972; Hoffmann 1972, 1–14.
101. Perlman 2004.
102. Demargne and Van Effenterre 1937; Jeffery 1990, 315 no. 1a.
103. See Perlman 2004, 191–95; Seelentag 2009.
104. Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies 1970.

of special importance to Cretan households. Pithoi could be retained for several centuries in Crete; we find a number of Geometric and Archaic examples in Hellenistic destruction/abandonment horizons of the second century BCE.[105] The pithos is one of the few Cretan objects that is regularly inscribed.[106] One of the earliest inscriptions is to be found on the pithos of Erpetidamos, a Late Geometric storage vessel found in a Hellenistic destruction horizon.[107] Its wording, ἘρπετιδαμοΠαιδοπιλαϛοδε' (This [is the pithos/property] of Erpetidamos [son?] of Paidopila), avoids the first person, a choice that is perhaps an augury of things to come.

Conclusion

This chapter's argument has been made almost entirely on material (archaeological) evidence. It is open, then, to the objection that I have not considered the nonmaterial (literary texts) or the perishable (those inscriptions that were made on wood, papyrus, or wax tablets). The problem is that the surviving literature of the Archaic period (when it can be dated) really tells us very little about literacy and almost nothing about the agency of the written word—except that it could be used in some way as an aid to oral performance. As for perishable materials, we are dealing both with a known unknown (we know that such inscriptions must have existed) and an unknown unknown (we can make absolutely no inferences about their content or about regional differences in what was written down). My argument here depends on the assumption that the material record provides a good indication of what has been lost or has perished. It is an archaeological argument, relying on what we have rather than what we would like to have.

Certain clear patterns emerge from this archaeological survey. Different regions of Greece have markedly different "epigraphic habits" in both Archaic and Classical times.[108] These differences have partly been explained in terms of degrees of literacy; areas that possess greater numbers and a greater variety of inscriptions have generally been thought to have had more literate populations. While I do not wish to deny that there is such a relationship between epigraphic habits and literacy, this chapter suggests that the relationship is indirect. More

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105. Whitley 2011, 27–31.
106. Examples include some early inscriptions from Kommos (Csapo et al. 2000, no. 30) and a late sixth-century inscription from Azoria (Haggis, Mook, Fitzsimmons, Scarry, Snyder, and West 2011, 57–58 no. D346.1).
107. Levi 1969; Jeffery 1990, 468 no. 8a.
108. Wilson 2009.

important than epigraphic habits (indeed, incorporating epigraphic habits) are the different kinds of material entanglements in different regions of Greece in the Archaic period, which also entail different kinds of agency, evident on the different kinds of objects that get inscribed. Within the Euboean "interaction sphere" cups, kraters, and transport amphoras are regularly inscribed; in Crete, it seems that only pithoi continue to receive this special treatment throughout the Archaic period. Of most relevance here, then, is not that the near absence of votive, funerary, and personal inscriptions in Crete contrasts starkly with the abundant evidence for law codes. Rather, the absence of *oggetti parlanti* and the disentanglement of writing practices from the institutions of the sanctuary (as votives) and with the symposium (as painted labels functioning within visual narratives) are most significant for our understanding of these material entanglements and their long-term consequences. If we want to understand the origins of writing, we have to understand the agency of inscriptions, which is not limited to what they say.

Goody, Watt, and Havelock were not wrong, then, in their interpretation of the long-term consequences of alphabetic literacy. Powell, too, may be right to think that both Homeric verse and the symposium had a role to play in spreading alphabetic literacy in the seventh and sixth centuries. A revolutionary "technology of the intellect," the alphabet did have the potential to extend the range of literacy, to make the skills of reading and writing easier to acquire and to use. But these long-term consequences should not be confused with causes, which were as much about endowing objects with agency (and so creating new forms of human-thing entanglement) as about bringing writing and speech closer together. It is striking how patchily this potential for extending literacy was realized. Alphabetic scripts using vowels had become widely diffused across the Archaic Mediterranean by about 450 BCE.[109] Various alphabet forms, which cannot easily be ranked as to their "fitness for purpose" if their primary purpose was to transcribe speech, were used to write down varieties of Greek, Latin, Oscan, Umbrian, Etruscan, Messapian, Venetic, Sikel, Carian, Lycian, and Eteocretan.[110] But by the end of the Archaic period, widespread literacy emerged only in a few of the areas where the alphabet took hold: Euboia, Athens,[111] and other parts of Central Greece (Boiotia and the Corinthia); the Cyclades (including Thera); and parts of Ionia (especially the Ionic Dekapolis). A more restricted pattern of use seems to apply to much of the Peloponnese (Arkadia and Laconia), and widespread early use of the alphabet in Northern

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109. Johnston 2003.
110. Johnston 2003; Lomas et al. 2007; de Hoz 2010.
111. Missiou 2011.

Greece seems to be associated almost exclusively with immigrants from Euboia (as the recent finds from Methoni, mentioned above, demonstrate).[112] Within the Greek-speaking Mediterranean, judging simply by the number and nature of the inscriptions, there was greater literacy in Cyprus (which did not make much use of the "Greek" alphabet) than in Crete (which did).

These facts ought to undermine further the old nineteenth century idea that it is principally language that defines culture. It should by now be clear that the effects of the "Greek alphabet" were not everywhere the same within the Archaic "Greek" Mediterranean. The parallel and opposite cases of Cyprus and Crete expose the poverty of this expectation. Despite the greater theoretical awareness of the implications of the (various) meanings of the word *culture*,[113] text-based historians have yet to come to terms with the full implications of David Clarke's notion of culture as a "polythetic set," where material practices and language are rarely if ever isomorphic.[114] As we come to better describe and understand both the material practices and the material entanglements of the Archaic Mediterranean, such an attitude (where the word is primary and every account has to be fitted into the master narratives of Athens and Rome) will become less and less relevant. After Snodgrass, ancient history, including the most "literary" subject, ancient literacy, has to be, in large part, archaeological history.

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112. See Besios et al. 2012, 329–528, especially nos. 1–25.
113. See Dougherty and Kurke 2003.
114. Clarke 1978, 245–408.

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❦

Chaîne Opératoire

Moving from Theory to Praxis in the Study of Attic Geometric Pottery

Ioannis Smyrnaios

This chapter explores the methodology of the *chaîne opératoire* in relation to Attic ceramics from the Early Iron Age. The study focuses on a small group of Geometric pots from the Kynosarges burials in Athens[1] and investigates the potentials of the *chaîne opératoire* theory for elucidating the technological and social notions and functions that once circulated among Athenian Geometric workshops (ca. 900–700 BCE). I here argue that by examining a pot in specific ways, an archaeologist can unwind the operational sequence backward, explore the technology of vessels, and tie it to the broader social attitudes that circulated in society during the potter's time. Until now, the elucidation of social attitudes embedded in the production of Attic Geometric pottery has been mainly approached through the analysis of its decoration, figurative and nonfigurative alike.[2] I here employ the model of the *chaîne opératoire* to argue that Attic Geometric potters shaped their products differently through time and that this behavior can be explained through a range of interconnected social and technological parameters.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first presents some previous contextual approaches to Geometric pottery, with specific emphasis on iconographic studies and the idea of social agency in ceramic decoration. The second introduces the *chaîne opératoire* theory and the concepts of technological

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1. I thank the former director of the British School at Athens, Prof. Catherine Morgan, and the former assistant director, Dr. Robert Pitt, for granting me access to the School's ceramic collections and for their broader help in my research.

2. This is also the case for Archaic and Classical decorated pottery. Such vessels have been primarily studied as products of painters instead of potters. For more on the relationship between potters and painters, see Stissi 2002, 104–11, 124–28.

tradition and vessel conceptualization in the production of pottery. It presents the question to be assessed in this chapter and provides information on the ceramic material that will be used as a case study. The third and fourth sections demonstrate some practical applications of the *chaîne opératoire* theory and present the results of macroscopic analyses. More specifically, the focus is on the technological notions embedded in the production of Attic *skyphoi* and then on attempting a comparison of technological similarities and differences between miniature and normal-sized *oinochoai*. Such analyses aim to discuss technological notions and social functions in relation to consumer demands. Finally, conclusions are presented at the end of this chapter.

Previous Approaches to Attic Geometric Pottery and the Current Approach

The discussion regarding social functions of Geometric pottery is vast, and a large number of approaches have focused on the analysis of the figurative scenes of Late Geometric decorated finewares. For example, *prothesis* and *ekphora* representations have been seen as directly related to burial customs of this period,[3] bearing features of individuality,[4] and drawing directly from contemporary life.[5] A repertory of battles has been connected to literary parallels from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[6] Funeral game or parade scenes have been linked to the rituals of an aristocratic society that dominated in the Geometric imaginary,[7] showing a mythological or heroic significance and suggesting that Homeric poems were in circulation to stimulate such an artistic interest.[8] In recent studies, it has been argued that the role of Geometric visual representations was to construct highly ritualized gender distinctions. Figural art was destined to play its own ceremonial role in maturation rituals, marriage, household foundation, and other important social occasions[9] and to establish a masculine domination and legitimization of gender hierarchy through art.[10] Further archaeological evidence suggests that the disappearance of rich female burials in Geometric Athens could be the result of social restructuring based on

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3. Kübler 1954, 19–23.
4. Ahlberg 1971, 285–87.
5. Schweitzer 1969, 36; Boardman 1983, 25.
6. Hampe 1952; Notopoulos 1957; Whitman 1958, 87–102; Schweitzer 1969, 36; Carter 1972, 37–40.
7. Hurwit 1985, 106–8.
8. Snodgrass 1971, 431–32.
9. Langdon 2008, 3–11.
10. Langdon 2008, 16.

gender during the end of the Geometric era.[11] Perhaps this phenomenon is re-
lated to the appearance of a new social order in Late Geometric Athens, which
could be connected to the rise of the polis[12] and a redefinition of who possessed
the right of Athenian citizenship.[13]

Iconographic approaches suggest a range of different social functions at-
tributed to Geometric finewares; however, one could argue that all approaches
agree that Geometric figurative iconography is an agent of social meaning. Al-
fred Gell considers an artistic object to be an agent of meaning (index), partici-
pating in a complicated interaction among artists, patrons, and viewers.[14] In a
recent application of Gell's theory to the interpretation of Archaic figural art,
Robin Osborne argues that together with iconography, the form of the vessel
consists of a prototype, mediating meaning (index) from the artist to the re-
cipient (viewer).[15] In other words, agency is produced by a mutual interaction
between shape and decoration. The situation is straightforward if the vessel has
been shaped and decorated by the same artist; however, it becomes complicated
if the vessel has been produced by more than one artist. In that case, the painter
is an artist who acts on a prototype that has previously been shaped by another
artist, the potter.

In the current chapter, I suggest, in contrast with previous approaches, that
attempts to understand the social function of Geometric decorated finewares
should focus primarily on an analysis of shape instead of decoration. Even
though this chapter does not discuss distinctions between painters and potters
in Attic Geometric workshops, it suggests that the work of potters should be
examined separately because ceramic shapes reveal patterns of social notions
and functions. Such patterns are visible through a reversed application of the
chaîne opératoire theory in ceramic analysis.

Theoretical Background and Focus of This Chapter

In theory, the term *chaîne opératoire* "refers to a range of processes in which
naturally occurring raw materials are selected, shaped and transformed into
usable cultural products."[16] The production sequence of an artifact is divided

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11. Whitley 2000.
12. See Snodgrass 1971, 1977, 1980.
13. See I. Morris 1987.
14. Gell 1998.
15. Osborne 2007, 185–89.
16. Schlanger 2005, 25.

into steps, in which every technical act is also a social act.[17] The participation of the human body is the major component of this transformation process.[18]

According to Pierre Bourdieu, artifacts—and material culture in general—are produced within a *habitus*, a system of dispositions inscribed in the human body and mind, formed in conjunction with history and memory. The *habitus* generates practices and perceptions in individuals, groups of people, or societies, creating a constant and dual interaction between them.[19] This *habitus* is responsible for the circulation of technological traditions in artifact production, which "involve(s)" an active interplay between the conservative force of 'cultural choice' and the innovative nature of 'individual choice.'"[20] In pottery production specifically, practical aspects such as the availability of natural resources, environmental factors, and technical variants involved in the production sequence are in constant interaction with technological decisions that are based on cultural choice.[21] A potter's choice is a matter of great complexity, and within the three components of pottery making (i.e., the "conceptualization" of a vessel, the "executive functions and tools" employed by the potter, and the "availability of raw materials"), one has to consider a variety of social parameters.[22]

Unfortunately, the *chaîne opératoire* has not been of interest to classical archaeologists so far, and the social significance of pottery production in the ancient Greek world has mostly been examined through a single (and rather secure) perspective, that of the social messages involved in the conceptualization of figurative scenes on decorated finewares. In the current chapter, I agree that Geometric painters purposely represented socially significant messages on Geometric pots. These vessels served in the cultivation of specific ideologies, and the conception of their figurative scenes was connected to social notions. Furthermore, ceramic decoration is an important source of information in understanding workshop practice in Geometric Attica as has been argued by various scholars.[23] However, it is equally important to ask what might have been happening with the conception of Geometric vessel shapes before they were

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17. Leroi-Gourhan 1964, 1965; Cresswell 1972, 21–27; Lemonnier 1980.
18. Mauss 1935, 1973; Leroi-Gourhan 1993.
19. Bourdieu 1977.
20. Sillar and Tite 2000, 10.
21. Gosselain 1992, 559–86; 1994, 99–107; Mahias 1993.
22. Van der Leeuw 1993; Schlanger 1994.
23. Davison 1961 and Coldstream 1968 discuss Late Geometric workshops through iconographic analysis of figurative representations. In a similar manner, S. Morris 1984 discusses the possibility of an Aeginitan production of "Attic" decorated finewares during the Orientalizing period. For more information on Athenian and Corinthian workshops from the Archaic period, including issues of division of labor, see Stissi 2002.

decorated by the painters. What was the role of the potters in this circle of social interaction in Geometric Athens?

A study of the Attic Geometric *chaîne opératoire* for the production of decorated finewares is considered essential for answering that question, particularly by focusing on what Sander Van der Leeuw describes as the conceptualization of vessels.[24] Michael Shanks also describes this as a pot's "right shape" as perceived in the mind of the potter.[25] The approach taken here is based on a model of *reverse design engineering* for the study of artifact variability, proposed by Michael Schiffer and James Skibo.[26] For this purpose, macroscopic analysis was performed on a small group of ceramic finds from the Kynosarges burials, now located at the Museum of the British School at Athens. This group of pottery was excavated by the School's third director, Cecil Harcourt Smith, in spring 1896,[27] and only a portion of the finds is now exhibited at the School's museum. Droop published selected pieces in 1905, and a full publication by Nicholas Coldstream in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* followed significantly later, in 2003.[28] The current study of vessel conceptualization focuses on basic shaping techniques and records characteristic metrical features of vessels[29] (e.g., height, rim, and base diameter), along with their proportional relationships.

Macroscopic analysis of the Kynosarges material began in October 2011, as part of a PhD project that included thirty-three pots and sherds from different ware types, supplemented by an additional twenty Attic Geometric pots that were not directly related to the Kynosarges excavations but were also located in the collections of the museum at the British School at Athens. This chapter examines some characteristic examples of Geometric finewares, which are informative of the Athenian Geometric *chaîne opératoire* and its social significance.

Macroscopic Analysis and the
Chaîne Opératoire of Geometric *Skyphoi*

The first case to examine is that of six complete s*kyphoi* from the Kynosarges Group (K2, K3, K5, K6, K10, K88),[30] supplemented by another two complete

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24. Van der Leeuw 1994, 136–37.

25. Shanks 1999, 37.

26. Schiffer and Skibo 1987, 1997. For a critique of the reverse design engineering approach, see David and Kramer 2001, 141.

27. Droop 1905, 80.

28. Coldstream 2003.

29. For information on *partonomy*, see Van der Leeuw 1994, 136–37.

30. Coldstream 2003, plates 40–41, 44.

s*kyphoi* from the Geometric ceramics collection of the British School (A342, A343).[31] These *skyphoi* represent two major periods of the Geometric era. The first group comes from the Middle Geometric (MG) II to Late Geometric (LG) Ia periods (ca.775–750 BCE), with pots notable for their "thick, black and lustrous paint."[32] A342 belongs to the transitional phase between LGIb and LGIIa, while the rest of the vessels come from LGII (ca. 730–700 BCE). (All chronological groups mentioned in this chapter derive from Coldstream's chronological system discussed in his *Greek Geometric Pottery*.)[33]

Table 5.1 includes eight measurements performed on those eight vessels: vessel height, rim diameter, base diameter, handle attachment height, weight, proportion of handle attachment height to vessel height, proportion of base diameter to vessel height and handle gap. If heights and rim diameters are not consistent because of deformation, an average (mean) is estimated accordingly. Pots that have been reconstructed with plaster are not expected to differ significantly in weight compared to their original intact form. Handle attachment height is defined as the height of an imaginary vertical axis passing through the central attachment points of both handles (fig. 5.1). If both handles are not attached at the same height, an average (mean) height is estimated between the middle points of both handle attachments. The proportion of handle attachment height to vessel height is a percentage that derives from the mathematical equation

Proportion of Handle Attachment Height to Vessel Height =

$\left(^{\text{Handle Attachment height}} / _{\text{Vessel Height}} \right)$ X 100.

The proportion of base diameter to vessel height is a percentage that derives from the mathematical equation

Proportion of Base Diameter to Vessel Height = $\left(^{\text{Base Diameter}} / _{\text{Vessel Height}} \right)$ X 100.

Finally, handle gap is defined as the horizontal hollow space created between the inner surface of the handle coil and the outer surface of the vessel's walls (fig. 5.1). If two handle gaps of a *skyphos* are unequal, the mean of both gaps is estimated accordingly.

The first thing to notice in table 5.1 is the variation between the weights

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31. Coldstream 2003, plate 52.
32. Coldstream 2003, 333.
33. Coldstream 1968, 302–31.

TABLE 5.1. Metrical features and proportions of skyphoi

No.	Reg. no.	Ware type	Period	Height (cm)	Rim diameter (cm)	Base diameter (cm)	Handle attachment height (cm)	Weight (grams)	Proportion of handle attachment height to vessel height (%)	Proportion of base diameter to vessel height (%)	Handle gap (cm)
1	K10	*Skyphos*	MGII	7	15.5	7	4.5	314 ip	64.29	100.00	1.2
2	K88	*Skyphos*	MGII–LGIa	6.5	12.5	6.5	4	165 ip	61.54	100.00	1.6
3	A342	*Skyphos*	LGIb–IIa	8.5	13.6	7.8	5.3	245	62.35	91.76	1.4
4	A343	*Skyphos*	LGIIa	6	12	4.7	3	126 ip	50.00	78.33	1.6
5	K2	*Skyphos*	LGIIa	8.1	15.5	6.1	4	265	49.38	75.31	1.7
6	K3	*Skyphos*	LGIIb	6	11.7	4	3.8	114	63.33	66.67	1.5
7	K5	*Skyphos*	LGIIb	6.5	9.7	4.2	4	107	61.54	64.62	1.4
8	K6	*Skyphos*	LGIIb	8.7	13.2	5.4	5.9	239 ip	67.82	62.07	1.5

Note: Weights marked "ip" include the small quantity of plaster used for restoration.

Handle Attachment of Skyphoi

STEP 1: single clay string

STEP 2: Clay string cut in two equal pieces

Rim Diameter

Rim Diameter

Unfolded Handle Length

Handle Attachment Height

Base Diameter

Height

STEP 3: Handles attached at specific height

Handle Gap(s)
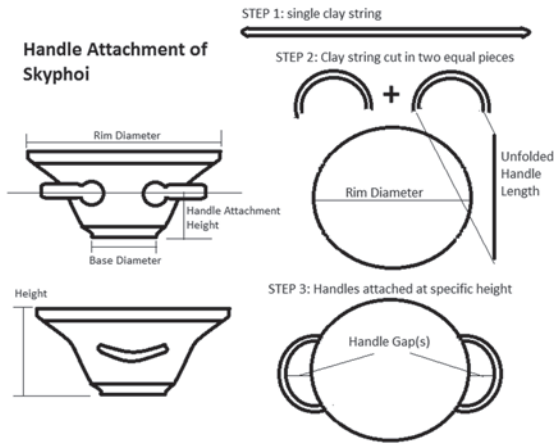
Fig. 5.1. Handle attachment of *skyphoi*

and other measurements of these pots. The taller *skyphoi* (K2, K6, K10, A342), with heights between 7 and 8.7 centimeters, exhibit the largest rim diameters, between 13.2 and 15.5 centimeters. In contrast, the smaller *skyphoi* (K3, K5, K88, A343), with heights between 6 and 6.5 centimeters, exhibit the smaller rim diameters, between 9.7 and 12.5 centimeters. Base diameters do not follow the same pattern. As heights and rim diameters increase, it would be logical to expect that the taller and wider the *skyphoi are*, the heavier they will be.[34] But this is true only for the smaller *skyphoi* (K3, K5, K88, A343), where weights and rim diameters increase correspondingly, meaning that vessels with wider rim diameters are indeed heavier (K5 < K3 < A343 < K88). However, in the case of taller *skyphoi* (K2, K6, K10, A342), weights vary between 239 grams and 314 grams, with no actual rule to relate them to the way in which heights and rim diameters increase. This phenomenon is probably attributed to the different level of potters' technical knowledge and appears to be independent of the chronology of these vessels. For the four taller *skyphoi*, weight differences could be attributed to the preparation of different clay recipes, the use of different quantities and qualities of clays, and the use of different drying procedures.

A second thing to examine is the correlation between chronological period of production and proportions of heights and base diameters. As is noticeable from table 5.1, the two *skyphoi* closer to MGII (K10, K88) are the only pots that show signs of proportional conceptualization; hence their height is fully equal to their base diameter. As we move across from LGIa to LGIb and LGIIa, base

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34. The wall thickness is almost the same for all the vessels.

diameters gradually decrease. Then, at LGIIb, base diameters decline further and settle at a proportion between 62 and 67 percent of the vessel's height; in other words, they become standardized to a diameter close to two-thirds of the vessel's height. Even though the sample is small, these rather strict proportions of the MGII *skyphoi* in comparison to their LG equivalents could mean that they were produced by a specific workshop (if not by the same potter) that employed some notion of shape symmetry. They could also be seen as the result of a different consumer demand, mirroring different preference, perhaps for a higher standard in burial ceramics, which may have been intended for a different and chronologically specific social group. Ian Morris refers to the social position of the *agathoi*, an Athenian MG group that preserved the right of formal burial until the end of the Middle Geometric period,[35] and Whitley explains selectivity in MG burials in relation to artifact quantities and qualities.[36]

The third issue to investigate is the assembly characteristics of these pots. In table 5.1, there appears to be a correlation between the chronological period of production and the proportion of the handle attachment height to the height of the vessel. There are two LGIIa *skyphoi* whose handles are placed right in the middle of the body, exhibiting a proportion of roughly 50 percent (K2, A343). However, six of the *skyphoi* have their handles placed on the body at a proportion between 61 and 68 percent, which means that their handles were attached at roughly a height of two-thirds of the total height of the pot, starting from the base. Variations of this proportion are likely due to the work of potters with different skill levels. These six *skyphoi* are divided into two chronological groups, those between MGII and LGIb (K10, K88, A342) and those from LGIIb (K3, K5, K6). This phenomenon should perhaps be viewed as an issue of standardization in the production of Geometric *skyphoi*, which shows signs of possible interruption sometime during LGIIa. This interruption may be connected to a different technological tradition or to experimentation attributed to a specific workshop or potter. If *skyphoi* were used in burial contexts as part of elite competition that was expressed in funerary rituals[37] and if such competition increased notably in LGII,[38] these wares were probably produced in larger quantities during that time. An increase in the scale of production of such vessels could result in standardization of their form. A similar degree of standard-

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35. Morris 1987, 93–96.

36. Whitley 1991, 116–62.

37. For issues related to social competition in Attica during the Early Iron Age, see Duplouy 2006.

38. Osborne 2009, 83–88; Whitley 1991, 162–80.

ization was suggested above by noticing similar proportions of base diameters to vessel heights in the LGIIb *skyphoi*.

After preliminary analysis of external decoration, a different chronological observation is suggested regarding the technical/decorative features of these vessels. The first chronological group described in the beginning of this chapter (MGII to LGIa) is composed of pots that were decorated with a single thin brush, using a thick, black, lustrous paint on a thin but dark clay slip. The second chronological group (LGII) contains pots decorated with more than one brush, with the use of a lighter brown/black paint on a plain clay wash. The relatively quicker method of slipping vessels, combined with the more complex decorative equipment used for the production of LGII finewares, may reflect a certain degree of standardization by potters who made those *skyphoi*, combined with greater specialization and attention to detail by painters who decorated them. Such attention to detail could be attributed to consumer demands during the time of increasing popularity of figurative decoration.

Another essential aspect of the study of the handles of *skyphoi* is unwinding their assembly process backward (fig. 5.1). Thorough macroscopic analysis of these wares indicates that all of them have handles that are equally thick, equally rounded or flattened, and equally long. In most cases, the gaps between the handles and the vessels' walls appear to be equally wide. This means that the person who made these handles produced them out of a single string of clay, which was first rounded on a flat surface and, in some cases, flattened equally by being squeezed. Then the handle string was cut in two equal pieces that were meant to be stuck on the left and right side of the vessel's walls and, as demonstrated above, in a very specific place on the walls that was related to the height of the vessel.

Why would these small vessels designed for wine drinking need handles? From our modern experience, contemporary drinking cups and mugs have handles in order for us to achieve better grip on the vessel and perhaps protect our fingers from boiling-hot contents. Furthermore, contemporary handles are made wide enough to fit through one or more of our fingers during our effort to lift the vessel up. The process described above defines our modern notion of how pottery handles are formed and intended to be used as part of the modern *chaîne opératoire*.

This does not seem to be the case for Attic Geometric *skyphoi*, however. In table 5.1, none of the eight *skyphoi* exhibits a gap wider than 2 or 3 centimeters, where someone's fingers can actually fit through the handles and support the

vessel. This may indicate that the handles of the majority of the *skyphoi* were not to be used as we may have expected them to be used today. So why would ancient Athenian potters make the handles like that?

One must not exclude the possibility of metal prototypes for these vessels.[39] For example, the body surface of A342 imitates metal gadrooning,[40] while similar reflex handles are quite common in Early Iron Age ceramic vessels with strong influence from oriental metal prototypes.[41] In the case of the eight *skyphoi*, however, a different suggestion could be considered: the reason these handles were assembled in such a way may lie in the potters' fingers.

Current macroscopic analysis suggests that the gap between the inner handle coils and the outer walls was probably not related to the use that the vessel was intended to serve. Table 5.1 could be indicative of two general trends: the first includes *skyphoi* with handle gaps equal to or smaller than 1.5 centimeters (more precisely, a mean of 1.42 cm); the second could include *skyphoi* such as K2 and K88, where handle gaps exceed 1.5 centimeters. Both trends are likely to represent two different attachment techniques used by ancient potters. In the first technique, the handle was attached by using the thumb as a guide, which probably required the vessel to be held inside the palm. In the second technique, the handle was attached by using the index finger as a guide, which probably required the vessel to be put down (fig. 5.2). If we compare the thickness of the tips of an adult's index finger and thumb, we will probably notice a similar variation in thickness. The tips of adult index fingers can exhibit an average thickness of 1.5 centimeters and below, while the tips of adult thumbs can be thicker than 1.5 or even 2 centimeters further down. It is highly likely that this assembly feature of *skyphoi* was connected to a practical application of skill, which developed differently among potters during their years of practice. It was probably related to the most convenient posture for their body while working, and it appears unlikely to have been dictated by any consumer demands.

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39. The term *skeuomorphs* was first used by Gordon Childe (1956, 13–14) to describe artifacts copied from one material into another. For connections between Attic skeuomorphic bowls (including *skyphoi*) *a*nd oriental metal prototypes, see Borell 1978, 93–94. A discussion on the broader influence of oriental metalworking in Early Iron Age Greece is presented in Markoe 1985, 117–27.

40. Coldstream 2003, 345.

41. Borell (1978, 94) discusses the influence of oriental decoration on LGII bowls in connection with an Orientalizing Proto-Attic shallow plate published by Kübler (1970, plates 22–23). According to Markoe (1985, 120), the shape of this plate and its characteristic handles imitate some metal prototype.
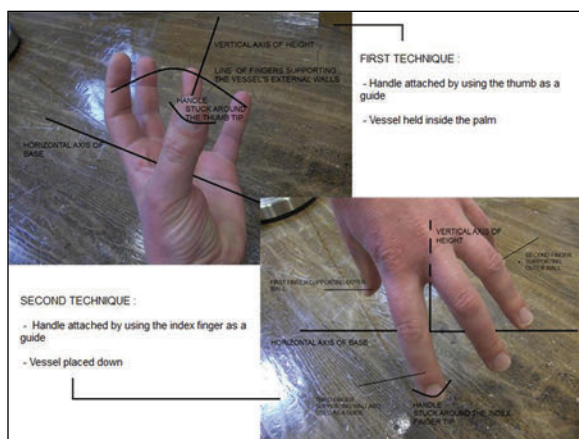
Fig. 5.2. Possible hand positions for alternative methods of handle attachment

The *Chaîne Opératoire* Theory as a Contextual Tool: The Case of Miniature *Oinochoai*

How relevant is the study of the Attic Geometric *chaîne opératoire* in relation to the social ideas that circulated during that time in connection with the use of specific wares? As a case study for casting light on that question, three miniature *oinochoai* will here be compared with three normal-sized *oinochoai*, all found at the museum of the British School at Athens. The miniature *oinochoai* date to the turn of the early Proto-Attic period and, according to Coldstream, were "suitable for child burials."[42] In comparison, normal-sized *oinochoai* could have been used in both burial and domestic contexts.

Table 5.2 presents some basic measurements and proportions of these vessels. Net height is defined as the height of the vessel when measured from the base to the uppermost part of the lip. Net height does not relate to total height, so if the upper curve of the handle coil exceeds the lip of the pot, this is not measured as net height. The length of the handle coil is considered to be the unfolded length before firing, measured with the use of a string running along its external side. The proportion of handle length to vessel net height derives from the mathematical equation

Proportion of Handle Length to Net Height = (Length of Handle Coil/Net Height) X 100.

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42. Coldstream 2003, 333.

Similarly, the proportion of base diameter to net height derives from the mathematical equation

$$\text{Proportion of Base Diameter to Net Height} = \left(^{\text{Base Diameter}}/_{\text{Net Height}}\right) \text{X } 100.$$

Finally, the handle attachment height and the proportion of handle attachment height to net height are the same as the height and proportion described earlier.

As we can see in table 5.2, even though metrical features and weights of both wares vary, they appear to be in proportion to the overall size of the pots, which means that measurements such as net height and base diameter increase proportionally to weights. The explanation for this is simple: larger (taller and broader) pots are built and assembled from larger, thicker, and heavier parts (bodies, handles, and necks; fig. 5.3), which results in an increase in the total weight of the pot. By contrast with some of the larger *skyphoi*, the proportional increase of metrics and weights of miniature and normal-sized *oinochoai* probably required the use of similar clay recipes, similar quantities and qualities of clays, and similar drying procedures. This may explain why the production of both miniature and normal-sized *oinochoai* followed the same *chaîne opératoire* and probably a different one compared to *skyphoi*.

It is interesting that the proportion of base diameter to net height of all vessels in table 5.2 ranges between 42 and 52 percent. The vessels from the Kynosarges group (K22, K25) exhibit a larger mean of this proportion (49.9 percent) compared to the vessels (A26, A71, A298, A341) that do not belong to the Kynosarges group (43.8 percent). This observation may mean that the Early Proto-Attic miniatures from the Kynosarges burials were produced by a specific workshop (if not the same potter) and were intended for funerary use by a specific consumer group. For this group, the workshop followed a technological tradition in which base diameters were roughly half of a vessel's height. The proportions of the other vessels suggest that different traditions might have circulated among workshops across time.

Despite the possibility that the *chaîne opératoire* of miniature and normal-sized *oinochoai* was the same, analysis shows variations in certain proportions, which might suggest the presence of different potter groups specializing in each ware. More specifically, the proportion of handle length to net height of miniature *oinochoai* ranges between 49 and 55 percent, suggesting that miniature handles were purposely formed to be about half of a vessel's height. However, the proportion of handle attachment height to net height of the same vessels exhibits larger variation (between 49 and 60 percent), which shows that perhaps the attachment height of a handle did not matter as much as its length in proportion to a vessel's net height.

TABLE 5.2. Metrical features and proportions of oinochoai

No.	Reg. no.	Type	Period	Net height (cm)	Base diameter (cm)	Handle attachment height (cm)	Length of handle coil (cm)	Weight (grams)	Proportion of handle length to net height (%)	Proportion of handle attachment height to net height (%)	Proportion of base diameter to net height (%)
1	A26	Miniature oinochoe	MGII	10.6	4.5	5.2	7.7	118	50.94	49.06	42.45
2	K22	Miniature oinochoe	EPA	6.6	3.4	3.8	6.7	44	54.54	57.58	51.52
3	K25	Miniature oinochoe	EPA	8.7	4.2	5.2	7.8	97	49.43	59.77	48.28
4	A71	Normal oinochoe	MGI	30.5	12.9	16.0	17.4	1297	57.05	52.46	42.30
5	A298	Normal oinochoe	MGII–LGI	21.5	9.5	11.5	13.3	423	41.86	53.49	44.19
6	A341	Normal oinochoe	LGIa	16.0	7.4	9.0	16.0	526	60.63	56.25	46.25

Note: Weights marked "ip" include the small quantity of plaster used for restoration. A71 is Corinthian.
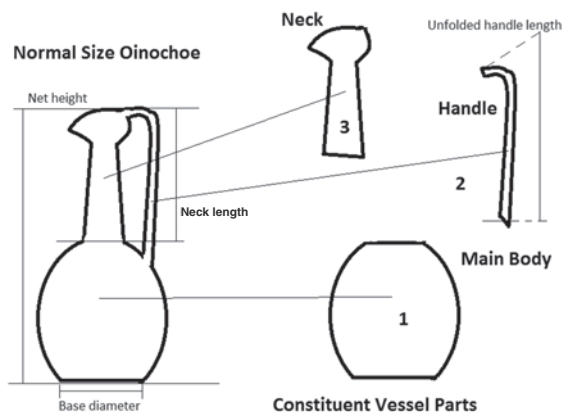
Fig. 5.3. Proportions and constituent elements for a normal-sized *oinochoe*

Moving to normal-sized *oinochoai,* observations are the opposite.[43] Here, proportion of handle length to net height shows great variation (between 41 and 61 percent), while the proportion of handle attachment height to net height covers a narrow range (between 52 and 57 percent). This observation may mean that the potters of miniature and normal-sized *oinochoai* were different artisans, who followed different conceptualizations during the manufacture of their vessels. If we are dealing with different potter groups operating within the same *chaîne opératoire,* it is likely that the group that produced miniatures was satisfying different consumer demand.

Conclusions

The assemblage considered in this study is too small to draw general conclusions about the totality of Attic Geometric pottery production. However, this analysis can be used as a stimulus to research these differences and similarities between different ware types further. As demonstrated above, specific ways of examining how pots are conceptualized and shaped—based on their weights, metrical features, and proportions—make it possible to unwind the operational sequence backward and understand the manufacturing notions behind it. As argued in the beginning of this chapter, vessel shapes, together with decora-

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43. The Corinthian MGI *oinochoe* A71 was added to the study to test the hypothesis with reference to another production center.

tion, are agents of social meaning. Therefore, combining studies of the *chaîne opératoire* related to vessel shape with the existing iconographic interpretations of Geometric pottery can shed light on the social significance of pottery production and consumption in ancient Attica. Based on the metrical features of *skyphoi* and on the proportional differences between miniature and normal-sized *oinochoai*, I have here argued that potters shaped their products differently across different periods of the Geometric era, in conjunction with existing social demands.

The first results of this research project suggest that the production of Geometric *skyphoi* followed similar technological traditions across time, which could be attributed to specific workshops or potters and connected to specific consumer groups. More specifically, the majority of *skyphoi* show a standardized proportion of handle attachment height to vessel height (roughly two-thirds), with the exception of two LGIIa *skyphoi* that follow a different pattern (a proportion of roughly 50 percent). This observation may verify the presence of more than one technological tradition in the production of such vessels or the presence of some innovating potters or workshops. The proportion of base diameter to vessel height of *skyphoi* declines gradually across time and becomes standardized during LGII, at a proportion of roughly two-thirds. A MGII workshop that produced proportional vessels of equal height and base diameter could have targeted specific, elite consumers. In terms of decoration, the analysis of *skyphoi* shows that MGII painters placed more importance on the use of thick lustrous paints and dark slips, while geometric motifs were drawn with simple technical equipment. Moving toward LGIIb, dark slips gave way to plain washes, and greater importance was placed on the variety of brushes used to paint figurative representations and geometric elements on these pots. This change is perhaps due to consumer demands, which placed greater importance on ceramic decoration during the Late Geometric period, causing advances in the ceramic *chaîne opératoire*. Finally, the handles of *skyphoi* were most likely attached without any functional notions in mind. During the *chaîne opératoire* process, potters chose handle attachment techniques that were most likely suitable to their own body posture instead of the consumers' needs.

From a first look, it appears likely that *oinochoai* were the products of a different *chaîne opératoire* from *skyphoi*. The metrical features that define their shape (net height and base diameter) increase correspondingly to their weights, which is not always the case in the production of *skyphoi*. Furthermore, miniature *oinochoai*, a common form of the Early Proto-Attic period, were the products of a slightly different conceptualization compared to normal-sized *oinochoai*. Bearing in mind that the miniature vessels were being produced

for very specific use in infant burials, the manufacturing notions behind them were probably related to the social use these vessels were intended to serve. In comparison, normal-sized *oinochoai* were probably the products of a conceptualization connected with consumer demands of both domestic and ceremonial nature. Miniature *oinochoai* probably represented symbolic vessels with a very specific ceremonial use and were perhaps made by a different group of potters from those who manufactured normal-sized *oinochoai*. It is very difficult to tell whether different potters produced different wares or whether smaller wares were products of different members of the same workshops. Further research may perhaps reveal issues of apprenticeship or child labor related to the production of miniatures, which might have been playing a different role in the *chaîne opératoire* of Attic Geometric pottery.

At this stage, it can be argued that the needs of the people who consumed specific wares played an important role in establishing the most appropriate ceramic production sequence. Social demands related to status and gender probably affected pottery consumption so that not only external decoration but the whole operational sequence of producing different wares were adjusted accordingly. However, no matter what external social parameters formed consumer demands, the production sequence was still subject to the potters' own needs for efficiency, quality, and personal expression. Potters could follow established technological traditions and produce standardized vessels or could experiment or even invent different techniques and products through time. Their social and technological notions became embedded in their products, which can now be revealed to archaeologists by applying the principles of *reverse design engineering* of the *chaîne opératoire* theory to the analysis of vessel shapes. With regard to classical archaeology, such an approach should be considered more often, together with the existing iconographic approaches, in efforts to understand the social context of ceramic production and consumption.

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CHAPTER 6

❦

Reception, Intention, and Attic Vases

Kathleen M. Lynch

Art . . . posits man's physical and spiritual existence, but in none of its works is it concerned with his response. No poem is intended for a reader, no picture for the beholder, no symphony for the listener.[1]
   —Walter Benjamin

I have the impression that, in the course of the last decades, the rights of the interpreters have been overstressed.[2]
   —Umberto Eco

Art history, like archaeology and anthropology, has experienced culture historical, processual, and postprocessual theoretical movements, although art historians more often refer to postprocessualism as postmodernism.[3] As in archaeological postprocessualism, postmodernist theory embraces pluralistic interpretations, allowing an object to hold more than one meaning.[4] But unlike archaeology, contextual interpretation holds a lower priority in current art historical theory.[5] The de-emphasizing of context reflects the nature of modern art and its critics (like Walter Benjamin, quoted above), for much of contemporary art is produced free of a specific use or viewing context. Thus, many art theorists dwell on individual artistic expression and individual viewer reception of the visual image.[6] However, the quote above from Umberto Eco's

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1. Benjamin 1969, 69.
2. Eco 1992a, 23.
3. For archaeological theory, see Johnson 2010. For the history of art historical theory, see Fernie 1995; Preziosi 1998.
4. See Preziosi 1998, chap. 6. Art historical theory is aligned closely with literary theory on the topics of artistic intention and audience reception, and many of the themes considered by art historical theorists originated in literary studies. I will refer to both theoretical fields in this essay.
5. See commentary in Holly 1996, 173.
6. For a good introduction to the place of intentionality in art history, see Bal 2006, 236–65;

essay "Interpretation and History" reminds us that there is a tug-of-war over the importance of artistic intention, and neither side can be declared a winner.

This chapter considers how studies of ancient Greek material culture can benefit from art historical discussions of artistic intention (authorship) and viewer reception. We can combine these approaches with archaeological, social, and historico-contextual goals of our own postprocessualism to understand the difference between intended meanings and the perceived meanings of objects. This chapter applies various approaches to a single class of objects with visual images, Athenian vases, to demonstrate the potential of different and simultaneous approaches.

I am not a theorist, and I am aware that the topic of intentionality is so thorny that "many critics have abandoned it as an insoluble problem."[7] Inevitably, my presentation of the theories will be reductive. I am also not offering a revolutionary new way of studying Greek vases.[8] Many colleagues are using the approaches described here. The aim of this chapter is to consider the potential of different approaches as tools for extracting meanings from Athenian vases and their images. Through discussing art historical theory that implicitly underpins some vase studies, I hope to generate more awareness of scholarly assumptions and practices.

Before introducing the theoretical tools used in this discussion, it is necessary to introduce briefly the producers and viewers of Attic vases. We know very little about the physical organization of the Athenian potting industry. Although an ancient deme of Athens is called the "Kerameikos" and although a few kilns have been found there and around the ancient city, there are no structural remains of potters' production workshops.[9] There is, however, debris from potters' sales shops in the area around the Classical Athenian Agora. The potters probably fired their pots outside the immediate commercial center and brought them to the Agora for sale.[10] Stylistic attribution or connoisseurship, pioneered by Sir John Beazley, uses similar elements of painting details and iconography to define the style, or "hand," of a vase painter, and Beazley assigned variations on those elements to students or other associates operating

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for accessible discussions of literary intentionality and its challenges, Eco 1992a, 1992b, 1992c. A corollary discussion, which this chapter will not consider, is of agency, the subject and object of an artistic action. See Osborne and Tanner 2007 for its application to ancient material culture.

7. Patterson 1995, 137. Mieke Bal starts an essay on intention with the header "A Concept We Hate to Love" (Bal 2006, 236).

8. See Beard 1991 on "ways of seeing."

9. On workshops, see Sparkes 1991, 8–13; Cook 1992, 259–62; Papadopoulos 2003, 225–40. On kilns, see Baziotopoulou-Balabani 1994. On workshop organization, see Webster 1972; Rudolph 1988; Osborne 2004b.

10. Lynch 2011a, 70–71.

in a painter's "manner," "circle," or "group."[11] Beazley's terms evoke a workshop environment, but it is conceptual, not physical, since it has no known architectural correlate but assumes one.

Beazley's extensive and pioneering work led to an emphasis on connoisseurship and iconographic studies in the scholarship of vase painting.[12] Stylistic relationships were built on thorough autopsy of the objects but rarely took other archaeological evidence into account.[13] Similarly, once Beazley introduced the concept of artistic personalities, he and subsequent scholars examined the collected works of these identified painters to adduce internal chronological development, usually based on style alone and not archaeological data. Catalogues raisonnés of vase painters do not usually consider the findspot of vases relevant to the study of artistic development or personality.[14]

It is certain that the vases were made in Athens and thus embody something of that cultural environment. Vase-painting styles and iconography are highly conventional and are a reflection of the production setting and worldview of the vase painters.[15] The question of intended audience (i.e., whom a vase painter expected to view his products) is a different question and will be discussed below, but there will always be a foundation of Athenian-ness in the style and imagery of the vases.

We can identify the viewers of Athenian vases with more confidence. Both viewers and viewing conditions of Athenian vases were diverse. Some pots did stay in Athens for domestic, votive, or funerary use, although it was not very common to put figured vases in Athenian graves during the late Archaic and Classical peak in production of figured pottery.[16] During the Archaic through Classical periods, roughly 550–350 BCE, many Athenian vases were exported throughout the Mediterranean to cultures as diverse as the Halstatt at the Heuneburg in Germany; the Etruscans, Peucetians, and Sicilians in Italy; and the

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11. Beazley 1956, 1963, 1971; Beazley Archive Database, http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/default.htm. On Beazley's use of terms, see Robertson 1976; on painter and potter collaborations, Osborne 2004b.

12. For the principles of connoisseurship, see Kurtz 1985; for connoisseurship's intellectual history and conflict with processualism, Neer 2009.

13. For conversations on the value of the "Beazley method," see Whitley 1997; Oakley 1998.

14. Typically these studies are arranged according to stylistic chronology—early, middle, and late. An example is the discussion of the career of Douris in Buitron-Oliver 1995. But alongside a more traditional stylistic study, Avramidou 2011, on the Codros Painter, considers context and the reception of the painter's iconography by an Etruscan audience (68–70).

15. On these styles as reflective of a cognitive map, see Renfrew and Bahn 2012, 382–83. The cultural identity of Greek vase painters has been questioned based on signed names such as *Amasis*, a name of Egyptian origin; *Ho Lydos*, "the Lydian"; and *Syriskos*, "the little Syrian." Yet elements of non-Greek cultures rarely seep into images. For exceptions, see Pevnick 2010.

16. Hannestad 1988.

Lydians, Persians, and Scythians to the east.[17] Thus, the viewers of Athenian vases could be anyone from a citizen Athenian to someone the Athenians would have called a "barbarian." Archaeological findspot permits the identification of viewers and sometimes the specific context of use. For example, Italic cultures used Athenian vases as funerary gifts, although the vases' precise roles in the funerary ritual and in life are less clear.[18] Even with abundant archaeological evidence of their presence, direct references to what imported Athenian vases meant to local cultures rarely survive. There are, for example, no commercial records or literature referring to the importance of imported Greek vases in Italy. Locally produced images that emulate Athenian themes and styles, together with archaeological contexts, such as grave assemblages that showcase Attic pottery, can provide insights on the importance of Athenian vases to the culture, but the archaeologist must deduce significance indirectly or hermeneutically—to use a theoretical term used by both archaeological and art historical theorists.[19]

Returning to the theoretical framework, one problem is that twentieth-century and twenty-first-century art historical scholars interested in the interpretive power of artistic intention and viewer reception consider artistic creation unbounded, to some degree, by conventions. Some theorists are especially affected by the principles of contemporary art, in which artistic expression and viewer reception are two separate processes. The contemporary artist can, for example, produce art so deeply rooted in his or her own experience that the viewer would never "get it." Contemporary art criticism can also disregard the artist and focus entirely on the meaning or meanings apprehended by the viewer, while concluding that no one meaning is preferred over others. Because art historical theory is generally written by scholars interested in postmodern concerns, its application to ancient art must be selective and thoughtful.

It is important to remember that Greek vase painters were businessmen aiming to sell pots to consumers who appreciated the medium's conventionality. (Yes, Damien Hirst is a businessman, too, but he is selling unconventionality reflective of our contemporary culture.)[20] Vase painters were not using art to express their emotions or reactions to their world—except, perhaps occasionally, in very subtle ways. At the moment of creation, the vase painter had in his mind an intended image (or perhaps a workshop owner instructed

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17. See, e.g., Morgan and Arafat 1994; Reusser 2002; Reusser and Bentz 2004.

18. Reusser and Bentz (2004) explore nonfunerary contexts for Athenian vases in Etruria, and Fortunelli and Masseria (2009) consider Athenian vases in Italic sanctuaries.

19. Johnson (2010, 106) uses the term in the context of "post-structuralism." Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011, 92–107) explores the approach for ancient Greek material culture.

20. Bowley 2013.

TABLE 6.1. Definitions of art historical terms

Hermeneutic	Deductive interpretations that assume meaning is rooted in the original cultural conditions of production.
Actual or absolute intentionalism	Artist's intended meaning is the only true meaning. Viewer's perception of meaning is irrelevant. Requires evidence (notes, diary, interviews, etc.) to establish what the artist intended.
Anti-intentionalism	Artist's intended meaning is irrelevant. Only the viewer's perception of meaning is important. Considers that works sometimes contain unconscious meanings not known to the artist.
Modest actual intentionalism	Artist's intended meaning is the most important. Viewers may perceive different meanings.
Hypothetical intentionalism*	Artist's intended meaning for an ideal (generally Greek or Athenian) audience. Without evidence to establish intended meaning, the interpreter assumes what the artist would have expected an ideal viewer to perceive in the work. Assumptions are based on study of related cultural evidence. Method most often practiced by archaeologists.
Actual viewer	Viewer who sees the image, whether intended by the artist or not.
Implicit viewer	Viewer the artist had in mind when creating the work. Establishing this identity requires external references (notes, diaries, interviews, etc.) or internal ones.
Hypothetical viewer*	Viewer the interpreter assumes the artist had in mind. Using cultural evidence, the interpreter establishes for whom the artist produced the work.
Plural or individual viewers	There is no one best viewer. All viewers approach the work and perceive meanings individual to their experience. The artist has no control over the variety of meanings.
Generic Greek or Athenian viewer	Hypothetical viewer without sensitivity to evidence provided by findspot and cultural context.
Absolute reception	The only important viewer is Athenian, so the meaning an Athenian viewer perceived is the only meaning that matters.
Omniscient modern viewer	Viewer who can survey an artist's production all at once despite spatial or chronological hurdles. Modern reproduction methods allow modern viewers to do this, but an ancient viewer would not be able to consider the entire oeuvre of an artist at once.

*Approaches most often used in the study of Athenian vase painting.

him to paint a particular scene; we do not know how much choice individual painters had). What motivated this intended meaning and the execution of it relates to the context of creation. Artistic and cultural conventions provided parameters.[21] Because of the inflexibility of vase iconography and conventions, an ancient vase painter, when asked why he did not show landscape elements, might have responded, "Because we don't." One important step in interpreting images, then, is to understand the artistic and cultural conventions of the medium and how they limit the creative process of the painter. We must be cautious, however, about applying anachronistic principles of artistic freedom to our interpretation of ancient art.

Even though vase painters were more craftsmen than artists, the very act of creating an image qualifies as artistic production, so it is worthy to receive theoretical consideration. I here first summarize what seem to be two sides of the theoretical coin, artistic intention and viewer reception. I then follow with a discussion of how approaches accounting for each side may be helpful for the study of Athenian vases.

The theoretical study of intentionality considers how the circumstances surrounding the production of a work of art and the meaning anticipated by the maker should impact the viewer's experience of the work.[22] Art historical discussions of artistic intention range from actual (absolute) intentionalism to anti-intentionalism.[23] Absolute intentionalism holds that a work's true meaning or most important meaning is the one meaning the artist had in mind.[24] The meaning inferred by the viewer—ancient or modern—may be irrelevant and misguided.[25] For example, the meaning of a painting should be sought in the artist's biography, artistic context, and patronage, among any other forces on the individual that contributed to the artistic product. If the artist intended to depict a lion but it looks like a dog to us, absolute intentionalists say that the sculpture is a lion (fig. 6.1). A problem with the absolute intentionalist position is that viewers may not be able to reconstruct the original intended meaning of the artist. They do not always have diaries or records that give insight into the goals of the artist or what he or she was thinking. Similarly but more abstractly,

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21. Patterson 1995, 139.

22. I here follow Michael Baxandall's (1985) understanding of intention as the motivation or agenda of the creator. I am not using the term *intention* in its clinical psychological, philosophical, or legal definition, to refer to the purpose for a person's actions, whether conscious or unconscious—although the ideas are connected; see Patterson 1995, 135–40.

23. A succinct summary of the debate is in Patterson 1995, 140–46.

24. A proponent of an intentional, historical approach is Jerrold Levinson, who has explained and elaborated his views since Levinson 1979. Levinson has led the charge to reinsert historicity and context into intentionalism.

25. Knapp and Michaels 1982.

Fig. 6.1. Limestone sculpture of a lion(?), from Gordion (Gordion S23). (Courtesy of the Gordion Archives, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.)

modern criticism considers the possibility that an artist may not be fully aware of his or her intentions, since some elements are subconscious and cannot always be articulated.[26] Absolute intentionalism keeps the focus on the artist and foregrounds his or her worldview. However, this approach is impossible when considering ancient Athenian vase painting, since there is no time machine to give us access to the painters' thoughts.

At the other end of the spectrum is anti-intentionalism.[27] Anti-intentionalism views the creative product as independent from the artist's intentions. Anti-intentionalism, then, is the death of the artist. According to this approach, the artist no longer owns the image once produced;[28] the only interpretation that matters is the viewers', many divergent meanings can coexist, and meaning can (and should) change over time. The aforementioned "lion" (fig. 6.1) is thus welcome to be a dog, a bear, or even a crocodile, if that is what a viewer brings to the image. Anti-intentionalism is closely related to theories of viewer and reader reception.

In the middle of approaches focused on either artistic intention or viewer

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26. Patterson 1995, 139–40. The work of Freud on the irrational is instrumental to this idea. See also Eco 1992c, 73-88, reacting to interpretations of Eco's own works.

27. The key anti-intentionalist statement is Wimsatt and Beardsley 1946.

28. Antiauthorial conceptions are particularly evident in Foucault and Derrida, as discussed by Patterson (1995, 143–44) and Davies (1999, 148).

reception are *modest actual intentionalism* and *hypothetical intentionalism*. Modest actual intentionalism considers the artist's original intention relevant to the meaning.[29] In the case of multiple meanings, the one intended by the author is preferred.[30] Hypothetical intentionalism considers how an artist would best present an image to an ideal contemporary viewer.[31] This approach accepts that it is often difficult to reconstruct original artistic objectives, especially when chronologically removed from the artist or in the absence of documentation. The interpreter, then, uses cultural evidence to hypothesize what meaning the artist intended his or her audience to understand. In this theory, the hypothetical meaning has to be one that the creator would deem acceptable and that his or her contemporary audience would "get."[32]

Most scholars of vase painting practice hypothetical intentionalism, whether they know it or not. They use supporting archaeological evidence, context, stylistic analysis, and comparative studies to deduce the meaning intended by the vase painter.[33] However, scholars may not explicitly define who they think the intended audience of a vase was. The unstated "ideal" is most likely to be a generic Greek or a generic Athenian. Hypothetical intentionalism, then, expends less thought on the identity of the viewer than do the other approaches considered here, but it can illuminate the artistic, cultural, and social environments in which the vase painter participated. In the end, hypothetical intentionalism still focuses on the artist and his or her objectives, not on actual audience reception.

Reception theory refers to the act of meaning creation performed by the beholder of the image. As with intentionalism, that beholder—or viewer—can be actual, implicit, or pluralistic. Modern art criticism has focused almost entirely on the plural meanings attainable by divergent viewers, but I here expand the categories in parallel with the discussion of intentionalism above.[34] The actual viewer refers to the person or group who actually ended up viewing the image, whether that audience was intended by the artist or not.[35]

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29. Carroll 2000, 76. My discussion in this section foregrounds the practical, not the philosophical. The intended image is simply a descriptor of what the vase painter will produce, not the Platonic ideal of forms.

30. Carroll 2000, 76.

31. Levinson 2002, with reference to his previous discussions of the approach. Hypothetical intentionalism is related to "value maximizing" theory, in which the best hypothesis is one that maximizes the artistic value of the work as long as it is plausible alongside the information known about the artist, the work, and its context; see Stecker 2006.

32. Levinson 1996.

33. Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011, 92–107) and Hedreen (2012) provide excellent examples of the process without belaboring the theory as I am doing here.

34. "Reception studies," examining how an object or artwork was understood by subsequent generations, are not of interest to us here. Although reception aesthetics often explore *how* a beholder creates meaning in an image, my treatment of "meaning" glosses over the psychological meaning-making process that occupies many studies of reception theory.

35. I am here vastly simplifying the complex categories of viewers/readers outlined by recep-

The image of the implicit viewer encompasses who the painter had in mind to view the work, what the painter expected that viewer take away from the image, and how that viewer would have interpreted the work. In contemporary modern works, especially literature but sometimes art, there can be internal clues to who the artist's implied viewer was. For archaeology, the implicit viewer is usually a "hypothetical" viewer, because scholars use educated guesses based on archaeological evidence (including context, comparative images, and even literature) to reconstruct the implied viewer of an image.[36] We cannot be positive how an elite Etruscan interpreted an Athenian vase, but we can speculate about that interpretation by placing the vase in a context of locally produced images and an archaeological context.

Much of current reception theory in both literary and art historical studies focuses instead on the possibility of multiple viewers over time and place and, thus, on the availability of an infinite number of meanings.[37] Whether a meaning would ever have occurred to its creator does not matter, nor does consideration of historical or cultural constraints.[38] What a work means to one person reflects that person's life history, gender, social status, and so on; thus, each person brings something unique to the interpretation, and that is OK.[39] Following this approach, the lion is a crocodile because I say so.

A pluralistic approach to image reception has an important place in investigation of ancient image meaning. The emphasis on individualistic interpretations reminds us that ancient culture was not uniform, which is useful to acknowledge since we are often guilty of homogenizing the past (consider the "generic Greek" viewer discussed above). Yet it is not usually possible for archaeologists to obtain a true level of individual resolution. Instead, we may be able to recover interpretive resolution for particular groups who viewed the figured vases, such as Athenians, possibly women in Athens, but more importantly Greeks outside of Athens, Greek colonists abroad, and different groups of non-Greeks throughout the Mediterranean. In addition, pluralistic approaches

tion aesthetics. For a summary, see Holly 2002, 452–53. It does not seem likely that vase painters, like their literary contemporaries in ancient Athens, created tension between the implied viewer and the actual viewer, but this would be an interesting question to consider.

36. Kemp 1998, 183.

37. Sometimes carried out under the heading of "post-structural analysis"; see Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, 103–7. A related topic is the agency of the art object, that is, in what manner it prompts these interpretations. For ancient art, see Osborne and Tanner 2007.

38. Tracing the development of meaning over time and place is also known as object biography, see Gosden and Marshall 1999.

39. This postmodern tolerance for individualistic meaning is also found in museum displays of ancient art. See critiques of Bernard Tschumi's sculpture installations at the New Akropolis Museum, where the korai are elevated to art, untethered from their ancient contexts or ancient meanings; the objective is aesthetic not didactic. See commentary in Plantzos 2011, 619–20.

to viewer-created meaning also open the door for the simultaneous existence of multiple, very different cultural meanings for the same image. Simultaneous meanings are particularly useful when considering Athenian vases produced for the export market. In sum, there can be an "actual viewer" in contrast to the painter's "implied viewer," with each arriving at very different meanings of the same image.

Traditional vase-painting scholarship, especially culture historical systematization or structural analysis of iconography, does not consider the specific identity of the viewer, although structural analysis requires a viewer.[40] Scholars assume a generic Greek or Athenian viewer as they reconstruct meaning of vase images, although they rarely state these positions explicitly.[41] For the study of vase painting, we can call discussions that assume a Greek or Athenian audience the "absolute reception" position, maintaining that the true meaning is the one intended for this specific viewer. However, many Attic vases with known findspots have been found outside of Athens, that is, in contexts that indicate that at least the final viewer was not Athenian. To argue for an Athenian viewer for those exported vases, T. B. L. Webster suggested that there was a second-hand market for Athenian vases.[42] He proposed that some vases made for elite Athenians might be used once and then sold to traders who distributed them around the Mediterranean, particularly to Etruria. What proves this hypothesis false is the absence of a cross section of vase types and themes in Athens; some images only occur abroad. Webster's suggestion has not been well received, and further studies have shown it unlikely.[43] More recent studies have used distribution and stylistic evidence to show that Attic vase painters knew that some of their products were destined for non-Athenian consumers.[44]

Vase-painting iconographic studies often utilize an omniscient modern viewer. In this perspective, scholars see iconographic differences, such as the way vase painters depict interactions between men and women, as revealing

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40. For culture history, see Trigger 2006, chap. 6, esp. 311–13. Beazley 1956, 1963, and 1971 are examples of culture historical ordering of material. For structural analysis as applied to vase painting and for references to studies, see Stansbury-O'Donnell 2011, 79–88.

41. There are many examples: Ferrari (2002, 26–27) refers to a "contemporary viewer" without definition; Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999, 7–8) explores the importance of knowing the audience for an image but generally assumes a generic one.

42. Webster 1972, 291–92.

43. For the home market, see Hannestad 1988; Lynch 2011b. For examples of iconography and shapes targeted to Etruscans, see Shapiro 2000; Lewis 2009. The most cited examples are the Nikosthenic amphoraei with distinctive, Bucchero-inspired forms: see Tosto 1999; von Mehren 2001. See also, reviving Webster's theory, Rasmussen 2008.

44. Ahead of his time, Webster (1972, chap. 20) did explore the vase painter's intended meaning and its reception by Greek and non-Greek customers.

cultural meaning.[45] These studies aim to identify the worldview or cognitive map of the vase painters but require the ability to see all of an artist's pots—made at different times and viewed by different audiences—at once.[46] Studies of individual vase painters often analyze a painter's deviation from his typical depictions but disregard the fact that no one viewer other than the painter himself could have ever seen all the vases, and even the painter would never have seen his whole lifetime's production at once. There were no "Exekias" retrospectives in ancient Greece. These studies seem to assume an ancient Athenian viewer but rarely state so explicitly. Conclusions reached from such studies can be important, but they tell us more about the painter than his audience. For the many vases in museum collections around the world for which we have no find context, these "omniscient modern" approaches are particularly productive. Nevertheless, a more explicit statement of assumed viewer—or lack thereof—would be useful to scholarly audiences.

Vase-painting scholarship can combine the issues of producer intentionality and viewer reception into a hermeneutic tool and ask what a painter intended to paint and what meaning a viewer comprehended. Critically, the intended meaning for a vase painter does not always equal the interpretation of a viewer. A viewer can have, in Umberto Eco's terms, an aberrant decoding in which local context and culture may cause the viewer to miss cues in the original visual language.[47] The imbalance in the equation, however, can provide vital insight into the vase painter's conception of his audience and into the viewer's conception of the creator.

A hypothetical intentional meaning can be extrapolated from the patterns of vase and image distribution, and a hypothetical reception can be determined from the patterns of consumption of the vases and image themes. I conclude this chapter with a few examples. There are many others, and I encourage readers to consider their own areas of study in light of the approaches discussed above.

Tyrrhenian Amphorai

Tyrrhenian amphorai are ovoid, black-figured neck amphorai dating to ca. 565–530 BCE. None have been found in Greece, and the majority with known

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45. Ferrari 2002; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, esp. 58–98.
46. Ferrari 2002, 9–10.
47. Eco 1979, 8, 22. Eco plays with this idea in a fictional conversation between a human and an alien in Eco 1990, 263–82.

findspots have been found in Etruria.[48] Although all were made in Athens, they were not used by Athenians, so we already have a clue about the intention of the painter. He knew that such a vase was not going to be used by an Athenian; therefore, he must have had a non-Athenian viewer in mind. The imagery on the Tyrrhenian amphorai is also unusual for its period. Scenes are often more graphic or show a moment not typically depicted on vessels destined to stay in Athens or other Greek sites. Von Mehren examines several of the images and determines that the imagery on some Tyrrhenian amphorai provides a model for Etruscan metal and pottery decoration.[49] The Athenian vase painter's intended audience was Etruscan, and it is likely that the Etruscans clearly apprehended his intended meaning, because they emulated image narratives and style in their own artistic production. In this case, it appears that hypothetical intended meaning and hypothetical reception were the same. Unanswered is the question of how the Athenian vase painter understood so clearly what the Etruscans wanted. As noted above, the Athenian potters were businessmen, so they must have done "market research" in some way in order to improve sales.

Warriors and Vases

Clemente Marconi and Robin Osborne demonstrate how scholarly interpretations of the same vase can come to very different conclusions about the intention of the vase painter, the identification of his audience, and the meaning that audience attains.[50] Both consider the same three Athenian black-figured vases deposited in a grave in the Contrada Mosè cemetery of Akragas, Sicily, ca. 500 BCE.[51] The findspot, a Greek colony, provides a starting point. The viewers were colonial Greeks, and it is possible that they brought different ways of seeing to the images. Marconi proposes that the viewers—that is, the mourners who deposited the vases in the grave—selected martial imagery because it provided a metaphor for the successes that the deceased, a warrior, had accomplished in life.[52] Unlike the Tyrrhenian amphorai, the shapes and images on the Akragas grave vases were found in Athens, Sicily, and even Etruria. Marconi concludes that generic warrior scenes could have currency in most cultures of the Medi-

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48. von Mehren 2001, 45–46; Kluiver 2003, with images.

49. von Mehren 2001, 49. Kluiver (2003, 121) notes that Etruscan Pontic amphorai also follow some Tyrrhenian models.

50. Marconi 2004; Osborne 2004a. The dialogue originated at a conference held at Columbia University in 2002.

51. Marconi 2004, 28–29, figs. 3.3–9.

52. Marconi 2004, 38.

terranean, since many of those cultures predicated power on victory in battle.[53] Marconi's interpretation of these Athenian exports breaks down as follows: the vase painter's intended audience was not specific, although his iconographic decisions relied on his own worldview, which was compatible with his Greek and non-Greek potential viewers. Marconi establishes the hypothetical reception of the vases through an analysis of locally produced, colonial Greek image use and through reference to shared Greek cultural values.

Osborne's treatment of the vases from the same Akragas grave comes to a different conclusion. He agrees that the martial themes were appropriate for many cultures of the Mediterranean, but he argues that the Athenian vase painter had only his fellow Athenians in mind when he created the vases.[54] Osborne focuses on two vases that feature Skythians alongside typical hoplites.[55] He concludes that the short time span during which Athenian vase painters produced this particular type of Skythian imagery means that events in Athens prompted the images.[56] Marconi's view was that the vase painter was producing for an unspecified but potentially non-Athenian viewer; Osborne says that such specific imagery must have reflected something relevant in the worldview of Athenians and, thus, that the vases "were made on purpose, specifically for an Athenian clientele."[57] Osborne notes, however, that the largest number of vases with Skythians occur at Vulci. He leaves unanswered the question why. In Osborne's scheme, the hypothetical intention of the artist was to use the Skythian figures as a counterpoint to the role of an Athenian citizen army.[58] For Osborne, the hypothetical audience is Athenian, the only audience that would understand the subtle iconography. By recognizing that vases with Skythians were found outside Athens, Osborne opens up the possibility for other, local interpretations by actual viewers. Nevertheless, he is firm that the vase painter was not anticipating any other, secondary interpretations.

Scenes of Heterosexual Intercourse

I close with a final example that I will summarize here because I have presented it elsewhere.[59] Around 520–475 BCE, Athenian vase painters produced red-

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53. Marconi 2004, 40.
54. Osborne 2004a, 42; the same idea is explored in Osborne 2001.
55. Marconi 2004, fig. 3.5 (Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale AG. 23076); fig. 3.9 (Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale AG. 23079).
56. Osborne 2004a, 52.
57. Osborne 2004a, 52.
58. Osborne 2004a, 51–52, derived from Lissarrague 1990.
59. Lynch 2009.

figured drinking cups with graphic scenes of heterosexual intercourse (fig. 6.2). No vases with these scenes are found in Athens.[60] Those with findspots are from Etruscan graves in Vulci, Tarquinia, and Cerveteri, all Etruscan sites. The tools of artistic intentionality and viewer reception indicate that the Athenian painters produced these scenes with a particular, non-Athenian audience in mind. What their intended meaning was, the absolute intentionality, we cannot know, but a hypothetical intentional meaning may be that they knew of Etruscan enjoyment of sexual scenes and, thus, consciously manipulated conventional Athenian imagery to suit that perception of the intended audience.[61] By the fourth century BCE, Theopompos of Chios described the Etruscans as obsessed with sex, and perhaps we can assume that such stereotypes were already in place one hundred years earlier, when the vases with erotic scenes were most frequently exported.[62]

Similarly, we cannot know the actual reception of these vases, but we can reconstruct hypothetical receptions. Is Theopompos' characterization right? Did Etruscans like the vases because sex was an important part of their cultural character? We cannot know, but that is one possible hypothetical reception. In another, the viewers possibly saw the scenes of intercourse as apotropaic and, thus, appropriate for a tomb. For example, the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia features scenes of intercourse.[63] Finally, it is possible that the Etruscan viewers liked the images because they characterized the <u>Greeks</u> as having strong sexual appetites; that is, perhaps the Etruscans saw the images as depicting stereotypical, oversexed Greeks.

In this case study, it seems clear that the hypothetical intention of the Athenian vase painter was to appeal to Etruscan consumers. What the painter expected his audience to get from the images, however, is unclear. Understanding the hypothetical reception is more complicated, because we do not have enough evidence to be able to speculate with confidence what the Etruscans took away from the image. Nevertheless, this example may provide a case of aberrant reading. Perhaps the vase painter intended to depict a stereotype of Etruscan mores, while the Etruscan viewer saw the Etruscan stereotype of a Greek.

The key to establishing both hypothetical intentionality and hypothetical reception is context, not only the archaeological context, but also the cultural contexts of the creators and viewers. This integration of image and context is

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60. The imagery in question is heterosexual intercourse, not simply "erotic." The adjective *erotic* has been applied to a large number of very different scenes, from these to scenes of homosexual courting. The Beazley Archive Database is particularly loose with the term.

61. Lewis 2002, 118–20.

62. Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F 204, *apud* Ath. 12.517d–518b; Shapiro 2000, 316, 337.

63. Holloway 1986, 448; Lewis 2002, 118.

Fig. 6.2. Detail of a tondo on a cup attributed to the Briseis Painter, from Cerveteri, Italy (Ashmolean Museum 1967.305). (Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

missing from many vase-painting studies and the art historical approaches described above. Only by filling in as much of the picture as possible can we responsibly offer these hypothetical readings. As they are hypotheses, we must be prepared for new material or data to challenge them.

This brief discussion of intentionality and reception in art historical theory has shown that these tools are useful for thinking about intention and meaning as separate activities with potentially separate outcomes. Artistic intentionality urges us to pay more attention to the intention or motivation of the vase painter. Viewer reception urges us to recognize the divergent interpretations possible for different audiences of the same scene. Sometimes the vase painter's intentional meaning and the audience's perceived meaning line up, but they more often diverge, which can yield exciting insight on cultural values. As with much theoretical discourse, archaeologists are applying approaches already practiced by many scholars in other fields, but we adopt them to our specific interpretive needs. A conscious and explicit statement of the assumed viewer is essential to the interpretation of ancient images on Athenian vases and beyond.[64]

This chapter invites scholars, as creators of knowledge, to be more conscious

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64. On the application of this approach to Greek sculpture, see Rusnak 2001, 11–46.

of their assumptions and interpretive preconceptions. There are, for example, benefits to the "omniscient modern" approach, in which all of an artist's works are considered despite the fact that neither the ancient artist nor any ancient viewer could see all of the works at one time; we can understand the artistic development of the artist and chronological patterns in the artist's work. However, the omniscient modern approach cannot tell us about artistic intention. Conscious scholarly self-reflection can help a scholar align his or her methodology with his or her research questions. Scholarly intentions can impact knowledge, too.

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CHAPTER 7

❧

Ethnicity and Greek Art History in Theory and Practice

S. Rebecca Martin

This chapter considers one element in the problematic relationship between ancient artistic conventions and modern interpretations of them. The scholarly understanding of ethnicity has increasingly been framed in nuanced terms, yet historians still sometimes see ethnicity as fixed in relation to Greek art. I here survey several examples of the unstable nature of ethnicity and representation in Greek art, before turning to the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus to show how interpretation of that work's visual conventions in ethnic terms that are believed to be particular to Greek art and Hellenic audiences is problematic, in several respects that miss or misconstrue its expression of Sidonian identity. This chapter closes by underscoring the value of ethnicity as a heuristic tool that goes beyond identifying the costume or action of figures shown in ancient art. Ethnicity allows us to ask with sensitivity *who is represented by* a work of art.

Revisiting the topic of representation and ethnicity in an expressly theoretical context has strengthened my conviction that art history has much to offer to the larger enterprise of interpreting classical antiquity.[1] It is with art historical methodologies in mind that I offer a necessarily brief reconsideration of ethnicity, naturalism, and representation, to help refine our expectations of what images can tell us and how imagery contributed to the expression and construction of identity. In juxtaposing representation and ethnicity, we gain valuable insights into the largest source of data that we possess, material culture. I believe that representational strategies in ancient art have striking

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parallels with ethnicity; both are highly subjective and often deliberately ambiguous. To test this hypothesis, I focus the latter part of the present discussion on competing interpretations of the Alexander Sarcophagus, arguing that the vagaries of representation have permitted divergent readings of the work's ethnic markers. The sarcophagus can be understood as a deliberate expression of identity appropriate to its findspot in Phoenician Sidon, because of—not despite—the work's overtly Greek appearance. Thus ethnicity's heuristic value is demonstrated as we reevaluate how art was used to express identity.

Ethnicity, Naturalism, and Representation in the Archaic to Hellenistic Periods

The *ethnos* signaled a self-conscious and subjective expression of a commonality. It is a Hellenic concept with loose, varied, and even contradictory meanings. A common starting point is Herodotos' open-ended definition of Hellenic ethnicity (*To Hellenikon* 8.144.2) as common blood, language, religion, and customs, although his definition is deceptively straightforward in isolation and hardly explains the approaches to *ethne*, Hellenic and other, within his own history.[2] Sometimes the *ethnos* coexisted with *polis* identity. The *ethnos* might signal larger regional identities (Thuc. 1.18) that could develop parallel to—or because of—migration, colonization, empire building, *synoikism*, and so on. Individuals might have both *polis* and regional *ethne*, because ethnicity was a multilayered idea; even so, it comprised only one aspect of identity. The catalyst for the development of an *ethnos* might be deliberate and internal (and sometimes oppositional), external perceptions and pressures, or some mixture of these. Its basis could be fictional or a product of memory. Ethnicity was expressed in various ways, through shared ancestry, toponyms, or rituals or through cultural markers such as dress and hairstyle, prestige goods (often imported), symbols, and cuisine.

I agree with the open-ended view of ethnicity as the expression of commonality over time (what can be called, generally, "a common past"), but I acknowledge that it is very difficult to determine what particular factors contributed to that expression and when they mattered. Language offers one broad example. Greek speech may have been an important marker of Hellenic ethnicity in the Archaic era, but by the Hellenistic era, when Greek had become the *koine*, it

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2. I here closely follow McInerney 2001, especially 56–57. For Herodotos and ethnicity, see Thomas 2001; on territory (nationalization) and *ethnos*, A. Smith 1986. On politics, see Hall 1997; on politics and colonization, Morgan 2002.

does not necessarily reflect even a cultural identity.[3] Ethnic markers varied according to their geographic and social contexts and could be manipulated to gain particular advantage. Ethnicity formation was a continuous and subjective process with constantly shifting criteria. In Greek history, we balance the existence of *ethne* against the imprecision of the term *ethnos* and the ambiguity—sometimes apparently deliberate—of the ideas underpinning it. It comes as little surprise that of the many scholars working on ethnicity, few approach the topic in the same way or equally value the different kinds of (notably archaeological) evidence.[4]

The ambiguity of representational strategies in Greek art parallels ethnicity itself. Ethnic essentialism and oppositional identity are, however, very often promoted as the most important aspects of Greek imagery. Although Frank Snowden demonstrated that prejudice based on skin color was not a feature of classical art, the ongoing American preoccupation with visually marked, biological "race" is often read back into antiquity where it can be presented in ethnic terms. Such confusion is ubiquitous and understandable. It is to some extent a feature of Snowden's work as well.[5] Ancient definitions of ethnicity that include "common blood" (Hdt. 8.144.2) or kinship complicate matters further when taken literally. Finally, at least in the United States, we are daily reminded of the significance of "race" and "ethnicity" to identity.[6] These highly valued categories are almost hopelessly confused by our fuzzy distinctions between the supposedly fixed biology of race and the subjective concept of ethnicity: census and equal opportunity surveys and ethnic food aisles in the grocery store point to the regular use of the term *ethnic* and its cognates as synonyms for skin color, language group, religious affiliation, geographical region, or nation. The difficulties surrounding the term raise serious questions about its value to art history. For all its complications, I maintain that ethnicity is among the best tools we have to uncover the humanity of ancient artwork. My interest here is not in identifying particular *ethne* in images but, rather, in gauging perceptions of ethnicity by using the concept heuristically. Ethnicity can be used to ask who is shown in an object or who made it, viewed it, and inferred its meaning. In other words, ethnicity encourages us to consider not just who is represented *in* but who is represented *by* a particular artwork.

As part of the bigger question of how and where we should be looking for

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3. The relationship of language to ethnicity is complex. See Malkin 2001; Thomas 2001, 222–25.
4. Morgan 2002, especially 101; Morgan 2009, especially 11–12. Antonaccio 2003 considers the idea of deliberately hybrid modes of display.
5. Snowden 1983. Cf. Tanner 2010, especially 15–18; McCoskey 2006.
6. See Hochschild et al. 2012.

evidence of ethnicity,[7] we must first ask what we will see (or hope to see) in an-cient art. The art-ethnicity relationship is complicated by a Greek approach to anthropomorphic figures that downplays specific physical likeness, despite its preoccupation with naturalism. The problem demands consideration. The rela-tionship of observation to representation—of object to image—is generally not straightforward, and interest in evoking the world of human experience is not a universal quality of art.[8] To reflect on the object-image relationship, we can turn briefly to modern art explicitly interested in working through the theory and practice of form. Theo van Doesburg's demonstration of the abstraction of a grazing cow, *Composition (The Cow)* (ca. 1917; fig. 7.1), thematizes the object-image relationship as it challenges expectations about classical artistic *techne*: form becomes more abstract when attention is paid to the body's basic struc-tures; color first clarifies and then upsets the identification of discrete physical features, challenging the coherence of the image. To van Doesburg, the process reveals nature's intrinsic abstraction, a tendency as present as man's impulse to imitate (*mimesis,* in the sense presented in Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Metaphys-ics*). But the final "essentialized" image can only be associated with its object through the schematized visual progression (fig. 7.1) or, when the final image is shown alone (as it is today), by denotation, as in van Doesburg's *Composition VIII (The Cow)*. In the latter scenario, we rely on the work's title to infer cause and effect, that is, where the artist began with the original object and what the artist intended to represent. The exploration of the banal object and its abstrac-tion raise other questions of the model's historical reality. Perhaps, instead of representing a particular animal, van Doesburg finds meaning in and aims to represent the formal process itself.[9]

   This modernist exercise might appear to have little bearing on Greek art (Myron's famed bronze notwithstanding), until we recall that Greek art's com-mitment to natural subject matter and animation is balanced by its preference for rich materials, its tendency toward virtuoso display, and its use of arbitrary techniques to stipulate its object. Like the use of silver for teeth and quartz for eyes, *techne* itself ultimately underscored artifice; conventional symbols (e.g., Alexander's *anastole*) and denotation (as in "*sema* of Phrasikleia") were just two of Greek art's arbitrary tools. All of these tendencies indicate that Greek art operated in a manner much closer to van Doesburg's *Composition (The Cow)* than we might first recognize when confronted with, say, the *Doryphoros*—

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7. Morgan 2009 summarizes the important methodological issues.
8. An extensive treatment of this topic in ancient art is found in Bahrani 2003.
9. Theo van Doesburg, *Composition VIII (The Cow)*, ca. 1918, New York, Museum of Modern Art 225.1948; Harrison et al. 1994, 184–262, especially 194–97, plates 170–71.
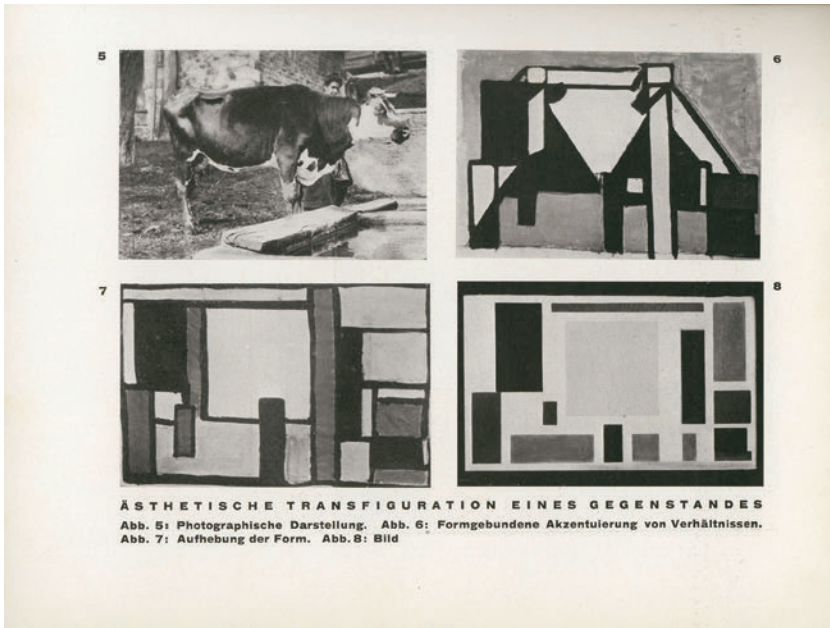
Fig. 7.1. Theo van Doesburg, *Ästhetische Transfiguration eines Gegenstandes* (An object aesthetically transformed), ca. 1917. (From Theo van Doesburg, *Grundbegriffe der Neuen Gestaltenden Kunst* [Principles of neoplastic art], Bauhausbucher 6 [Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1925].)

even though the statue's schematic formal approach is a key component of its admiration, both modern and ancient. With his *Kanon,* Polykleitos stood alone among men for rendering "art [*techne*] itself a work of art" (*artem ipsam fecisse artis opere iudicatur*), a high compliment from Pliny.[10]

While verisimilitude in the debris of Sosos' *asarotos oikos* can be seen from copies and inferred from Pliny's description (*HN* 36.184–89), ancient accounts of remarkable likeness are best understood in relative terms: Daedalic sculpture was physically animate (Diod. 4.76.1–6); masks astonished a group of satyrs with their vivacity (Aesch., *Spectators, or Athletes of the Isthmian Games*, *P. Oxy.* 2162, 5–7); Zeuxis' painted grapes tempted birds, and Parrhasios' painted curtain later deceived even that master (Pliny, *HN* 35.61–66); the supple marble form of the *Knidia* made the goddess both more tangible and desirable (even

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10. Pliny, *HN* 34.55; trans. Pollitt 1990, 75. See Gombrich 1960; Goodman 1968; Frigg and Hunter 2010.

lethally erotic in later sources: e.g., Pliny, *HN* 36.20). As one term for sculp-
ture, *agalma* (delight) further indicates how such works were admired for be-
ing both derived from and overt manipulations of the natural world. *Agalmata*
were made objects, the product of the clash of nature and artifice (*techne*), thus
distinguishing Greek art's naturalism from the discomforting, even repulsive
effects of extreme verisimilitude. The exaggerated language of ancient texts
should not cloud our perceptions any more than we should allow ourselves to
conflate classical realism and verism with the uncanny hyperrealism of some
modern art or the automaton and doppelgänger (cf. Freud's 1919 essay "Das
Unheimliche"). No ancient art rivals Duane Hanson's eerie fiberglass sculptures
cast from live models.

The complex of meanings signaled by the word *mimesis* in the visual arts
suggests that instances of the term that come from the Classical era are perhaps
best understood as meaning "representation," which is how I use the term here.
Mimesis often meant illusionism, rather than "imitation" in the Platonic sense
of copying (*Rep.* 10.596e–597e), an idea that seems to have had limited impact
on later art theories. Like naturalism, illusionism should not be conflated with
realism, even in the Greek sense. Precisely how the mimetic process unfolded
is not known. Anthropomorphic works were highly conventional. Honorific
athlete statues were entirely unconcerned with the reproduction of the somatic
details of any one individual (see Xen., *Mem.* 3.10.1–5), but we understand eas-
ily enough that they represent individuals through their specific action, con-
text, inscription, and minor distinguishing details. We identify the two Riace
bronzes as heroes. Although much has been made of their individuality—slight
variations in pose, expression, and even age—they almost certainly came from
the same model, surely a standard practice in bronze workshops.[11] Some art-
ists, such as the late classical master Lysippos, seem to have been especially
adept at wrestling specific traits—whether real physical features or deliberately
constructed ideal ones—into typologically appropriate portraits that "effected"
reality. Pliny (*HN* 35.153) reports that Lysippos' brother Lysistratos invented
the practice of working from plaster life masks "from the surface [of the body]
itself" (*e facie ipsa*). The evidence of artists working from live models is first
testified in the fourth century BCE.[12] Female models appear in connection with
anecdotes about the *Knidia* (e.g., Plato, *Anth. Gr.* 16.160; Athenaios 13.590). But
portraits sometimes were reinscribed with little or no alteration of the origi-
nal "likeness." Pausanias (1.18.3) remarks that statues of Miltiades and The-

11. Mattusch 2006, 227–28.
12. On Lysistratos, see Pollitt 1990, 104 nos. 8–9; Palagia 2006, 263. Stewart (1990, 34) men-
tions live models.

mistokles that stood in the Prytaneion were given new, Roman and Thracian identities.[13] The practice was not uncommon.

Although the generic archetypes of "athlete," "hero," and "god(dess)" are staples of Greek art, techniques of representation and their meanings are not consistent. Nudity is one example that highlights the difficulty of relating art to life. In much Greek art—and in the context of the *gymnasion* in life—full or partial nudity was normative for males, in contrast to costumed females. Male nudity is a positive feature in depictions of athletes and soldiers or in erotic scenes. In the representation of barbarians, such as the Attalid dedication on the Athenian Akropolis, or in scenes of debauchery, it is a negative (as on an oinochoe of ca. 530 BCE showing *mitra*-clad symposiasts who are drunk to the point of incontinence). Full or partial female nudity, too, carries many meanings: the innocence of the open garment of the girl on the Doves Stele from Paros (ca. 460 BCE) contrasts with the exposure of Deidameia on the west pediment of Olympia (ca. 460 BCE).[14]

Skin color and other somatic elements reveal lack of interest in consistent signification. Memnon was somatically indistinguishable from other heroes, though he could be associated with Ethiopia through the addition of one or more attendant figures with coarse, curly hair and other "Ethiopian" features. In one case that I know, he is "orientalized": on an Attic red-figure column krater of ca. 450 BCE, Memnon battles Amazons on horseback while clad in a long-sleeved *chiton* (a garment to which I will return), patterned trousers, and a Greek helmet.[15] Of course, color is never naturalistic in black- and red-figure painting. The technical limits of the black-figure technique make it impossible to know the extent to which black skin alone sometimes signaled "Ethiopian"—though it never did for Memnon. The inconsistent approach to skin color extends beyond foreigners and challenges modern ideas that link the body to deeper structures of identity. Although Hellenic males did not perceive themselves as white in color, white might denote important male characters in black-figure painting, such as the Odysseus in the proto-Attic Eleusis amphora of ca. 650 BCE. White was more commonly used for females in vase-painting technique and in wall painting. Finally, white was the default color of all figures

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13. Mattusch 2006: 228.

14. Attic black-figure oinochoe signed by Xenokles (potter) and Kleisophos (painter), Athens, National Museum 1045 (Neer 2002, 22–23, fig. 4); Doves Stele from Paros, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 27.45 (Stewart 1990, 149, fig. 304). See the contrast of "nudity" and "nakedness" in Bonfante 1989.

15. Attic red-figure calyx krater showing Memnon battling Amazons, attributed to the Painter of London E489, Copenhagen, National Museum 8 286 (147) (*LIMC,* "Memnon" no. 11). See also Raeck 1981. On skin color, see Tanner 2010, especially 15–18. For Ethiopian attendants, see *LIMC,* "Memnon" no. 6; cf. nos. 5, 7–10, all of which date to 540–500.

in the white-ground technique (added "second white" to further lighten the skin tone of females was fashionable for a time). To my knowledge, despite the Hellenic fascination with binaries, black sometimes signals "Ethiopian," but white skin is never used to distinguish "Hellene" from "barbarian," as nudity and dress can. Only occasionally were attempts made in Greek art to render foreigners precisely—an important point for my consideration below of the Alexander Sarcophagus.

I do not mean to imply that Greek art ignored ethnic difference, only that the ways such difference was expressed in Greek art were neither internally consistent nor documentary. Ethnicity could be more or less important, even among the heroes that contributed so much to Hellenic self-perception. Heroic archetypes—excepting beefy Herakles or child heroes—are physically indistinguishable from one another and from humans, contributing to our inability to determine whether the *Doryphoros* represents a man or Achilles. What divided the Onatos group into Achaians and Trojans and made Agias Thessalian was not their physical forms.[16] In Athens, prejudice and stereotypes of Others were celebrated through a hero who was perhaps not even Athenian—and certainly not of democratic stock.[17] The ideological contrast in Attic art of Athenian/Hellene and barbarian extends to physical type (centaurs), behaviors (warrior women), and some dress (an archer's patterned costume). Non-Hellenic subjects such as centaurs and Amazons were understood in allegorical terms, especially after the wars. But we should not rush to interpret every Amazonomachy or Centauromachy made after 480 BCE only and always in terms of the Greek-Persian conflict. Although conventional, these scenes must be viewed critically and according to their particular context. For example, the famous Amazonomachies, Centauromachies, and Gigantomoachies on the Parthenon must be weighed against the prominent receptivity to barbarian costume in Athenian art. Persian, Lydian, and Thracian fashions were popular accoutrements. They show up near the end of the war with Persia, in, for example, the soft-lapelled cap of a symposiast on a cup by Douris of ca. 480 BCE. They continue to appear a generation later, as seen prominently on the Parthenon frieze. Whether foreign dress is evidence of sympotic alterity, military trophies and conventions, or elite display is debated, although these interpretations can overlap. Arguments for the historicity of foreign elements in Athenian dress are persuasive. Indeed, the mixture of Athenian and particular non-Hellenic fashions seems to have been

16. The representation of females in Greek art falls outside the scope of this essay. It is not an unproblematic topic. Pomeroy 1995 (especially 93–119) remains a standard text.

17. Brommer 1982.

a distinguishing characteristic of the Athenian male in classical art and in life, particularly for cavalry.[18] In this respect, we note the capacity of Greek art to distinguish between Hellenic *ethne* (as we would not see Lapiths wearing Thracian boots), though it does not always choose to do so.

By contrast, the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis are a celebration of the ethnic variations of the Achaemenid Empire, with their splendidly costumed courtiers bearing animals and other gifts to the Great King. Although the Parthenon frieze may emulate Persian themes and incorporate foreign dress, the hairstyles, the physiognomies, and especially the *sophrosyne* of its figures are Athenian. The Parthenon is plainly ethnocentric, meaning that it is particular to Athens and not a template for understanding all of Greek art. Further, it is not a template for understanding all of ancient art. It would be a mistake to expect the Apadana reliefs to express a Hellenic or Ionian point of view because its sculptors were Ionian. The same can be said of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, although it contained a Centauromachy and an Amazonomachy as part of its complex program. Yet the Mausoleum is judged quite differently. Take, for example, the following description of the so-called Mausolos statue: "He is a fine characterization . . . of a foreigner (in Greek terms, by a Greek artist), with his wild mane of hair and secret, rather sinister expression." Later in the same source, Mausolos' visage is contrasted with a head from another area that is described as "very Greek."[19] Are we to understand that the artists tricked their Hekatomnid patron into accepting unflattering portraits or that the patron wished to see her family members represented as "wild" and "sinister" barbarians? Neither interpretation is credible but each shows how perceptions of the ethnicity of artist and patron can color interpretation. Works that borrow "formal or composition elements" from Greek art are likely to be viewed as Greek art despite their site of manufacture or patron.[20] At the same time, they can be criticized for diverging from scholarly perceptions of Greek art, perceptions that, as I have shown above, fail to take stock of the complexity of ethnicity *and* representation. This is especially true of high-quality works made in the eastern Mediterranean, such as the Mausoleum and, as I will now discuss, the Alexander Sarcophagus.

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18. Cohen 2001. Hagemajer Allen (2003) makes a parallel argument about fourth-century Athenian funerary art. See Lissarrague 1990; Miller 1997; Gruen 2011. See an Attic red-figure cup showing a symposion by Douris: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3922 (Cohen 2001, 244, fig. 9-4).

19. Boardman 1995, 28.

20. Hagemajer Allen 2003, especially 208–9 (quote from 209)). For more on the Apadana reliefs see Root 1985; on ethnicity and the Parthenon frieze, Cohen 2001, 258–61.

Ethnicity and the Production of Meaning
in the Alexander Sarcophagus

The magnificently carved funerary work we call the "Alexander Sarcophagus" (figs. 7.2–5) raises a number of questions about art and identity: who was represented on it, who was its intended audience, who sculpted it, and who was placed inside it (presumably its patron). The facts of its 1887 discovery in the Ayaa Nekropolis near Sidon elucidate the answers only a little. Like all the Sidonian relief sarcophagi, this one lacks inscriptions. While the recognition of Alexander on its large battle and hunt scenes (figs. 7.3–4) has lent the work its lasting nickname, the majority opinion has long-favored the idea that the tomb was built for the client king Abdalonymos of Sidon in the late third or fourth quarter of the fourth century BCE. Almost nothing is known of the historical Abdalonymos aside from a dedication made by his son on Kos. He is associated with a character in a classical allegorical tale set sometimes in Sidon. In Quintus Curtius' version (4.1.16–26), Abdalonymos was appointed king of Sidon by Alexander following the battle of Issos in 333 BCE, owing to his upright character. Abdalonymos is sometimes speculated to have died at the battle of Gaza in 312 BCE, although numismatic evidence possibly indicates a reign that lasted at least to 306/5 BCE. The finer disputes of the tomb's date are related to style (it is distinctly non-Lysippan), the association of one pedimental scene with the murder of Perdikkas in 320 (fig. 7.5), and the idea—needing further consideration—that the work was made during Abdalonymos' lifetime and displayed in the Sidonian court (in that case, the tomb preserves the earliest extant portraits of Alexander).[21]

The sarcophagus, larger than 3.0 × 1.5 meters, was made with Pentelic marble and was once richly painted and further embellished with metal attachments. Like the Ionic temples it evokes, it is covered in sculpture: four horizontal friezes, two pediments, akroteria, antefixes, and waterspouts. The major friezes show standard Near Eastern and Hellenic scenes: two hunts and two battles, respectively (figs. 7.3–4). Like the Mausoleum, this work seems to celebrate visual excess, albeit on a much smaller, "almost miniaturist" fashion, balancing very fine details with "lavish" scenes packed with figures.[22] Except for

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21. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 370. The main publications are Hamdi Bey and Reinach 1892, Schefold 1968 (with photographs by Max Seidel), and the 1970 monograph by von Graeve. Note reviews by Ridgway (1969, Schefold) and Havelock (1972, von Graeve). For Sidon, see Elayi 1989; Miller 1997, 30, 121–22. Comprehensive treatment of sources and scholarship is in Stewart 1993, 290–306, 422–23, figs. 101–6 (for the Kos inscription, see 296 n. 11; for Abdalonymos' reign, 296–97).

22. Smith 1990, 190–92 (quotes from 191).

Fig. 7.2 The Alexander Sarcophagus, Ayaa Nekropolis (Sidon), later fourth century BCE (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 370). (Courtesy of Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York.)

Fig. 7.3. Detail of the battle on one long side of the Alexander Sarcophagus. At left, Alexander charges into the scene on horseback. (Courtesy of Vanni Archive / Art Resource, New York.)

Fig. 7.4. Detail of the hunt on one long side of the Alexander Sarcophagus. The leftmost figure on horseback is usually identified as Alexander; the next horseman is sometimes identified as Abdalonymos. (Courtesy of Vanni Archive / Art Resource, New York.)

the depiction of a hunt on one short side, which shows only figures in Persian dress (fig. 7.2), each frieze has figures clad in Greek and Persian costume as well as nudes.[23] Military equipment is deliberately ahistorical. Both the heavy infantry and figures in Persian dress carry hoplite shields, not Macedonian *sarissas* or quivers.[24] In the battle scene on the other short side, one of the figures in Persian dress carries a hoplite shield painted with a remarkable image of a figure bowing before the enthroned Achaemenid king.[25] In the battles, "Greeks" and "Persians" fight one another; in the hunt on one long side, which evokes a Persian *paradeisos* (perhaps in Sidon: see Diod. 16.41.5), they participate side by side. The battle scene on one long side, with Alexander charging in from left,

23. Although battle scenes are commonplace in some Near Eastern art, there is no evidence of them at this time in Phoenicia. The terms *Greek* and *Persian* are commonly used to signal typical Greek artistic conventions: *chiton* and nudity as Hellenic, trousers (*anaxyrides*) and felt hat (*tiara*) as Persian. Cf. Hdt. 7.61–62. On Persian dress and the *chitoniskos cheiridotos*, see Miller 1997, 156–65.

24. Cf. Euphronios' krater of 510–500 showing Amazons dressed as hoplites and in patterned trousers: Arezzo, Museo Civico 1465 (*LIMC,* "Amazones" no. 64). When Memnon is flanked by Ethiopian attendants, he is dressed as a hoplite (see n. 15 above).

25. Brinkmann 2007, figs. 284–87, 296–97; cf. another painted shield held by a Greek in figs. 299–300.

Fig. 7.5. Detail of the Alexander Sarcophagus pediment, the so-called murder of Perdikkas. (Courtesy of Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York.)

is thought to show Issos. The pediments again show mostly soldiers. The one above the battle frieze shows a clash of figures in Greek and Persian dress. The pediment above the panther hunt—the so-called murder of Perdikkas—shows only Greek figures. Two are being killed, one by spear and another by knife. The latter is tied thematically to Near Eastern art; a hero or ruler killing a bound enemy is seen in Assyrian reliefs, Achaemenid cylinder seals, Phoenician bowls, and elsewhere.[26] Thus the pediments, too, are thematically balanced.

The carving on the sarcophagus is deep and confident, and the emotional intensity of the figures is notable. For example, on the pediment, the murderer of "Perdikkas" locks eyes with the soldier at his right (fig. 7.5). Throughout, the fighting is passionate, with the Persian soldiers and hunters sometimes winning (fig. 7.2, bottom). Style suggests that the artists came from either the Ionian or Rhodian regional schools. Athenian references are frequent and not unimport-

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26. See, conveniently, Frankfort 1996, figs. 122, 346, 353, 392–93; cf. fig. 441 for the parallel "Master of Animals" motif.

ant to the feeling that the work belongs to the repertoire of Greek art. That Alexander is the only figure who may be unambiguously identified on the tomb secures this presentation. While most work on the sarcophagus concerns its formal properties or aims to refine the particulars of its quasi-historical content, some focuses on its reception and role in acculturation (the "Hellenization" of the Sidonian kings).[27] Challenges to the Abdalonymos hypothesis are few, but the work's consistent treatment in handbooks of Greek art and studies of Alexander means that many different readings—some nuanced, others requiring remarkable special pleading to maintain their argument—have been made since its discovery. Some, such as Alexander von Graeve's thorough publication of 1970, are pointedly Hellenocentric. Several read the tomb as a manifestation of Alexander's practice of delegating power and pursuing a policy of cultural fusion. This interpretation seeks support in the tomb's thorough eclecticism, though such evidence, by its very nature, is not totally persuasive. Andrew Stewart attempts a full reading of the work's reception in the Sidonian court as an articulation of Abdalonymus' strategy to appease Macedonian and local visitors. Historian Waldemar Heckel has recently revived the idea (rejected by Stewart and others) that the tomb's occupant was another Alexander appointee, the Persian governor of Babylon Mazaeus (the name is *Mazday* in Aramaic; see Curt. 5.1.44). Heckel seeks to read the work "as a historical document" in which a straightforward interpretation of costume figures prominently.[28] This implausible reading picks up on two of the many difficulties in interpretations of this sarcophagus. The first is the desire to see the "Greek" scenes as all or mostly historical while seeing the "Near Eastern" scenes as generic, despite the fact that Greek art typically used painting or statue groups, not funerary art, to tell history, whereas Near Eastern art preferred reliefs. The second, related difficulty is in resolving the apparent contradictions in the content. Is the sarcophagus pro-Achaemenid or pro-Macedonian?

Different ideas about the tomb's occupant significantly change the way we read individual figures on the sarcophagus and, thus, its overall message, not least of all in ethnic terms. Whereas trousers surely signal that some figures are non-Hellenic, some scholars have found Abdalonymos next to Alexander on the long end's hunt (fig. 7.4). The idea that Phoenician elites wore Persian garb has circumstantial support from the other sculpted Sidonian sarcophagi and

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27. See Nitschke 2007 on Hellenization. Schefold 1968 emphasizes the tomb's nonhistorical aspects.

28. Stewart 1993, especially 298–306, figs. 101–6; Heckel 2006 (quote from 386). See also von Graeve 1970, 125 n. 30.

coins, the latter borrowing explicitly from Achaemenid iconography.[29] Both are difficult to relate to everyday life. Some scholars find it hard to believe that a ruler put into power by Hephaistion and Alexander would fail to separate himself visually from Persians. Of course, if the tomb was built for Mazaeus, there is no need to see a Macedonian client king nostalgically clad in (a Hellenic interpretation of) Achaemenid dress. Other interpretations of the tomb sidestep altogether the question of what the work meant to its patron. As an allegory of the perennial struggle of East and West, the sarcophagus deliberately avoided specificity: all non-Greeks (Phoenician, Persian) are Persian *barbaroi*; all non-*barbaroi* (Macedonians, Hellenes) are Greeks. Stewart's reception-driven approach refines this ideological reading. He resolves the tomb's apparent contradictions by imagining that the work was intended to address two audiences simultaneously, one "Asian" and the other "Greek." Stewart's "double consciousness" view suggests that the tomb aggregated Macedonian, Achaemenid, and Sidonian identities. That reading is plausible, but it is only persuasive if one presumes that the patron would have chosen this venue to articulate these particular aspirations (though von Graeve's forceful—and, in my opinion, implausible—biographical reading could also be made to fit this idea).

Alexander's "orientalizing" *chiton* suggests that the monument is delicately balancing accord and opposition. He wears a Persian garment called, in Greek, the *chitoniskos cheiridotos,* with long sleeves and a double girdle that creates a long overfall (figs. 7.3–4). Alexander's purple cloak, bare legs, painted Macedonian sandals, and lion-scalp helmet (derived from representations of Herakles) separate him from his foe, but it is impossible to ignore how his garment is visually identical to that of the Persian figures beside whom he battles or hunts. That the *chitoniskos cheiridotos* was adopted in Greece and Macedon generations earlier does not lessen the interesting visual rhyme made by the sleeved *chitones*. At the same time, it heightens dissonance (bare legs versus trousers). A recent publication of the sarcophagus has shown that the Persian figures had blue eyes and pale skin,[30] the latter signaling to Greeks that they lacked *andragathia*—manly virtue—as conveyed through swarthiness (see Xen., *Ages.* 1.28). Even the horses are "ethnically" distinguished, with those bearing Persians having a tightly wrapped forelock. In these elements, the tomb seems overtly concerned with difference.

Visual ambiguity has been exploited by modern scholars to fit the tomb to particular, often mutually exclusive interpretations. All interpretations are

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29. The recent study by Jigoulov (2010, 71–112) discusses Achaemenid themes in Sidonian coins.

30. Brinkmann 2007.

highly speculative and tautological, although it is unremarkable to push available evidence quite hard in Phoenician studies, owing to fragmented historical and archaeological records. But what happens when we reopen the question of this work's meaning to consider not only its expressly Greek visual conventions and its mixed content but also the clues that come from context, to consider who is truly represented by the Alexander Sarcophagus? Funerary art is inclined to increase personal glory in terms of recognizable symbols of power, and Phoenician funerary art is no exception. The first sculpted sarcophagi of the Sidonian kings were looted from an Egyptian workshop, probably during a campaign with Cambyses in ca. 525 BCE. They were personalized with inscriptions for their new occupants, Tabnit and Eshmunazar II. These looted works might have provided the inspiration for marble anthropoid sarcophagi manufactured some time later (over a hundred are known). These later marble tombs were made mostly, if not exclusively, in Parian marble. They hold to the basic Egyptian form and initially to its iconography, but they are made in a Greek style that is attributed often, though controversially, to ethnic Hellenes working in the service of local elites. The marble sarcophagi are unique in their combination of Greek style, Egyptian type, and appropriation of Egyptian symbols of power, such as the box beard. Sidon's four monumental relief sarcophagi, including the Alexander Sarcophagus, have a similar, if more varied, manner: Greek style, Persian and Greek dress, and a Lydian tomb type are all found.[31] However difficult to interpret and confused chronologically, these funerary works were unique to Sidon and had a particular meaning there—one that began to appear two hundred years before the Alexander Sarcophagus was made.

Scholars who see hybridity in the Alexander Sarcophagus rely on an ethnicity-image relationship that is Greek in its outlook, not Sidonian. Admittedly, we know very little about the artistic process anywhere in Phoenicia, either the role of artists or that of patrons. We do know that the region's art was often driven—by contact and appropriation, iconographically, thematically, and stylistically (especially Egyptian)—to create specific meanings with advantages particular only to Phoenician patrons, which suggests that patronage played a significant role. The Alexander Sarcophagus must be placed in this context. Whether some Persians depicted there should be read as Phoenicians is beside the point. In the context of the history of Sidonian funerary art, the Greek conventions found on one tomb are not so significant as to overpower precedent.

31. Lembke 2001. Houser 1998 offers a reading of the Alexander Sarcophagus in context of the other monumental relief sarcophagi.

Seen from a Sidonian perspective, the primary function of the Alexander Sarcophagus was to display its owner's status within local terms rather than to appease Macedonian and Persian visitors at court. We do not need to rely on fragile historical associations, such as the identification of Abdalonymos as patron, to support this reading; the findspot suffices. In fact, we will probably never recover the identity of the tomb's occupant. We cannot know the ethnicity of its sculptors either, regardless of where we think they were trained. We would do well to remember that even if they were Rhodian or Ionian, the sculptors were working within a Sidonian tradition that lacks parallels elsewhere. The Sidonian sarcophagi echo the Apadana reliefs and even the Periklean building program, which, owing to its massive scale, employed sculptors from a wide area but nevertheless created something distinctly Athenian. Thus another parallel is found in the classical Athenian cavalry, who fashioned themselves in a similarly eclectic but not undiscriminating manner.

I am inclined to read the Alexander Sarcophagus foremost in Phoenician and Sidonian terms. The admixture of themes unified by a (nonlocal) style has many parallels in Phoenician art. As all Sidonian sarcophagi show, the Phoenician approach to representation—if there was, in fact, just one approach[32]—is unbothered by wholesale appropriation, in a manner that might appear contradictory or derivative in the source material. This does not make the approach irrational or unspecific, but it seriously challenges our ability to interpret it, particularly when we insist on seeing it in oversimplified terms. The parallel may be basic, but van Doesburg's *Composition VII* reminds us that our not being able to see the cow does not mean he never saw one. Likewise, outside the context of his experiment, we could not insist that the painting represents a cow.

The Alexander Sarcophagus shows how fruitful it can be to use ethnicity as a heuristic tool, to open up the question of who is represented through a work of art. Ethnicity underscores how identity could be constructed visually in unexpected ways. Rather than forcing the Alexander Sarcophagus into an interpretive scheme appropriate to fifth-century Athens, we should note that it draws on both Greek and Near Eastern visual traditions, in a fashion that is unique to Sidon. We should also bear in mind that even fifth-century Athenian art did not consistently care to represent ethnic difference visually. We know very little about how the Sidonian elite looked or dressed, perceived its own

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32. See Meyer 2013 for similar issues in understanding "Skythians" and Skythian (or "Greco-Scythian") art.

appearance, or perceived differences (if any) between Sidonian and Greek or Persian physiognomy. Put another way, we are lacking in information about the ethnic consciousness of Sidonians and other Phoenicians. We must be cautious and vigilant about our own tendency to attribute beliefs to Phoenicians on thin evidence or through the highly subjective language of art. Thus a second benefit of focusing on this work through the ethnicity-representation relationship is how much it complicates what we think we see. Were all the figures on the sarcophagus foreigners to its patron? Are the reliefs aggregating Macedonians and Persians? If so, why are they visually opposed? Does this work emulate Greek art or cleverly manipulate it? Does it celebrate a colonial moment or emphasize continuity with other Sidonian funerary art? In Phoenicia, it is easy to see the value of such questions, because they allow us to begin to recover people obscured by our own too-simple ideas about acculturation. Like ethnicity, ancient art is not always beholden to objective truth. Thus we are reminded why it is important for archaeology to use ethnicity and representation as *theories*, useful tools for the careful inquiry about how identity is communicated through material culture.

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CHAPTER 8

❧

Material(ity) Girl

*Examining Images of Aphrodite on the
Bullae from Tel Kedesh*

Lisa Ayla Çakmak

In the 1980 film *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, a pilot casually tosses an empty glass Coca-Cola bottle out the window of his plane while flying over the Kalahari Desert; it lands, unbroken, in the middle of the African bush. A short while later, a lone Bushman out on a hunting expedition discovers the bottle. Confronted with this new and wondrous object, he brings it back to his village, where the village elders declare it to be a gift from the gods. The villagers devise many uses for the bottle, and, soon, jealousy and competition to gain possession of the bottle threaten the safety and well-being of the village. What started as a wonderful new discovery—a boon to the village—ends up being brandished as a weapon. At this point, the villagers decide that the bottle must be returned to the gods—pitched off the ends of the earth—in order for peace and equilibrium to be restored.

This story serves as an allegory for the ideas presented in this chapter: that the transfer of a symbol or object from one culture to another does not always go smoothly and that consistency of meaning and function cannot be assumed. In the film, the empty Coca-Cola bottle is transferred from one context to another without the requisite cultural infrastructure to explain its original, Western function—as a container for a specific kind of beverage. Furthermore, as a unique object in the village, possession of the bottle imbues the owner with a level of prestige and status different from in the United States, where such glass Coca-Cola bottles were once ubiquitous.

The Gods Must Be Crazy tells the story of first contact; a never-before-seen object enters a new context, people are confused, and hilarity ensues for the viewer "in the know"—that is, one watching from the Western point of view.

The story of cultural exchange between the Levant and Greece is somewhat different; it is a long one, stretching for centuries. High points of Greek art and culture are directly related to their contact with the Levant, specifically the Phoenicians. The Greeks adapt the Phoenician alphabet to write down their own language, and a steady stream of Eastern iconographic symbols and their infiltration of Greece led art historians and archaeologists to designate an entire artistic period "Orientalizing." But what happens when two (or more) cultures that have been in contact for centuries exchange symbols? Is the familiarity bred from centuries of contact enough to ensure that objects, concepts, ideas, or symbols will move seamlessly from one culture to another?

The following case study of cultural exchange focuses not on the moments of initial exchange or first contact, as in the bushman story above, but on an example of groups who have a long history of contact, trade, and exchange. These two groups, distilled for the purposes of convenience to the Phoenicians and the Greeks, are distinct cultural groups that had been trading partners for almost a millennium by the Hellenistic period. While it is easy to anticipate the potential misunderstandings that would occur upon first contact, this case study illustrates that a lengthy history of contact and familiarity with one another does not ensure a clear and easy transfer of symbols.

In this chapter, I argue that the common scholarly tendency to identify the Hellenistic Levant's naked female images in various media as Aphrodite may not accurately reflect every case of the on-the-ground interpretation and consumption of these images. Using the case study of Tel Kedesh, where a cache of over two thousand bullae or seal impressions has been found, I argue that identifying those images as the Greek deity Aphrodite (as suggested in previous scholarship) reflects a thoroughly modern and Western point of view, whereas the reality of the situation in the Hellenistic Levant paints a different picture.

This "triumph" of the Western point of view has had subtle and not-so-subtle effects on the ways in which images of naked female figures are titled and interpreted. For examples of these effects, one need look no further than interpretations of prehistoric "Venus" figurines, such as the *Venus of Willendorf* excavated in 1908 or the *Venus of Renancourt* excavated in France in 2014. These cases serve to show the pervasive phenomenon of "seeing" Venus/Aphrodite in any female nude figure, no matter the chronological or geographic distance. Furthermore, when examining the myriad orientalizing figurines and statuettes from Greek contexts, both female and male, such figures are rarely identified by the title from their originating culture but, rather, are called Hera, Aphrodite, or Apollo as befitting their Greek context. Using the theoretical concept of materiality, I hope to demonstrate that in order to understand images as

a particular cultural symbol, one needs details of a certain amount of religious and cultural infrastructure, or situated knowledge, to come to the conclusion that these images represent Aphrodite.

Aphrodite at Tel Kedesh

In the picturesque hills above the Hula Valley in the Upper Galilee region of Israel lies the site of Tel Kedesh. Enveloped in a plateau of fertile agricultural land owned by Kibbutz Malkiya, the large double mound is conspicuous in the landscape. Lying within sight of Mount Hermon (source of the river Jordan), ten kilometers northwest of Hazor, and thirty-five kilometers inland from Tyre, Kedesh likely marked the eastern edge of Tyrian hegemony in the Hellenistic period. Today, as it was in the past, Kedesh is located in a border zone, with the Israel-Lebanon border only a short distance away.

The excavations at Kedesh have focused on a large building, referred to as the Persian-Hellenistic Administrative Building, first discovered through a magnetometry survey performed in 1998. To date, approximately 75 percent of the building has been uncovered, to reveal a complex network of storage rooms, redistributive facilities, a reception complex, and ceremonial rooms, all situated around a central courtyard.[1] In the closing days of the 1999 excavation season, a remarkable discovery was made in the northwest corner of the building: an archive room.[2] Though the contents of the room had been destroyed by fire, the discovery of thousands of bullae, small clay seal impressions used to seal papyrus rolls, leaves no room for doubt about the original function of the room at the time of its destruction.[3]

In the course of two seasons of excavation from 1999 and 2000, 2,043 bullae were recovered from the archive room. Their iconography has been characterized as overwhelmingly Greek in style, with characters from Greek mythology forming the largest readable contingent, of about 1,300 discrete bullae.[4] The second largest group, 250 bullae, is comprised of Seleucid portrait bullae, which indicate the presence of high-ranking officials sanctioned to use imperial iconography on their individual stamps. Twenty-two bullae bear Greek, Phoenician, or bilingual inscriptions, including nine bullae all stamped with the same seal that bears a Phoenician inscription, "He who is over the land," accompa-

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1. The site was hastily abandoned in the 140s BCE because of the turbulent political situation between the Seleucids and the Maccabees, reported in 1 Macc. 11:63–74. See Herbert and Berlin 2003, 15.

2. Herbert and Berlin 2003, 14; Berlin and Herbert 2012, 28.

3. Herbert and Berlin 2003, 21–25.

4. Herbert and Berlin 2003, 50.

Fig. 8.1. Bulla with Tanit symbol and inscription. Length = 18 mm. (Courtesy of the Tel Kedesh Excavations.)

nied by the enigmatic Tanit symbol (fig. 8.1).[5] Lastly, another one hundred bullae bear images of plants, animals, and symbols, one of the most recognizable being the anchor, a Seleucid dynastic emblem.[6]

The focus of this chapter is a small subset of the corpus, those bullae on which are stamped images of naked or semidraped female figures, traditionally identified as Aphrodite on the basis of the nudity and comparison with similar imagery in other media. I seek to problematize the summary identification of these images as Aphrodite, a specifically Greek deity, given the location of Kedesh in the Tyrian hinterland. However, I do not want to categorically reject Aphrodite as a reasonable and appropriate identification. Instead, I explore potential alternative interpretations of the imagery on the bullae, alternatives that consider the images and the seal impressions together as a complete object and keep in mind the location of Tel Kedesh in Phoenicia.[7]

In the corpus, Aphrodite is one of the more popular Greek deities to occur,

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5. Ariel and Naveh 2003, 62–64; Herbert and Berlin 2003, 52–53.

6. For studies on the various different categories of bullae, see Herbert 2003–4; Ariel and Naveh 2003; Çakmak 2009; Lesperance 2010. Herbert is currently preparing a catalog of the mythological bullae.

7. Because I do not categorically reject Aphrodite as an identification and because I rely on previous work relating the *bullae* to existing Aphrodite typologies, I continue to employ the name *Aphrodite* here in reference to these seals.

appearing on eighty-two bullae from sixty-two different seals. She accounts for approximately 4 percent of the total bullae and 9.5 percent of those bullae bearing Greek mythological subjects. The contemporary archive at Seleucia on the Tigris provides a striking contrast; there, Aphrodite appears on seventy-three impressions of sixty-three seals and comprises only 3.3 percent of the total seals representing Greek deities. Although the Seleucid capital was established in the Hellenistic period and was home to a large Greek population, Aphrodite was clearly not a particularly popular motif. Other archives in use during the Hellenistic period exhibit similarly small numbers of Aphrodite seals. Several Aphrodite bullae can be found in the archives from Carthage, Cyrene, and Uruk, but Aphrodite is completely absent from the archive at Selinus.[8]

To return to the Kedesh corpus, naked and semidraped women appear in seven different poses, several of which are quite familiar in the art historical repertoire of Aphrodite. They include, in descending order of popularity, the *Kallipygos* ("beautiful buttocks"), Sandalbinder, Semidraped, Anadyomene, Knidia, Bather, and Crouching poses. The Kallipygos pose (fig. 8.2) is the most popular, in the number of both bullae (twenty-six) and seals (twenty). It is an unusual type that highlights the profile and buttocks of the standing female figure. The Sandalbinder, Semidraped (fig. 8.3), and Anadyomene poses are clustered together in the next group, with, respectively, twenty-one, nineteen, and fourteen bullae and ten, fourteen, and fourteen discrete seals. The numbers drop off significantly for the Knidia, Crouching, and Bathing types, each of which appear on only two bullae.

The nudity of these images and the affinity of certain poses to others known from the art historical record clearly suggest an identification as Aphrodite, the only Greek goddess ever to be represented naked in both large- and small-scale arts. Nudity has essentially become an attribute for Aphrodite, in much the same way that the lightning bolt helps to identify Zeus or the stag helps to indicate Artemis. In her study of the figurines from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, Gloria Merker explains the inevitable link between anonymous representations of women and the idea of Aphrodite.

> While it is sometimes difficult to distinguish representations of nude mortal women at their toilette from "genuine" representations of Aphrodite, in the context of a sanctuary such distinction may be unnecessary. Whether a figurine depicted a nude woman, a courtesan, or Aphrodite, *the point must have been to evoke a sense of Aphrodite for the worshipper*

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8. Berges 1993; Maddoli 1963–64; Wallenfels 1996; Salinas 1883.

Fig 8.2. Kallipygos pose. Length = 14 mm. (Courtesy of the Tel Kedesh Excavations.)

and to allow the mortal to identify with the deity. As mentioned above, the very difficulty of distinguishing deity from mortal in these votive gifts is itself the essence of the relationship between the two.[9]

Of course, Merker is working strictly within the confines of a religious sanctuary, so the connection between mortal and immortal is keenly felt. But she expresses an idea that has, in my opinion, become quite pervasive in iconographic studies: namely, that nudity can be and often is closely associated with Aphrodite. Searching through the *Lexicon Iconographicae Mythologicae Classicae*, one can see this association clearly illustrated by pages and pages of nude and semidraped images identified as Aphrodite, many with little or no archaeological context. In the same source, we find Aphrodite in her various poses,

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9. Merker 2000, 169; emphasis mine.

Fig 8.3. Semidraped pose. (Shoulders, back, and buttocks are visible at top left.) Length = 12 mm. (Courtesy of the Tel Kedesh Excavations.)

including all of the poses that occur in the Kedesh archive.[10] The identification of Aphrodite seems airtight. But is it?

As scholars, we are able to muster over two millennia of art historical evidence in which Aphrodite and her Roman counterpart, Venus, have figured prominently. We are able to see Aphrodite in these images because of years of training and two thousand years or more of hindsight. Aphrodite/Venus looms large in ancient art. I argue that the tradition of Aphrodite in the canon of Western art and our familiarity with her mythology allow us to look at naked and seminaked images from the context of the ancient Mediterranean and make an identification.

As far as the Kedesh bullae are concerned, we, as viewers, actively take part

10. Kallipygos: *LIMC*, "Aphrodite" nos. 765–71; Semidraped: *LIMC*, "Aphrodite" nos. 526–728 and "Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientiali)" nos. 31–39; Anadyomene: *LIMC*, "Aphrodite" nos. 423–55 and "Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientiali)" nos. 40–89; Knidia: *LIMC*, "Aphrodite" nos. 391–408 and "Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientiali)" nos. 1–9; Sandalbinder: *LIMC*, "Aphrodite" nos. 462–81 and "Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientiali)" nos. 196–210; Crouching: *LIMC*, "Aphrodite" nos. 987–1043 and "Aphrodite (in Peripheria Orientiali)" nos. 182–95; Bather: *LIMC*, "Aphrodite" no. 452.

Fig 8.4. Anadyomene pose. Length = 13 mm. (Courtesy of the Tel Kedesh Excavations.)

in the process of creating the meanings (or, in this case, the identification) of these artifacts.[11] But what about viewers who did not have the same level of familiarity and knowledge of art history? Can we assume that the population of Kedesh in the second century BCE would have had the same reactions to these images as we do? How would we even begin to answer these questions? The theoretical concept of materiality provides a structure for probing the material and visual record to investigate this very sort of question.

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11. Auffarth 2010, 469.

Materiality

Since the opening decade of the current millennium, there has been an explosion of work dedicated to the theoretical concept of materiality, ranging from entire conferences on the topic, to edited volumes and journal supplements, to individual essays and papers.[12] The range of subject areas is vast, and these studies demonstrate that there are many different ways to conceive of materiality as a theoretical concept; it is a concept whose very name belies its complexity and adaptability. Despite the breadth of the corpus, these studies have in common a desire to explore the relationships between people and things, the latter being broadly defined as not only the physical but also the ephemeral, the imaginary, the biological, and the theoretical.[13]

Before we can fully explore materiality as a theoretical concept, we must first acknowledge the role of the "material" in materiality. As defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term *materiality* means "the quality of being composed of matter."[14] Certainly, the physical aspect of objects is one facet of materiality.[15] As it pertains to the Kedesh bullae, this aspect of materiality would address the bullae themselves as physical objects—what material they are made of (clay) and how they were made (by hand or stamped with a signet ring)—as well as how these physical characteristics might inform us about any number of questions, such as the nature of archival practices at the site or the creation of identity and security through sealing a document.

But not just the physical characteristics of an object concern materiality. Independent of their physicality, objects can determine expectations and establish normative behavior.[16] To explain this concept, Robb has employed the term *extended artifact*: "an artifact . . . cannot be considered a simple physical thing, but rather possesses a culturally-attributed extension of beliefs, practices, contexts and extensions in time; and it is this extension of that artifact that gives it the power to structure human lives."[17] The nonmaterial can work in much the same way. A classic example is religion: Miller describes how several world religions rest on the belief that the immaterial world is superior to the material

12. Demarrais et al. 2004; Maran and Stockhammer 2012; Miller 2005; Clark 2009; Meskell and Nakamura 2009; Ahlberg Yohe 2012; Meskell 2004a, b, 2005a; Nanoglou 2009; Yonan 2011.

13. Miller 2005, 4.

14. "materiality, n." *OED Online*. June 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/114928?redirectedFrom=materiality (accessed September 05, 2016).

15. Taylor 2008, 297; Miller 2005, 4.

16. Miller 2005, 5.

17. Robb 2004, 135.

world.[18] A concern for the immaterial can influence how people behave; thus the immaterial, too, can motivate and condition behavior.

In the introduction to their conference volume, DeMarrais et al. acknowledge the duality of materiality as being about both physical objects and interactions with those objects: "In current archaeological theory, materiality approaches concern not only the study of the characteristics of objects, but also the more general notion that humans engage with the things of the world as conscious agents and are themselves shaped by those experiences."[19] Thus, at the heart of the theoretical concept of materiality is the idea that our interactions with the material world must be seen as constitutive of new concepts and symbols.[20] Materiality is not just a matter of focusing on the physical characteristics of objects; it requires an additional step to consider how objects and people interact and how, through these interactions, specific and unique meanings are made and remade.

Considering materiality as fundamentally a set of cultural relationships between humans and material culture forces us to acknowledge multiple stances.[21] In her discussion of our modern obsession with Egyptian pyramids, statues, and mummies, Meskell frames the discussion in terms of multiple stances of materiality and underscores the important differences in point of view between the people who created and used the forms (i.e., the pyramids, statues, and mummies) and our modern apprehension of those forms: "our own engagement with the theory and nature of materiality must always also infer a parallel theory and engagement on behalf of the populations that created these objects in the first place."[22] Considering these multiple stances, the identification of Aphrodite on the bullae from Kedesh, while correct from our modern, twenty-first-century, decidedly nonancient point of view, may not have been how the population living in and around Kedesh in the second century BCE would have categorized them. This is partly a problem with taxonomies and typologies, because we begin to see these categories as unproblematic and intransigent, at the expense of each object's unique context and history.[23]

It is impossible for an object or a representation to have a fixed meaning, because "meaning continually arises from acts of engagement and articulation" and because "practices of circulation and exchange do not simply transmit

18. Miller 2005, 16, 22.
19. Demarrais et al. 2004, 2.
20. Demarrais et al. 2004, 1; Renfrew 2004.
21. Meskell 2005a, 6.
22. Meskell 2005b, 52.
23. Meskell 2004a, 250.

meanings, but are constitutive acts in themselves."[24] This aspect of materiality is at the heart of this chapter and the iconographic interpretation of the bullae. You cannot simply lift a thing (be it object or image), deposit it in a different environment, and expect the meaning to remain unchanged. This is the very premise of the film *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, described at the outset of this chapter. The interactions of tribesmen and women with the Coca-Cola bottle create a different set of materialities from ours. The film helps to illustrate why materiality lends itself so well to archaeological inquiries, where contextualization is a constant goal. In the case of the Aphrodite bullae, we need to consider how a different context may have affected the on-the-ground understanding of the image and the object.

Our investigation hinges, then, on the *materiality of glyptic* and the *materiality of Aphrodite*. In considering the materiality of glyptic, it is imperative to consider not just the image on the seal impression but the seal impression itself, in trying to reconstruct the original contexts in which the images were used and consumed. Images of Aphrodite implicate the materiality of religion, specifically the worship of the Greek goddess Aphrodite (as distinct from other Greek deities), as well as other goddesses with whom Aphrodite may have had a syncretistic relationship

The Materiality of Glyptic

The nature of glyptic is such that it can often be considered as both art historical and archaeological evidence. But so often with seals and gems, the original archaeological context is irrevocably lost, and the image becomes the primary datum. There is also a tendency, in general, to privilege the image over the object (as also happens with other artistic media, such as Attic vase painting).[25] In my own previous work on the Kedesh corpus, I have fallen into the very trap I describe above; this is particularly problematic since the excavated context of the Kedesh bullae is well documented. The present exploration into the materiality of glyptic is intended not only to amend this oversight but also to reestablish a set of guidelines or procedures for the study of glyptic in general. This is not to say that such approaches do not already exist; there are several

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24. Meskell and Nakamura 2009, 209.
25. Yonan (2011, 238) explains, "Materiality has rarely been formulated as an essential component of interpretation, and this is because art history has persistently privileged the visual aspect over the material, an orientation that can be traced back to some of the discipline's foundational thinkers."

scholars of glyptic who consider both image and object together. For example, Garrison and Root's studies on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets and Dusinberre's study on cylinder seals from Sardis perform sophisticated iconographic analyses of the imagery on the seals in combination with a discussion of the archaeological context.[26]

A fruitful way to consider the materiality of glyptic is to reunite the image on the seal impression with the seal impression itself, imagining them as the picture and the frame.[27] We must consider the image and the object, here the representation of Aphrodite and the bulla, together, because how someone interacts with a representation can be significantly different from how someone interacts with the bulla as a physical object or with the seal or ring used to stamp the soft clay. Furthermore, the frame can be metaphorical, such as the person who wore/used the seal, the carver of the seal, the time period, or, really, any other contextual conditions. Often, the frame helps us to "constitute the context of action";[28] that is, the frame can help us to understand the picture, scene, or situation appropriately.[29] Consideration of the frame is particularly helpful in those cases where the picture and the frame (i.e., the larger archaeological and cultural context) seem at odds with one another, which is what I suggest is problematic with the interpretation of Kedesh images as Aphrodite. I will demonstrate that the frame around these naked and semidraped female images from Kedesh does not wholly support the interpretation of them as unproblematic representations of Greek religious iconography.

Such a structure, then, helps to keep us, as scholars, mindful of the larger context of the image borne on a seal or seal impression. Where the frame is recorded, to consider the one without the other can lead to erroneous conclusions about the interpretation of the image. Take, for example, the signet ring of the Prince of Wales, which bears the image of three feathers emerging from a crown, atop a split ribbon bearing the words *Ich Dien,* "I serve." If we were to consider only the iconography of the ring, we could put forward any number of outlandish interpretations. The feathers could equal cowardice; the words could indicate subservient status; the crown, as a mangled helmet, might lead us to conclude that the image is meant to serve as a sort of "scarlet letter" for cowardly, shameful behavior. But attention to the frame—such as the material (gold indicates high status), the owner (the Prince of Wales is not German), and the history of British royal badges (ostrich feathers are popular)—demonstrates

26. Garrison 2000; Garrison and Root 1996; Garrison et al. 2001; Dusinberre 1997.
27. Yonan 2011.
28. Miller 2005, 4.
29. Miller 2005, 5.

just how misleading iconographic interpretations can be when the context is not fully considered.

In our analysis of the Kedesh corpus, then, we need to be cognizant of the actual seal impressions *and* the objects that were used to make them. Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter to characterize the nature of the archive at Kedesh—whether it was official, private, or some combination of both—it is worth asking why we should explore how these objects and their associated images would have been consumed and understood by local inhabitants (i.e., the general public). If the bullae were stored in an area where access was restricted, only a select few individuals would have had access to the documents and been privy to the images on the bullae.

Expanding the frame to include the object used to make the impression provides an explanation. In the Hellenistic period, metal signet rings with a carved plate or bezel-set stone replaced the clunkier, stamp seal of the Persian period. Much like the stamp seal, these rings were worn and served as pieces of both personal adornment and personal identification. While access to the bullae stored in the archive room may have been restricted, a seal used to stamp the bullae was specifically selected by its owner as a piece of jewelry to be worn on his or her person. Surely, the owner would have given thought to what the image would convey not only to people who saw the ring worn but also to the person who would eventually unseal the document.

Bullae and other sealings are unique because they are only one version of a facsimile made from an original seal. Through the act of creating an impression, the wearer repeatedly reinforced the personal association. The image, in effect, was a visual proxy for the person. In this way, glyptic choices can provide insight into choices made at the micro, personal level. At Kedesh, there are no bullae with multiple impressions—one bulla represents one seal impression. Sealing a document with an official seal, such as a ruler portrait or an inscribed one, is likely to have denoted that the document was important or special, thus warning people not to tamper with it. But the broad range of the iconographic subjects on the other bullae, each occurring singly, seems to suggest that many of these rings, rather than serving an apotropaic function, were markers of individual identity and thus reflect personal choices.

The Materiality of Aphrodite

Turning to the materiality of Aphrodite, we must consider what kind of infrastructure, both physical and immaterial (or spiritual), is required in order to

see Aphrodite. Representations are never just floating signifiers; they are always tethered to a certain place in the world, because they are meant to refer to something specific. To us, in twenty-first-century Western society, the images or representations on the bullae give material presence to the concept of Aphrodite. My point here is that perhaps the specific thing to which these *particular* images are referring is not necessarily Aphrodite as we understand her. In her discussion of materiality in ancient Egypt, Meskell observes that bodies of artifacts implicate particular cosmologies—that objects give a deity form and visual presence—but that a statue is just a statue unless the proper rituals and ceremonies are performed to call the deity to the statue. This idea encapsulates the materiality of Aphrodite: the other aspects of acknowledging and understanding her role as a divine being are essential to understanding these images of naked and semidraped women as Aphrodite. Accordingly, to contextualize Aphrodite in the Hellenistic Levant, we must examine not only the distribution of related imagery but also the prevalence of practices of worship concerning the deity.

Let us consider the level of saturation of Aphrodite iconography in Phoenicia in the second century BCE. A survey of the archaeological evidence shows that there is, in fact, very little contextualized Aphrodite material from the Levant.[30] To date, scholars have identified only a handful of Aphrodite terracotta figurines. At Akko, a fragment of a nude female torso was excavated from a ritual *favissa* that has been tentatively dated to the second century BCE.[31] The lone Hellenistic example from Tel Dor, dated by Erlich to the second century BCE, does little to widen the picture; it preserves only a head-shaped protome with a "Knidian coiffure."[32] There are two figurines from Maresha, one of the Anadyomene type and the other an Isis-Aphrodite type. The Anadyomene figurine, preserved only from the waist up, is problematic due to its uncertain date. Although the site of Maresha is firmly dated to the third and second centuries BCE, the Anadyomene figurine comes from the Bliss and Macalister excavations from the early twentieth century, and its context and therefore its date remain unknown. The second figurine, Isis-Aphrodite, preserves only the abdomen and upper legs, clearly revealing its nudity. Found in the fill from one of the many subterranean caves, it has been dated to the third or second century BCE.[33] These four figurines are the only images with relatively certain dated context.

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30. Erlich 2009.
31. Erlich 2009, 44.
32. Stern 2000, 247, fig. 165; Erlich 2009, 48.
33. Erlich 2009, 16–17.

Given the challenge of finding Aphrodite iconography in other media that can be securely dated to the time that the Kedesh archive was in use in the second century BCE, let us broaden our criteria to include all relevant evidence of uncertain date and material that can only be loosely connected with Aphrodite iconography. These expanded criteria add six more examples. A marble torso of the Aphrodite Pudica type from Tel Dan has been dated, on the basis of style, to the late Hellenistic or Roman period.[34] A terracotta figurine from the el-Wad cave contributes to our corpus a naked Aphrodite leaning on a pillar. Excavated from fill that included material from the Bronze Age and modern times, it has been dated, on the basis of style, to the first century BCE, by Erlich. Finally, an additional four figurines—three terracotta and one bone— from Tel Dor, all representing naked female types not found at Kedesh, have been variously dated to the Persian and Hellenistic periods, by the excavator. The lone bone figure and two terracotta figurines depict a naked female torso frontally rendered, with the arms held tight to the body;[35] the fourth example is a plaque-molded figurine of "Astarte" clutching her breasts.[36] In total, there are fewer than ten examples of Aphrodite in terracotta or larger-scale marble sculpture. Even assuming contemporaneity with the Kedesh archive, this is still far from enough evidence to argue widespread familiarity with Aphrodite in the Hellenistic Levant.

The paucity of the iconographic evidence is further supported by the lack of any evidence of large-scale Greek-style Aphrodite worship at an official administrative level in the Levant. There are no Greek-style sanctuaries or official inscriptions, save for the temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Ashkelon mentioned by Herodotos.[37] There is no archaeological evidence to confirm Herodotus' claim, nor is Herodotos himself a particularly reliable or unproblematic source.[38] If we again broaden our criteria to seek evidence of Greek religious practice for any deity, we again meet widespread indifference. There appear to be only two inscriptions of Hellenistic date that mention Greek deities. The first, from Akko, records a dedication to Zeus Soter. The other, a more fragmentary one from Beth Shean/Scythopolis, lists the priests of an unidentified Olympian deity, probably Zeus.[39] While these inscriptions demonstrate that familiarity with

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34. See Erlich 2009, 13.
35. Stern et al. 1995, 443, fig. 7.4.2–4.
36. Stern et al. 1995, 436, fig. 7.4.1.
37. Herodotos, *Histories* 1.105.
38. Fehling 1989, 143–45.
39. Chancey 2006, 30–31. For the Akko inscription, see Landau 1961. For the Scythopolis inscription, see *SEG* 8.33; Rowe 1930, 45.

and worship of Greek deities was not absent from the Levant, they fall far short of establishing a thriving and robust environment of Greek religion.

In fact, if we telescope out from the site of Kedesh and its environs to Phoenicia at large, there is very little evidence of a Greek culture writ large dating to the Hellenistic period: there are no theaters, no dining rooms for the symposium, and no hippodromes. The lone gymnasium in the entire region is constructed after 175 BCE and far from Tel Kedesh, in the capital city of Jerusalem.[40] Features like orthogonal town planning most likely date to the Roman period rather than the Hellenistic.[41] What Hellenistic Greek evidence does exist—such as fortifications, peristyle courtyards, use of Greek architectural orders, and bathing facilities—is most often found outside the Galilee region.

This paucity of large-scale, obviously Greek institutions does not amount to a categorical rejection of all things Greek. Rather, the Levant in general and the Galilee in particular appear carefully and consciously to select "Greekisms" that do not mark the landscape with infrastructural grandeur. Both Kedesh and nearby Tel Anafa used Aegean-style painted plaster decor in the reception rooms. Anafa even boasts a bathing complex and plaster ornaments of the Doric order, clear signs of a local adoption, acceptance, and deployment of Greek style.[42] Other architectural adornments, such as mosaics, can be found in the region, including a beautiful figural mosaic at Tel Dor that uses the *opus vermiculatum* and *opus tessellatum* techniques and has been dated by Wootton to the second century BCE. In addition to interior design elements, the Phoenicians were consumers of imported Greek wine, as evidenced by the ubiquity of Aegean wine amphorae throughout the Levant in the second century BCE, including at Kedesh and Anafa.[43]

The relative absence of truly Greek-inspired material culture illustrates that the trappings of Greek religious life that are needed to understand these images as the Greek deity Aphrodite are largely absent. Without the framework to understand these female figures as religious—rituals, worship, and other actions—we are left with images of naked and semidraped anonymous women (fig. 8.5).

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40. Chancey 2006, 32–33; 2 Macc. 4:7–10.

41. For a thorough discussion of the character of the Galilee in the Hellenistic and Roman period, see Chancey 2006.

42. The one site in the Galilee most often cited as having Greek-style characteristics, Tel Anafa, was occupied at least one generation later than Tel Kedesh and thus should not be overemphasized.

43. For a list of stamped amphora handles from Kedesh, see Herbert and Berlin 2003, 23; for Anafa, see Ariel and Finkielsztejn 1994, 183–240.

Fig 8.5. Aphrodite or a woman looking in a mirror? Length = 12 mm. (Courtesy of the Tel Kedesh Excavations.)

Reassessing Aphrodite

Let us now return to the site of Kedesh and the bullae, to consider how these theories of materiality affect how we consider the bullae in general and Aphrodite in particular. First, we must consider the character of the site itself. The residents of Kedesh in the Hellenistic period were remarkably well connected, despite their relatively remote location in the Tyrian hinterland. As the finds indicate, they had regular access to the coast, which provided a significant amount of slipped pottery at the site; they imported wine from Rhodes and other Greek islands; they had contact with Seleucid officials, who had access to imperial iconography and symbols in their correspondence; they had contact with Ptolemaic imagery, as illustrated by a gold *mnaion* from the site; and they had reception rooms with Greek-style masonry plaster and stucco walls. But there is also a significant local, Phoenician presence. The pier-and-rubble construction techniques used for many of the walls, the preference for Near Eastern–style fibulae, and, most notably, the inscribed bullae show that Phoe-

nician language and culture were still alive and kicking. Despite contact with the coast, the importation of certain commodities, and the use of Greek as the *lingua franca* of the region, Phoenician features persisted at Kedesh.

At the outset of this essay, I described the corpus of seal impressions from Kedesh as "overwhelmingly Greek." Looking at the archaeological evidence from the site, the same simply cannot be said of Tel Kedesh itself or of the Galilee region at large. Certainly, a selection of the Greek characters represented in the bullae corpus was recognized as such. Apollo (the patron deity of the Seleucid Empire), Zeus, and Tyche appear regularly on Seleucid coinage and thus would have been clearly associated with Seleucid (Greek) imperial iconography. But what are we to make of representations of Aphrodite and many of the other mythological characters who do not loom large in officially sanctioned Seleucid or Ptolemaic propaganda? Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss the entire corpus of mythological characters, there are certain parallels that can be drawn from the case study of Aphrodite. Just what would individuals have made of the "Aphrodite" iconography that occurs at Kedesh?

The most obvious identification for the iconography is the very one that I have been arguing against throughout this chapter, Aphrodite. Despite the region's lack of religious infrastructure that would have made Aphrodite—the specifically Greek deity of love, sex, and marriage—easily recognizable by all, there was surely a small segment of Greek administrators, immigrants, and/ or Hellenophiles who would have been familiar with the Greek pantheon and its complex network of Olympians, demigods, and heroes. At Kedesh, these administrators were drinking Greek wine in rooms decorated with Greek-style masonry wall painting. Stepping into the realm of pure conjecture, we might imagine these individuals in their fancy reception rooms with their cups of wine, discussing Greek philosophy, literature, and art and maybe invoking the name of Aphrodite during the course of their conversations.

Another possible identification is Astarte. As the indigenous goddess of Phoenicia associated with fertility, sexuality, and war, she is often closely associated with Greek Aphrodite. Like Aphrodite, Astarte is regularly depicted naked; so a superficial parallel may be made between the two deities. The iconography of Astarte is also highly varied. One category of Astarte image that is common throughout the Levant is the so-called Astarte Plaque. Made of terracotta or gold, such plaques show a nude female in a frontal position, standing with her legs together and her arms in any number of prescribed positions— holding her breasts, pointing to her genitals, one arm at the breast and one at the genitals, straight at her sides, or holding either animal or floral motifs in

her upraised hands.[44] They have been found at sites throughout the ancient Levant (including Tel Dor, Ugarit, Beth Shean, Lachisch, Meggido, Gezer, and Ashdod) and have been thought to represent a number of different goddesses, including Phoenician Astarte.[45] However, the plaques also represent an interesting chronological phenomenon of Astarte imagery in the Levant: they range in date from Bronze Age to the late Iron Age.

Additionally, a search reveals local Astarte images that are contemporary to the Kedesh archive but significantly different in character from those under discussion here.[46] Astarte is predominant on the coinage of the Phoenician city of Sidon, where she is always dressed, usually perched on the prow of a ship, and can be more closely tied to Isis and/or Tyche.[47] Although worship of Astarte and other closely linked goddesses, including Isis and Tanit, is documented into the Hellenistic period, particularly at Kharayeb and Oum el-Amed, there is little iconographic data from these sites in general, much less any that is comparable to the Kedesh Aphrodites.[48]

Finally, the previously outlined search for comparative Aphrodite images ascertained that many of the naked images from the Levant date to the Persian and Hellenistic periods, with the result that there is very little additional iconographic material of Eastern character.[49] There seems to be a significant drop in the number of naked Astarte images in circulation in the Levant after the biblical period. Whether this is actual evidence of absence or just an accident of survival is hard to say, but there is currently little evidence to suggest that there was a robust presence of naked female Astarte iconography circulating throughout the Hellenistic Levant. This means that an art historical narrative that has been imposed on the Levant—of an uninterrupted tradition of naked female iconography—is not quite as accurate as we might originally have thought. At the time that the Kedesh archive was in use, there was not a saturation of naked female iconography in the region.

Therefore, rather than look for a definitive identification—such as Aphrodite or Astarte—I would like to return to the idea of multiple materialities. I think that it is reasonable to say that some cosmopolitan individuals would have recognized Aphrodite; others may have thought of Astarte—I do not want to reject those possibilities categorically. But there were likely others who did

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44. Budin 2003, 202.
45. Budin 2003, 199–213 (passim), 240, 252.
46. For a good discussion of female deities in the ancient Near East, see Bahrani 2001.
47. Ariel and Naveh 2003.
48. Grainger 1991, 67–69. Herbert (2003–4, 75 n. 25) mentions the closest site to Kedesh where Astarte was known to be worshipped, Mizpe Yammin, which dates to the Iron Age.
49. Erlich 2009, 115.

not see a "who" but a "what"—a naked or half-naked woman, which, in that time and place, could be considered to be a relatively "new" symbol. In a visual environment where the naked goddess imagery that had been so prevalent in the region seems to have significantly fallen off, it is not impossible to consider that people's collective memory did not reach far enough back to remember how popular such iconography used to be in the region several centuries earlier. For example, do most people living today recall the popular advertisements, movie stars, and trends from a century ago? To paraphrase from the field of modern geography, knowledge is situated; it is always embedded in a particular time and space.[50] What points of reference did the people at Kedesh have for the interpretation of these images as Aphrodite or even as Astarte? The archaeological evidence suggests they had very few.

Not only is knowledge situated, but "objects become invested with meaning through the social interaction they are caught up in," and "these meanings change and are renegotiated through the life of an object."[51] The lives of the bullae from Tel Kedesh are long indeed, spanning from the second century BCE and their original context to today, when, due to our own situated knowledge, we create new and different interpretations for the images on the bullae. Our modern interpretations are not better or worse but, rather, need to be considered *in addition to* those from the past, to gain a fuller, more holistic understanding of these naked and semidraped women.

Again I have fallen into my own trap of considering the picture without the frame, so I would like to close with a brief consideration of signet rings and their meaning. I argue that many of the rings with Aphrodite were selected not for their religious connotations but because this was a new symbol from abroad and, as such, reflected an individual's access to foreign merchandise, much in the same way we purchase goods from abroad—a Swiss watch or an Italian leather bag. Although not as dramatically out of context as the Coca-Cola bottle and the African bushman, these signet rings, on account of their small size, move easily in and out of different cultural contexts, interacting with different people and creating multiple materialities along the way.

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50. Clarke 1997, 97.
51. Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170.

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PART 3

❦

Civic and Religious Landscapes

CHAPTER 9

❧

Coordination Problems, Social Architecture, and Causal Efficacy

The Case of the Old Bouleuterion in the Athenian Agora

Jessica Paga

In 508 BCE, a series of reforms were introduced in Athens that resulted in the creation of a new political regime. This momentous occasion—the birth of democracy—is unfortunately clouded by source problems and little direct evidence.[1] Nevertheless, the period between 508/7 and 480/79 remains an important point in the Athenians' history, as they attempted to define themselves and their polis under new terms. To understand this period better, it is necessary to consider some of the problems and challenges facing them: how this new political regime was implemented, how it functioned during this transitional period, what worked, and what did not work. How, for instance, were the complicated and extensive Kleisthenic reforms actually put into practice in the vast area of Attica? How did the new Boule of Five Hundred function? What was the nature of the relationship between the council and the popular assembly? In short, how did the nascent democracy work, and why did it succeed?

One way to get at these issues is to think about the role of the built environment. The built environment can be broadly conceived of as the physical space within which people act. This space, though, is not just a framework or container that action occurs within, nor is it a passive backdrop to historical events. Rather, the built environment is an active and engaged agent, one that

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1. All dates in this chapter are BCE unless otherwise specified. All translations in this chapter are my own. One pointed example of the source problems for this period of Athenian history is that our fullest account of the reforms is provided in the *Athenaion Politeia*, a document written over one hundred years after the reforms were implemented.

can generate, maintain, and manipulate interpretation and meaning. Architecture, in particular, possesses an ability to shape human experience variously, by directing our attention to particular elements, structuring our interactions with others, or restricting our ability to act in certain ways.[2] To understand architecture in terms of social practice allows us to consider the role of the built environment in the production of space, the ordering of relationships and hierarchies, and the formation of behaviors and practices, thereby endowing buildings with a more active agency.[3]

Analysis of specific buildings within this dynamic space of the built environment—their forms, plans, ornamentation, and location—can help us gain traction on some of the problems of the early Athenian democracy and can also demonstrate how architecture has real power in its ability to shape, foster, and support certain activities while simultaneously limiting, restricting, or preventing others. In other words, we can use these buildings to consider the ways in which the built environment contributed to the robust functioning of Athenian democracy in its nascent stages by enabling and promoting key tenets of the new system of governance. The causal efficacy of architecture is integrally connected to the broader conception of the social role of the built environment. To frame this notion of "efficacy" in terms of solving a coordination problem (which the early implementation of the democratic reforms certainly was)[4] is to insert the built environment into the equation as an active component: architecture during the early years of the democracy thus becomes a means of

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2. Architecture does not *force* us to act in any particular way, but it can suggest, nudge, and make us predisposed to behave in some ways and not in others. This is part of what underscores Rapoport's emphasis on the nonverbal communication properties of the built environment (Rapoport [1982] 1990, especially 55–86). The role of the built environment in limiting or restricting action and behavior is highlighted by Parkinson (2012, 77–83) as one of the primary ways that space, place, and built form might relate to political behavior in modern democratic states; the other two ways are suggestive (forms that encourage certain kinds of behavior at the expense of others) and symbolic. In general, though, Parkinson views the built environment more as a container that exerts some (minimal) influence than as an enabler that actively structures behavior. Art and architectural historians have long posited the special relationship between buildings and society, with Frankl (1995, 155) describing architecture as "the moulded theatre of human activity." But architectural studies still frequently treat buildings as frameworks for political activity, rather than active generators.

3. This conception of the role of architecture is rooted in the "spatial turn" that has underscored much theoretical work of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, which is drawn largely from mid-twentieth-century treatments of phenomenology. For a brief and cogent overview of the issue of social practice and its applicability to the study of ancient architecture, see Maran 2006. Other studies worth consulting include Rapoport [1982] 1990, Parker Pearson and Richards 1994, Jones 2000, and Schwandner and Rheidt 2004.

4. Ober (2008) makes explicit the coordination problems involved in the functionality of Athenian democracy. These coordination problems would, in many cases, be most pressing during the first few decades after the reforms, when it was necessary to put the changes into action as quickly and seamlessly as possible.

identifying successful and unsuccessful aspects of the reforms and the extent of their implementation prior to the Persian Wars.

With these parameters in mind, the Old Bouleuterion, or Council House, in the Athenian Agora functions admirably as a case study. This structure allows us to consider why certain types of buildings were built during this period, but it also serves to demonstrate how these new buildings actively worked to enable or facilitate democratic practice. Moreover, an examination of the Old Bouleuterion permits a consideration of the permutations of the hypostyle hall plan, a unique architectural form that first appears with this building and may be the first example of a truly "democratic building."

The Late Archaic Agora

To begin, we need to consider briefly the space in which this building was erected, the Athenian Agora (fig. 9.1).[5] This area, to the northwest of the Akropolis, was the location of domestic houses and workshops throughout much of the seventh and early sixth centuries.[6] Over the course of the sixth century, however, most of these private structures were abandoned and destroyed, and nearly all of the private wells were deliberately filled in.[7] The only area that continued to have a domestic, or private, presence was the southwest corner, where Building F was located, with its own well.[8] The closure of the wells and abandonment of the houses is evidence of a deliberate shift in how the space was being used; it was no longer an area reserved for private residences but was being appropriated for more public or general usage. This area was not yet the Agora, the marketplace and civic center of the polis, however; market and civic activities were still confined to the Old Agora.[9]

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5. This cursory treatment of the Late Archaic Agora will help set the stage for the subsequent discussion of the Old Bouleuterion but is not intended to be comprehensive. For an overview of the Agora during the Archaic period, see Camp 1986, 35–60.

6. On the Agora in the seventh and early sixth centuries and on the issue of the "start date" for the new, or Classical, Agora more broadly, see Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 16–26; Shear Jr. 1978; Wycherley 1978, 27–33; Camp 1986, 35–39; Shear Jr. 1993; 1994, 228–45; Camp 1994, 9–12; Papadopoulos 1996, 125–26; 2003, 285–97; Martin-McAuliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, 344–52. For the houses, see Lynch 2012; for workshops, Papadopoulos 2003, 272–79.

7. For deposit summaries, see Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 383–99. For additional discussion of the deposits, see Camp 1977, 199–205; Shear Jr. 1978, 4–5; 1994, 228–30; Lynch 2012; Paga 2015b.

8. For Building F, see Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 27–29; Thompson 1937, 126–27; 1940, 15–33, 40–44; Boersma 1970, 17; Shear Jr. 1978, 5–7; Camp 1986, 44–45; Shear Jr. 1994, 230–36; Camp 2010, 50. The domestic character of Building F has been challenged: see Thompson 1940, 40–44; Papadopoulos 2003, 296 n. 142.

9. For discussion of the possible location of the Old Agora, see Shear Jr. 1994, 226–28; Papadopoulos 1996, 109–12; Kenzler 1997; Robertson 1998; Papadopoulos 2003, 280–88; Schmalz 2006.
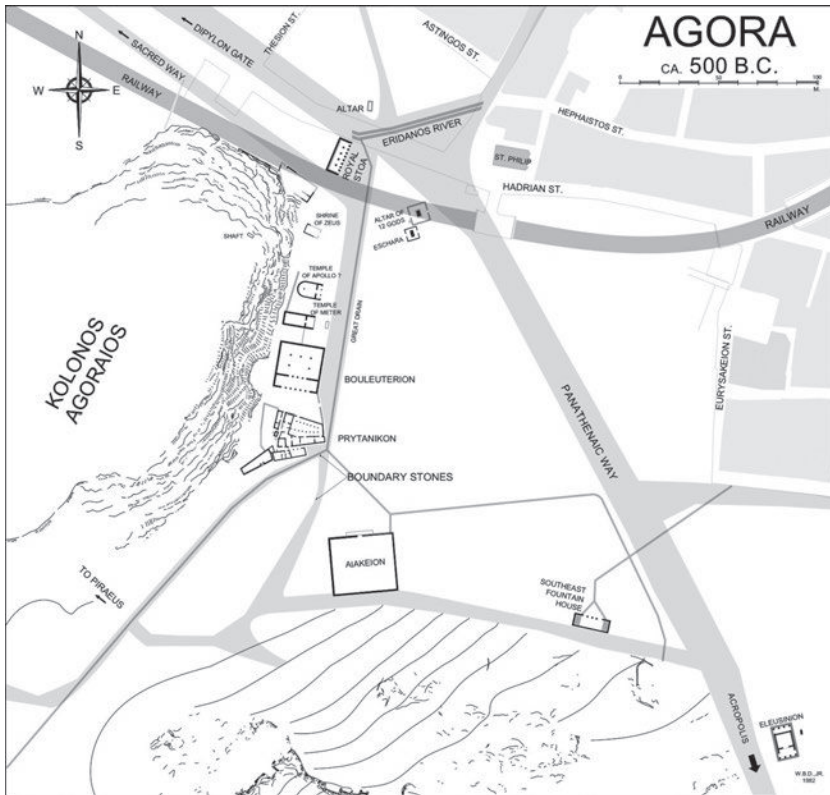
Fig. 9.1. Plan of the Athenian Agora. (Building F is labelled Prytaneion.) (Courtesy of the Agora Excavations.)

In the years around 500 BCE, a more drastic change occurred: several new, large-scale stone buildings were constructed. Part of the transformation of this area entailed the erection of several *horoi*, or boundary stones. Each of these small stone stelae boldly proclaims, "ℎορός εἰμὶ τὲς ἀγορᾶς" ("I am the boundary stone of the Agora"). Three such *horoi* dating to ca. 500 have been found in the Agora, one of them in situ mere meters from the Old Bouleuterion.[10] It

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10. *IG* I³ 1087 = Lalonde et al. 1991, H25, plate 2 (Shear 1939, 205; Agora Inscription 5510); *IG* I³ 1088 = Lalonde et al. 1991, H26, plate 2 (Thompson 1968, 61–63; Agora Inscription 7039); *IG* I³ 1089 = Lalonde et al. 1991, H27 (Shear 1940, 266; Agora Inscription 5675). Although only three *horoi* are extant, it is likely that multiple boundary stones were erected at the entrances and exits to the Agora. The *horos* found in situ near the Old Bouleuterion is *IG* I³ 1087 and has been dated to ca. 500; for its excavation, see Shear 1939, 205–6. That ostraka inscribed with the names of Hippocrates

seems certain that these *horoi* were used to mark off the boundaries of the new Agora at what was a pivotal moment of transition.

The *horoi* were likely accompanied by small marble *perirrhanteria*, or lustral basins.[11] Several supports and bowls for *perirrhanteria* have been found throughout the Agora, particularly near the corners of the space.[12] These basins of lustral water were used for purification purposes and were commonly found before entrances to sacred areas.[13] The combination of restrictions against access and the presence of *perirrhanteria* near the *horoi* speaks to a conception of the Agora as a type of religious space, having a protected and defined *temenos*, with specific rules and guidelines regarding behavior and accessibility.[14] The presence of multiple shrines and altars within the Agora likewise supports an interpretation of the space as a type of sanctuary, but one in which civic and administrative activities also took place on a daily basis and in which people were free to gather at will, buy and trade items, or simply pass through. The route through the Agora of the Panathenaic Way, the road on which the culminating *pompe* of the Panathenaic festival marched, also endowed the general area with sanctity and emphasized the religious disposition of the space. These two salient characteristics of the Agora—the religious or sacred nature and the civic or administrative function—are encapsulated by the *horoi* and *perirrhanteria* placed at the access points of the space. This duality inherent in the space of the Agora is important for any consideration of nonsacred structures within the space, such as the Old Bouleuterion.

Around the same time that the *horoi* and lustral basins were placed at the entrances to the Agora, the Great Drain was constructed.[15] This significant

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and Themistocles lay within the stratum into which this *horos* was sunk necessitates a date prior to 483. The evidence of the ostraka is a clear refutation of Papadopoulos' argument (2003, 280–97) that the approximate date given to the *horoi* by the excavators—ca. 500—can be extrapolated to imply a post-480 placement. Papadopoulos' expansion of the possible date of the *horoi* is unlikely: a date preceded by "ca." should—at most—allow for a fluctuation of ten years in either direction, and to expand this range to over twenty years (resulting in a total span of forty years, from 520 to post-480) stretches the epigraphic and ceramic evidence beyond its limits. The similarities between all three *horoi* indicate that they were erected contemporaneously; thus all belong to the period prior to 480.

11. Aesch. 3.176; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 118; Camp 1986, 51; 2010, 56.

12. Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 118–19.

13. See, for instance, the base for a *perirrhanterion* in the forecourt of the Old Propylon to the Akropolis (Dinsmoor 1980, 33–34).

14. Lalonde (Lalonde et al. 1991, 10) emphasizes the importance of the *horoi* in the creation of a religious space, remarking that "these markers had the objective . . . of protecting the chief civil quarter from encroachment and defilement" and that "Athens particularly needed to specify the limits of its Agora, because by legal *atimia* accused homicides and certain convicted criminals were excluded from it."

15. Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 194–97; Camp 2010, 65–68. The drain has been dated ap-

building project involved digging the deep channel, as well as lining it with stone and covering it with large stone slabs. The lining was executed in carefully jointed polygonal masonry, indicating that great care was taken in the laying of the drain. The Great Drain further demonstrates how the area of the Agora was being made more accessible at this time.

The Boule and the Old Bouleuterion

The Kleisthenic reforms enacted in 508/7 encompassed both large- and small-scale alterations to the political and social framework of Athenian society.[16] One of the new elements introduced with the reforms was the creation of the Boule (Council) of Five Hundred. The Boule was principally charged with preparing the agenda for the Ekklesia (popular assembly). The *bouleutai* were responsible for hearing, debating, and voting on which proposals to put to the larger Ekklesia, a process known as *probouleusis*, and they thus formed a key component in the spread of information to the broader citizen populace.[17]

The *bouleutai* needed a place to meet and discuss business, where access could be monitored and restricted and where they would not be disturbed by noise, crowds, or inclement weather. These necessities led to the construction of a building specifically set aside for their use, the Old Bouleuterion. Much like the Stoa Basileios for the Archon Basileus and the Epilykeion or Polemarcheion for the Polemarch,[18] the Old Bouleuterion was built for one particular institution of the new government. This level of specificity pervaded all aspects of the building, from the plan to the ornamentation to the location. The Old Bouleuterion is one of the clearest examples during this period of a building that reflects its purpose but also helps to generate a particular ideology for the citizens who used it.

The building itself is poorly preserved; only partial foundations survive, as it was entirely covered by the Hellenistic conversion of the site into the Metröon.[19] Part of the foundations for an interior east-west cross wall survive, indicating that the building was divided into two unequal parts: a narrow rectangle on the south and a larger, squared rectangle to the north (fig. 9.2). The exterior founda-

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proximately to the late sixth or early fifth century. The masonry can be favorably compared to the foundations of the Southeast Fountain House and Old Bouleuterion (the interior masonry can be seen in Camp 2010, 57, fig. 27).

16. The fullest account of the reforms is *Athenaion Politeia* 21, but see also Hdt. 5.69. Scholarly treatments of the reforms abound; for a good overview, see Ober 1989, 68–84.

17. Rhodes 1972, 88–143.

18. Both buildings are attested in *Athenaion Politeia* 3.5.

19. The remains of the building were excavated and initially published by Homer Thompson (1937, 127–35).
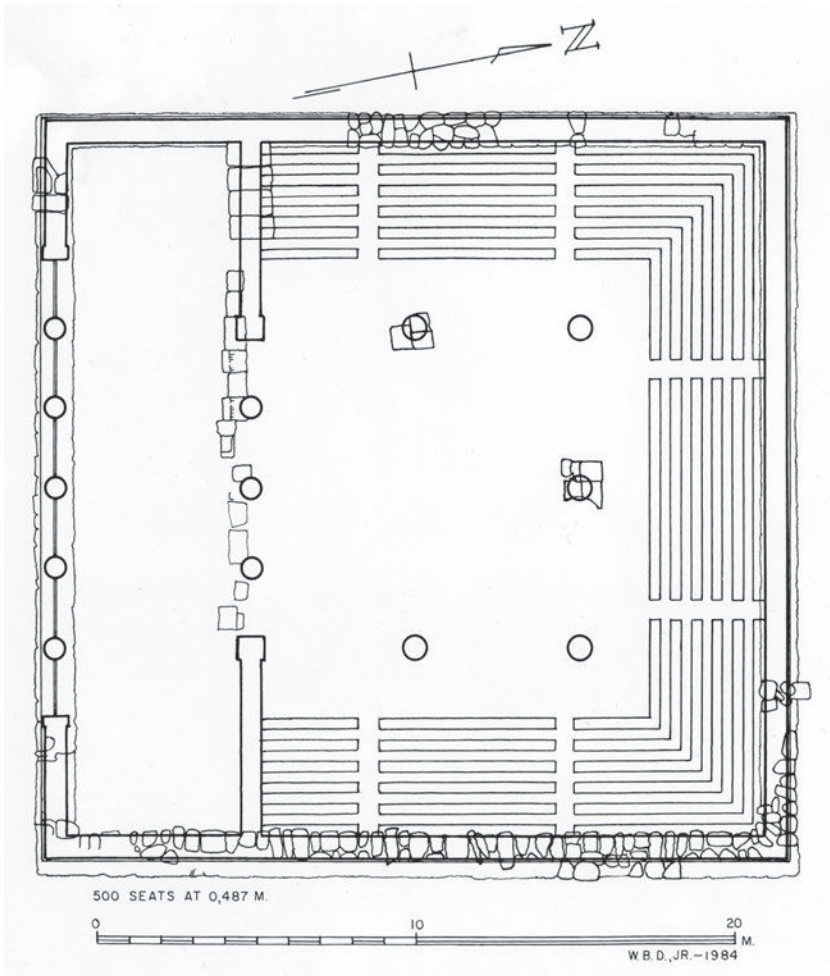
Fig. 9.2. The Old Bouleuterion. (Courtesy of the Agora Excavations.)

tions are composed of irregular Akropolis limestone blocks that originally sup-
ported yellow limestone walls.[20] These foundations indicate a roughly square
plan, 23.30 meters east-west by 23.80 meters north-south. Found in addition
were the remains of two piers for internal supports, along with a small fragment
of a third.[21] These foundations suggest a further two piers to be restored on the

20. Thompson (1937, 130) notes the presence of poros (limestone) working chips inside the
southeast corner of the building, as well as within a foundation trench along the western face of
the east foundation wall.
21. Thompson 1937, 130–32.

eastern side, resulting in a Π-shaped internal series of columnar supports.[22] The resulting plan consists of a shallow southern porch, entered from the terrace to the south (most likely through a colonnaded facade, pentastyle in antis), and a larger northern chamber, with five internal columns supporting a hipped roof. Passage from the forecourt or porch into the main chamber was achieved via a series of doors, perhaps separated by three columns in antis.[23]

The restoration of the Old Bouleuterion in the Doric order is confirmed by several fragments of a yellow limestone frieze course recovered with other elements of Persian destruction debris from a nearby pit.[24] Two triglyph fragments with slots for inserted metopes, as well as two additional fragments that preserve parts of the thin metope slabs with stucco on their fronts, indicate that the building held a Doric frieze and that it was complete at the time of the destruction.[25] Additionally, two Doric capitals of yellow limestone were found in Room A to the south of the Old Bouleuterion (part of the original north wing of Building F).[26] The combination of the capitals and the frieze fragments found in contexts related to the Old Bouleuterion and carved out of the same soft yellow stone as the superstructure of the building make the assignation certain. The identification of the building can be further derived from an additional find in the Persian destruction debris, the rim of a marble basin, possibly a *perirrhanterion*, inscribed [τ]ο βο<υ>λευτ[εριο] (the Bouleuterion).[27]

The date for the construction of the building is ca. 500 BCE. This date is largely based on pottery found in the dumped earth fill used to level the terrace on which the structure was built and in which the foundations were sunk.[28]

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22. Thompson 1937, 132; Shear Jr. 1995, 158.

23. The restoration of five columns along the entrance, as well as of the tristyle in antis separation of the porch and main chamber, was made by Shear Jr. (1994, 231; 1995, 170), on the basis of comparisons with the bouleuterion at Assos from the first half of the second century. Despite the chronological gap, the similarities in the overall plans and dimensions make such a restoration of the Old Bouleuterion attractive. That the façade was pentastyle in antis has also been accepted by Camp (most recently in 2010, 61–62, figs. 30–31). The Late Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis, constructed contemporaneously with the Old Bouleuterion and with a nearly identical plan and dimensions, is generally restored with three doors leading into the central chamber (for the doors, see Mylonas 1961, 81; for the date, see Clinton 1994, 162; Hayashi 1992, 20–29; Miles 1998, 27–28; Lippolis 2006, 163–64, 177–80; Paga 2015a, 120 n. 30).

24. Shear Jr. 1993, 423; 1994, 232.

25. Shear Jr. 1993, 423. The frieze fragments were recovered from a destruction fill located just to the south of the Old Bouleuterion that included working chips with worked and unworked surfaces, a further indication (along with the presence of stucco), that the building was complete at the time of its destruction. For the date of the pottery associated with its destruction, see Shear Jr. 1993, 423–24.

26. Shear Jr. 1993, 423.

27. Agora 4869.

28. Thompson (1937, 134) comments that "very little pottery has been found in direct association with the foundations of the building." But Shear Jr. (1993, 419–22, 472–73) has cataloged 1,086 sherds from the deposit (H 10:7) at the southeast corner of the building. The date of ca. 500 is con-

This ceramic evidence cannot support a construction date for the building much after ca. 500 BCE and certainly cannot support a date after 480 BCE. The masonry style and techniques employed in the construction of the building and the stratigraphic relationship between the Old Bouleuterion and other nearby structures, such as the Great Drain, compel a date in the late sixth or early fifth century BCE.[29] The inscribed *perirrhanterion* can be dated to ca. 500 BCE on the basis of its letterforms and its recovery from a debris deposit from the Persian destruction.

As a supplement to the archaeological evidence, there is *Athenaion Politeia* (hereinafter *AthPol*) 22.2, which recounts the first swearing of the bouleutic oath in 501/0 BCE: πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν ἐφ᾽ Ἑρμοκρέοντος ἄρχοντος τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις τὸν ὅρκον ἐποίησαν ὅν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀμνύουσιν (First, then, in the fifth year after these things had been enacted [the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508/7], in the archonship of Hermokreon, they instituted the oath of the Boule of Five Hundred that is still sworn even now). This passage is not without controversy. The fifth year after 508/7 BCE is 504/3 BCE. The author continues, however, to describe how, in the twelfth year after the reforms (ἔτει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα δωδεκάτῳ), in the archonship of Phainippos, the Athenians fought at the battle of Marathon. The calculation in the *AthPol* would place that event in 497/6 BCE, although the archonship of Phainippos has been independently dated to 490/89 BCE.[30] The twelfth year before the battle of Marathon is 501/0 BCE, a year for which no archon has yet been attested. Rhodes suggests that πέμπτῳ should in this case be emended to ὀγδόῳ, assuming that the numeric assignation of ή was at some point transcribed as ἐ.[31] Rhodes' emendation, along with the evidence of the archon list *IG* I³ 1031, presents the best solution, and the archonship of Hermokreon should be placed in 501/0 BCE. If this is the date of the first swearing of the bouleutic oath, it would be fitting for it to have occurred after the Old Bouleuterion was completed, when the Boule could officially meet in the building. The confluence of these events—the completion of the Old Bouleu-

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firmed by Shear Jr. (1994, 236). This date, along with the orientation and function of the building, was challenged by Miller (1995a, 1995b; see also Papadopoulos 2003, 289–95), but his arguments have been convincingly and persuasively answered by Shear Jr. (1995); see also comments by Lynch on the Persian destruction debris (2012, 20–25). The date of ca. 500 BCE for the Old Bouleuterion is accepted by Camp (1986, 53; 2010, 61–62).

29. The eastern foundations of the Old Bouleuterion are set directly into the fill associated with the Great Drain, linking the two projects chronologically (Thompson 1937, 134). The masonry style and materials can be favorably compared to the Late Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis (the date of which is discussed in n. 23 above), the Southeast Fountain House (now dated to ca. 480; see Paga 2015b), and the Olympieion (dated to ca. 520–510; see Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 136–42).

30. *IG* I³ 1031, a fragmentary archon list from the Agora.

31. Rhodes 1981, 262–63.

terion and the swearing of the bouleutic oath—would have resulted in a newly established Boule that could fully assume its office and conduct business in a purpose-built council chamber.

Ornamentation and Plan

What is particularly intriguing about the Old Bouleuterion is that both the plan and ornamentation represent entirely new architectural idioms (fig. 9.3). Prior to its appearance on the Old Bouleuterion, the Doric order was reserved solely for buildings within the confines of sanctuaries, most commonly appearing on temples and stoai. Before this time, the Doric order was not applied anywhere in the Greek world to secular buildings or any structures outside of a sanctuary.[32] Throughout the sixth century, the appearance of the Doric order on a structure would have been a de facto indication of a sacred building. The Old Bouleuterion, though, did not serve a particular sacred function and, rather, stands as one of the earliest monumental stone buildings designed for civic purposes. The scale, material, and ornamentation of this building all point to a sacred context, yet it existed to serve civic needs and was not constructed within a sanctuary.

The size and scale of the Old Bouleuterion align it more closely with large-scale sacred architecture than with private domestic houses. In this respect, the use of the Doric order and columnar facade further cement the monumental quality of the Old Bouleuterion and highlight the overall importance of the building. The distinction between monumental architecture and domestic houses is further accentuated by the employment of the Doric order. The capitals and frieze would have evoked the feeling of entering a temple or other sacred structure for the *bouleutai*, sanctifying their position and duty while emphasizing the quasi-sacred nature of the Agora. At the same time, however, the very fact that the *bouleutai* were entering the building to conduct government business, rather than to offer sacrifices or make dedications, signals the changed force of the frieze and capitals. The elements of the Doric order were

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32. Prior to the construction of the Old Bouleuterion, the only known structure that employed the Doric order and was not a sacred building was the northern section of the so-called bouleuterion at Olympia (dated to ca. 520), but that building cannot be considered truly secular; although it was outside the altis, it was located within the confines of the sanctuary. Moreover, its assignation as a bouleuterion is not certain, and its function, regardless of terminology, seems to have been closely related to sacred matters pertaining to the sanctuary, rather than to the civic uses of the Old Bouleuterion in Athens. See Shear Jr. 1994, 239, 247 n. 58. For the "bouleuterion" at Olympia, see Gneisz 1990, 340–41.
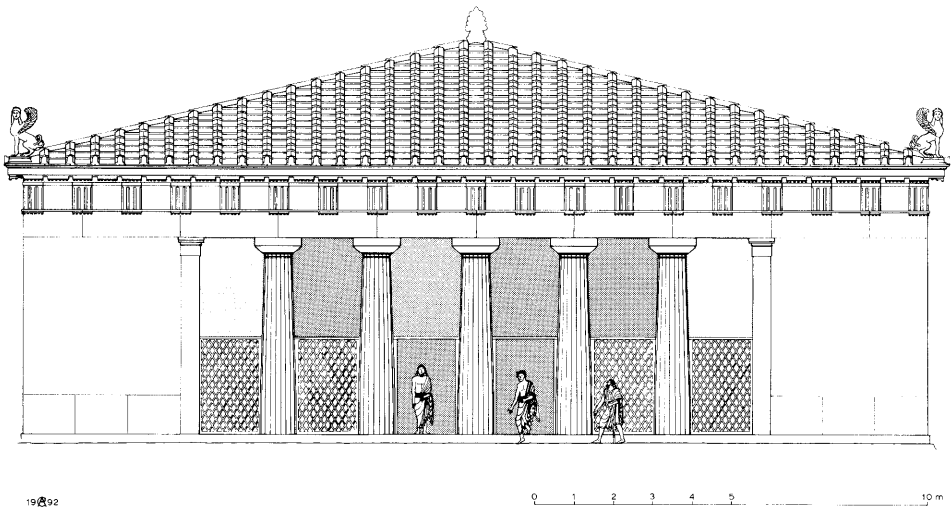
Fig. 9.3. Elevation of the Old Bouleuterion. (Courtesy of the Agora Excavations.)

not divorced from their original and long-standing sacred context, but the manipulation of them on the Old Bouleuterion represents a shift in perception; showing that sacred architectural idioms could be appropriated and repurposed for nonsacred means, it effectively demonstrates that the Doric order was not immovably riveted within its previously established sacred boundary. After the construction of the Old Bouleuterion, the Doric order was seen to have greater flexibility and adaptability, a feature that enhanced the overall value of using the order as a means of ornamentation.

The experience of passing through the Doric facade to enter the Old Bouleuterion would have stimulated this juxtaposition of sacred and civic. A *bouleutes* entering the Agora at the northwest corner would need to walk down the western road, past the eastern side of the Old Bouleuterion, through the terrace wall that partially isolated the Old Bouleuterion and the renovated Building F, up into the slightly elevated southwest area, and then back north to the entrance of the building. This type of convoluted access has parallels with the approach to the Old Athena Temple on the Akropolis, as well as other sanctuaries in which entrance was gained on the west while the altar and temple front were on the east. This indirect access culminated with the passage of the *bouleutai* under the Doric facade and through the columns to enter the building itself. The retaining wall directly to the east, through which the *bouleutai* had to pass

to enter the area, further demarcates the space of the Old Bouleuterion as a different and distinct place, set aside within the Agora.

Despite the lack of a peripteral colonnade and other typical cultic accoutrements, the presence of the Doric order on the Old Bouleuterion endowed the building with a sacred facade. Its use on the Old Bouleuterion cannot be overemphasized: the visually distinct frieze and colonnaded southern front represent an entirely new and unique use of the Doric order, one that might even have been aesthetically jarring at first, resulting in a perceptual dissonance between the familiar and the unknown.[33] The unexpected employment of the Doric order on a civic structure would have triggered expectations that varied from actual experience; rather than entering a temple, the *bouleutai* entered a secular place of government administration. Nevertheless, the sacred architectural idiom of the Doric order imbued the entrance to the building with a distinct sacral quality, thereby similarly imbuing the actions and events that took place within it. The real power of the Doric order in this instance seems to lie precisely in its ability to transfigure a secular structure into a sanctified edifice within the public sphere.

The use of the Doric order on the Old Bouleuterion ambiguously places the structure between the two realms of sacred and civic, a fitting role for the building and the council that occupied it; topographically situated within a space that was neither wholly secular nor religious, the building was used by a council that debated matters from both realms. The presence of the Doric order here represents many of the new democracy's structures that indicate a break with tradition, by using innovative elements, but also maintain bonds and stress continuity, by deploying and integrating familiar forms. During this transitional period, when the nascent political regime was trying to establish and define itself, their new council building appropriated a sacred architectural idiom within the civic heart of the polis.

A further innovation of the Old Bouleuterion—and an additional signal of how the building addressed competing demands—is its square, hypostyle form. This design was entirely new in the history of Greek architecture. The full area of the main chamber could be utilized by the council members and has been shown to accommodate almost precisely five hundred people.[34] The form of the building thus indicates that it was specifically designed for the exclusive use

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33. Jones (2000, 60–73) refers to this disjunction between the known and unknown elements of an architectural encounter as the "front half" and "back half" of the ritual-architectural event. For Jones, the importance of the juxtaposition of familiar and unfamiliar is that this dissonance triggers reflection and contemplation.

34. The building could supply seats 0.50 meters wide for 504 people or narrower seats 0.487 meters wide (as indicated for the Theater of Dionysus) for 517 people (Shear Jr. 1994, 232).

of the council. In addition, the sparse number of internal columns resulted in a high degree of flexibility and maneuverability, so that the people within the structure could be accommodated in a variety of ways. The open design and lack of columnar impediments also permitted a high level of intervisibility, so that all of the *bouleutai* could see and be seen by each other.

Intervisibility is important to think about in relation to the Boule, because it forms a key component in accountability and deliberation. Social anthropologist Michael Chwe has shown that inward-facing circles, like the Native American kiva, fostered a sense of accountability and unanimity through their forms, because all people within the structure could see and be seen by each other.[35] Intervisibility thus created situations in which accountability and participation could be monitored and verified. In the case of the Old Bouleuterion, each of the five hundred *bouleutai* could ascertain that his fellow council members were present and could make his own presence known. Debate and discussion within the Old Bouleuterion could not be anonymous; each member of the council was responsible for his own decisions and could see and hear what his fellow members thought. While anonymity is important in courts of law, its absence within the Boule rendered every *bouleutes* accountable for attending, listening to, and participating in the affairs of the council.

The square plan and single entrance of the Old Bouleuterion did not permit the formation of a closed circle, but the resulting arrangement of council members along the west, north, and east sides of the chamber has parallels with other structures that likewise emphasized intervisibility, accountability, and deliberative decision making: deme theaters.[36] The rectilinear deme theaters that began to appear throughout Attica during the first half of the fifth century mirror the arrangement of space within the Old Bouleuterion: in both instances, the axes of viewing direct attention toward the center of the space, as well as toward the other spectators or participants.[37] The circulation of the visual lines, centripetally as well as laterally, is a further means of ensuring accountability and the full participation of all the *bouleutai*.

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35. Chwe 2001, 30–32. See also Ober 2008, 199–205.

36. For the various uses to which deme theatral areas could be put, see Ober 2008, 205–8; Paga 2010.

37. The deme theater at Thorikos is dated to ca. 500, possibly indicating a parallel with the Old Bouleuterion. Some of the other rectilinear deme theaters (e.g., those at Ikarion, Piraeus, and Rhamnous) possibly had ephemeral predecessors in the earlier fifth century and certainly had more permanent phases by the mid-fifth century (Paga 2010, 353–66). We might also compare the form of the Old Bouleuterion to the first phase of the Pnyx, a further venue where accountability and deliberation were necessary.

Purpose and Use

The function of the Boule was to engage in deliberative decision making regarding matters of deme finance, religion, public works, and the army and navy.[38] The *probouleumata* that were drawn up by the Boule were then presented to the Ekklesia for further debate and voting. The open square plan of the Old Bouleuterion supported these functions by ensuring that the *bouleutai* were visible to each other, thereby compelling them to participate actively in the creation of an agenda for the Ekklesia.

The restricted access into the Old Bouleuterion ensured the privacy of the *bouleutai* and helped to focus their attention and activity on each other and the business at hand. This isolation would have enhanced the intervisibility engendered by the form of the building. Effectively separated from the crowds mingling in the open area of the Agora, the *bouleutai* still remained within that space, physically and spatially grounded in the civic center of the polis, despite the privacy of the building. This combination of openness and privacy, visibility and restriction, is precisely what made the form of the Old Bouleuterion so appropriate for this specific governing body.

From the literary record, it appears that Athenian citizens who were not current members of the Boule could attend its meetings or at least listen to and potentially address the council during the meetings.[39] This permission allowed individual citizens to introduce matters to the Boule, which would then decide whether or not to advance the proposal to the Ekklesia. What remains unclear, however, is whether individual citizens could attend meetings of the Boule without introducing a specific motion or decree. It seems possible that interested citizens could follow the events of a meeting by standing outside the porch of the Old Bouleuterion, within the terraced courtyard immediately

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38. Rhodes 1972, 88–143.

39. Dem. 8.4, 19.17; Aes. 3.125; Pl., *Menex.* 234a-b. These passages are discussed in Rhodes 1972, 40–42, 80. Cf., however, Ar., *Ekkl.* 441–44: γυναῖκα δ᾽ εἶναι πρᾶγμ᾽ ἔφη νουβυστικὸν / καὶ χρηματοποιόν. κοὔτε τἀπόρρητ᾽ ἔφη / ἐκ Θεσμοφόροιν ἑκάστοτ᾽ αὐτὰς ἐκφέρειν, / σὲ δὲ κἀμὲ βουλεύοντε τοῦτο δρᾶν ἀεί. (He said that a woman is a clever and moneymaking being. And he also said that they never disclose the secrets of the Thesmophoria, as you and I always do [with the secrets] of the Boule.) Cf. also [Dem.] 25.23: τὸ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσθενοῦς τοιαυτησὶ κιγκλίδος τῶν ἀπορρήτων κυρίαν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπεισιέναι (The Boule of Five Hundred, due to this barrier, although it is weak, is master of its secrets, and private individuals cannot enter). These passages from Aristophanes and pseudo-Demosthenes support the hypothesis that non-*bouleutai* citizens could not enter the council chamber itself, although the other cited passages imply that it remained possible to stand outside the building and listen to the proceedings; it was perhaps permitted to stand in the porch and view and address the *bouleutai* through the three doorways, with full access to the inner chamber restricted. All of these passages, with the exception of Aristophanes, refer to the New Bouleuterion, but its similarity in form and the relatively consistent work of the Boule should allow such comparisons.

to the south of the building, but there was certainly no extra room within the main chamber for additional listeners. If the Boule desired greater privacy, the doors to the main building could be closed.[40] On the basis of comparison with the bouleuterion at Assos, as well as a reference to the building in Aristophanes' *Knights*, it has been suggested that the pentastyle facade restored for the Old Bouleuterion would have been partially closed off by a series of grills, δρύφακτοι, holding latticed barriers, κιγκλίδες, which would have restricted access to the two central doorways.[41] In the *Knights*, the *bouleutai* leap over the *dryphaktoi* in their haste to get to the anchovies in the Agora, which suggests that the grills and barriers may have taken the appearance of a low parapet.[42] The presence of screens and doors would have effectively shielded the Boule, although in a permeable fashion, thereby allowing them to proceed with their business in some degree of privacy.

The very fact, however, that individual citizens who were not currently serving in the Boule could listen to the proceedings via the open doors and latticed grills is a mark of the relative transparency of this branch of the new democratic government. The Boule was more selective than the Ekklesia—only five hundred men served on the Boule at a time, and its positions were decided by election until 487/6 BCE—but it was nevertheless a public office open to all citizens.[43] The *probouleumata* of the Boule were posted in advance of the Ekklesia meetings, so that citizens could inform themselves of the agenda and proceedings. By the later fifth century BCE, these items were posted on the adjacent Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, along with notices of lawsuits, muster lists, and other such public matters.[44] The final outcome of the Boule's

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40. Rhodes (1972, 40–43) discusses the secret meetings of the Boule, concluding that they did not occur with regularity and that most meetings would have been open. One of the regular secret meetings of the Boule was held after the Eleusinian Mysteries, to hear matters related to the festival; these meetings would take place in the City Eleusinion, not in the Old Bouleuterion (And. 1.111; Clinton 1993, 119; Miles 1998, 18). It is possible that this is the secret meeting referred to in Ar., *Ekkl.* 441–44 (quoted in n. 39 above), given the analogy with the Thesmophoria.

41. Ar., Knights 640–42, 674–75; Shear Jr. 1994, 232–36. The New Bouleuterion is mentioned by Xenophon in a passage where men with daggers were stationed at the *dryphaktoi* to intimidate the *bouleutai* within the main chamber (*Hell.* 2.3.50–56).

42. Shear Jr. (1994, 246–47 n. 48) remarks that the humorous element of this passage "is surely that the δρύφακτοι were too high to leap over, and everybody knew it." While this is possible, it is equally likely that the *dryphaktoi* and *kigklides* formed a lower parapet and that the comedy derived from the imagined scene of the mature, respectable council members abandoning reason and order in their urge for the fish, jumping over the grills because the doorways were congested with all five hundred men attempting to get out at once.

43. The introduction of the lot for the selection of magistrates and *bouleutai* in 487/6 BCE represents a radical shift in the demographic makeup of the Boule: the use of the lottery ensured that a broader cross-section of the populace participated. See *AthPol* 22.5; Rhodes 1972, 6–7; 1981, 272–74; Ober 1989, 71–77.

44. Wycherley 1957, 85–90.

preliminary debate and discussion, then, was a matter of public knowledge; only the processes involved in the *probouleusis* remained partially screened. There is also the fact that the Old Bouleuterion was situated within the Agora itself, a point that I will turn to shortly. The building's location, the details of its plan, and the circumstances of its access provide an overwhelming impression of privacy tempered by accessibility.

The form of the Old Bouleuterion is also useful for understanding how the Kleisthenic reforms "mixed up" the Athenian population. According to the author of the *AthPol*, one of Kleisthenes' goals when he divided the populace into demes, *trittyes*, and *phylai* was to "mix up" the population, breaking down older connections based on wealth and families, loosening the bonds of the aristocracy, and integrating different areas of Attica with each other.[45] The Boule is one place where this mixing up of the population could be effected. Each of the ten *phylai* selected fifty members to sit on the council for one year. The Boule therefore consisted of a broad geographical cross section of the entire population. In this light, we can see how intervisibility and participation were two central tenets in the functioning and success of the Boule. These principles were underscored by the very form of the building. The plan of the structure effectively enabled the democratic practices that occurred within it, by bringing this broad group of men together and rendering them accountable to each other.

The specific architectural form of the Old Bouleuterion proved popular and was widely replicated by other democratic poleis throughout the Greek world. Some of the most notable examples include the Hellenistic bouleuterion at Priene and the Thersilion at Megalopolis, used by the Arcadian League.[46] The chronological record suggests that the Old Bouleuterion served as a template for this particular type of structure. The replication of the open square plan of the Old Bouleuterion in other Greek poleis over the course of the Classical and Hellenistic periods demonstrates that it succeeded in solving a coordination problem that was specific to ancient democracies and federations of democratic poleis: making sure that common knowledge was generated and circulated, through the promotion of the key principles of intervisibility, accountability, and participation.

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45. *AthPol* 21.2: πρῶτον μὲν συνένειμε πάντας εἰς δέκα φυλὰς ἀντὶ τῶν τεττάρων, ἀναμεῖξαι βουλόμενος, ὅπως μετάσχωσι πλείους τῆς πολιτείας (First he [Kleisthenes] divided all of them into ten tribes in place of the previous four, desiring to mix up the population, so that the many could have a share in the constitution).

46. For discussion of these bouleuteria and others (e.g., in Sikyon, Assos, Messene, and Thasos) and of their relationship to the Athenian Old Bouleuterion, see Shear Jr. 1995, 169–70. The most complete treatment of bouleuteria is Gneisz 1990. The Thersilion employed the basic plan of the Old Bouleuterion, although with a greater number of internal columns. The plan was also adapted, with modifications, for sacred uses, most notably for the Telesterion at Eleusis.

Coordination problems—problems that necessitate knowledge and action across a broad group of individuals, such as communal participation in rituals or debate among decision-making bodies—require the successful communication of metaknowledge across strong and weak ties within the societal body.[47] The goal of such communication is the creation and dispersal of common knowledge in order to solve coordination problems.[48] The generation of common knowledge—how a group of people come to know something and know that they all know that they all know (and so on)—remains a fundamental problem in our understanding of Greek society and politics. The early democracy in Athens provides a particularly interesting coordination problem: how to get a large and far-flung population to behave in ways that support a new and untested political regime. We know that the Athenians solved this coordination problem and solved it, quickly, because the democracy succeeded and began to thrive; in only a few years, robust democratic flourishing is visible and measurable in the Athenians' growing prosperity and their successes in battle—against the Chalkidians and Boiotians in 506/5 BCE (Hdt. 5.74–78), against their longtime rivals the Aeginetans (Hdt. 6.87–92), and against the Persians at Marathon (Hdt. 6.102–20). By paying closer attention to the form and design of structures and spaces built during this time, we can think about how the Athenians dealt with this coordination problem in a new way. The built structures provide a unique glimpse into how common knowledge was generated and dispersed in order to facilitate the functioning of the new political system.

A final aspect of the Old Bouleuterion that is related to its ability to solve coordination problems is its location within the Agora. The construction of the Old Bouleuterion immediately following the passage of the Kleisthenic reforms physically rooted the new government in this new area and signaled the transition of government decision making from the Old Agora to the new space. The combination of the *horoi* and Old Bouleuterion concretely established the new Agora as the civic center of Athens and the place where the reforms that brought about the new political system would be realized. Within this new space, the Old Bouleuterion is unique in that its entrance is rotated to the south, facing away from the central open area to the east (fig. 9.1).[49] This

47. See Ober 2008, 135–42, drawing on the work of Granovetter (1973, 1983); see also Chwe 2001, 61–66. Ober uses the terms *close* and *disparate*, which indicate groups of people with a high level of familiarity (the "close" communities, where strong ties are created) compared to groupings of people who may not know each other or may not know each other well (the "disparate" communities, where weak ties are created).

48. The links between communication and coordination problems are also addressed by Chwe (2001, especially 8–16, 79–93). For an application to the ancient world, see Teegarden 2013.

49. That the principal facade of the Old Bouleuterion faced south has been challenged by Stephen Miller, who has argued that this structure should be restored as a tripartite temple dedicated

orientation and the restricted access into the Old Bouleuterion ensured the privacy of the *bouleutai* and helped to focus their attention and activity on each other and the business at hand. As noted above, while they were separated from the crowds in the Agora, the *bouleutai* were still within that space, grounded in the civic administration and organization of the polis, despite the relative privacy of the building.

As outlined above, the route of entry into the Old Bouleuterion involved walking along the plain eastern wall (if one approached from the north) before crossing through a gap in the peribolos wall to the east of the building and then turning back north. Such an oblique entrance would be comfortable among domestic residences in Greece during the Archaic and Classical periods, when access to private houses was frequently curtailed to a single doorway opening onto a side street.[50] Direct access to a private residence was often discouraged, with few entrances from main streets and rarely more than a single door. The single entrance point for the Old Bouleuterion, off-axis from the road and accessible only via passage through a single opening in the peribolos wall, recalls these aspects of domestic architecture. Furthermore, the southwest corner had been used for private residences or workshops (Buildings C, D, and F) prior to the construction of the Old Bouleuterion, which would have created another level of association with domestic houses. It is particularly tempting to consider these quasi-domestic elements of the Old Bouleuterion in light of the hypothesis that Building F was originally used as the private residence of the Peisistratidai.[51] If that is indeed the case, the Old Bouleuterion, the home of the *bouleutai* and new democratic regime, usurps and dominates Building F, the former house of the tyrants, acquiring symbolic, as well as physical, significance.

These residential characteristics encompassed by the Old Bouleuterion affected the business conducted within, as well as the precise role of the *bouleutai*. As we have seen, the entrance to the Old Bouleuterion was partially closed by the *dryphaktoi* and *kigklides*, which, in conjunction with the south-facing facade, emphasized the closed nature of the building. The overall impression is one of

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to Meter, with a prostyle facade, octostyle in antis, facing east (1995b). In addition to the visual complications presented by Miller's proposed reconstruction, there is the matter of the stratigraphic and architectural evidence, which was succinctly answered by Shear Jr. (1995). In sum, Miller's hypothesis can be rejected, but his basic premise that the structure could have been oriented to the east remains a question worth pondering. Although the evidence does not allow such a restoration, it remains true that the building *could* have had its primary facade on the east, to allow entrance directly from the Agora. What such a building might have looked like is inconsequential; the point is simply that an eastern orientation for the Old Bouleuterion was a possible option that was rejected by the builders in favor of the southern alignment that the structure was ultimately given. The decision to rotate the building to the south should be understood as a deliberate choice.

50. Nevett 2005, 84.

51. Boersma 1970, 16–17; Shear Jr. 1978, 6–7; 1994, 231.

perforated closure: one could still, to a certain extent, see the interior of the build-ing, as well as hear the deliberations within from the area of the southwest terrace. The situation would have been similar for a residential house: family and friends might have access to the interior of the house, but the limitations of the off-axis entrance and single doorway would have prevented most others from intimate observation. The Boule was a restricted government body and therefore needed a certain degree of privacy. At the same time, however, the new democratic system was based on the ideals of accountability and accessibility. The placement of the Old Bouleuterion within the bounds of the Agora emphasized the latter of these functions, while the building's rotated facade and restricted access highlighted the former. For a *bouleutes*, these twin aspects of the council would have reso-nated when he entered the building. The experience of moving through the area of the Agora, up and onto the southwest terrace, and then through the Doric facade of the building was a continuous progression through civic, public, re-stricted, and religious spaces. The culmination of such movement in the interior chamber of the Old Bouleuterion encapsulated these various components. The rotated entrance, minimal doorways, and isolated position represented private restriction; the location in the Agora, intended function, open plan, and intervis-ibility upheld civic or public accountability; and the Doric facade and monumen-tal stone architecture established religious legitimation.

Conclusion

The Old Bouleuterion concretized the practices of the new democracy in order to promote functionality. In other words, the structure itself worked to enable or facilitate certain democratic practices. Among the most important compo-nents of the new political system was its emphasis and reliance on the prin-ciples of accountability and deliberative decision making, both of which are intricately linked to participation and communication. The perforated facade and the interior openness of the Old Bouleuterion, as well as its siting in the Agora, demonstrate how the built environment actively promoted these demo-cratic tenets, while the inward focus of the structure and its broadly circulating visual axes helped underscore the accountability of the *bouleutai*, both to each other and to the Athenian demos. The principles of the nascent democracy are thus implicitly and explicitly linked to the built environment and structures of government administration.

The articulation of the new Agora by buildings that addressed specific pri-orities of the democracy allows us to consider this moment of Athenian his-

tory through a different lens. The buildings show how the abstract policy of the Kleisthenic reforms was actualized, and they allow us to understand better what the key elements of the new political regime were and how these concerns were addressed. The high level of functionality displayed by the nascent democracy within the first three decades of its implementation—its ability to win decisive battles, its burgeoning financial resources, its enhanced Hellenic and international profile—were all made possible by the new democratic apparatuses, institutions, and ideals implemented in 508/7 BCE. The most important of these—visibility, accountability, and communication—were promoted by the Old Bouleuterion. This structure was not just a passive witness to the changing political environment of Late Archaic Athens but an active force that gave shape to democratic practice.

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CHAPTER 10

❦

Mapping the Religious Landscape

The Case of Pan in Athens

Michael Scott

Over the past thirty years, in wide-ranging fields of study concerning the Neolithic to the modern city, theoretical approaches to the concept of space, not as a static geographical entity, but as a fluid social construct, have had an immense impact on the ways in which those interested in the ancient Greek world, particularly in the study of ancient Greek religion, have approached the surviving material evidence.[1] Theories of space have been especially useful in helping scholars to understand, at the macro level, how sacred spaces functioned within the wider Greek landscape and, at the micro level, how individual structures and objects within particular sacred spaces negotiated how they were to be perceived and understood, that is, their meaning.[2] As a result, sacred spaces in the ancient Greek world have been recognized for their multiplicity of purpose and polyvalent meaning and for the dynamic spectrum of experience that they offered to the visitor.

Increasingly, spatial theory has also provided the ideal framework onto which can be bolted a range of archaeological theories and approaches that aim at elucidating the complex and fruitful interaction between the spaces of ritual practice and the practices themselves. This is especially important for the study of ancient Greek religion, due to the long-standing disjuncture between the (primarily archaeological) study of spaces of ritual and the (primarily literary and epigraphic) study of ritual practice. In particular, more complex engagements with the hermeneutics of architecture and the archaeology of the senses, as well

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1. See Kindt 2011; Scott 2015. See also Agelidis' contribution to the present volume, on the Dionysiac procession.
2. See Schachter 1992; Alcock and Osborne 1994; de Polignac 1995; Scott 2012; Wescoat and Ousterhout 2012.

as an exploration, through performance theory, of the nonpermanent elements of the experience of sacred space (e.g., dance and ritual movement), have led to a much more textured understanding of the experiential intensity and variety encountered within Greek sacred spaces and of the way in which space, architecture, art, movement, behavior, and ritual worked together, through material, literary, and epigraphic means, to create religious engagement.[3]

Until recently, this renewed engagement with the spaces and practices of Greek religion has missed a consideration of how these individual dynamic and polyvalent sites of ritual connected to each other and to their civic communities, particularly within the institution of the polis. In part, this absence has occurred because of the overwhelming acceptance of Sourvinou-Inwood's model of "polis religion" (first set out in 1990), in which religious space and practice were structured by the institutional authority of the polis (i.e., the polis playing the role occupied by the church within Christianity).[4] In the last decade, however, scholars have argued that Sourvinou-Inwood's model cannot offer a comprehensive account of sacred engagement, not only because not every community in the Greek world was a polis, but also because even within a polis, religious personnel, practices, and spaces did not always conform neatly to the categories of the polis system.[5] Instead, scholars have argued for the need for a wider understanding that incorporates the polis model as but one way in which religious spaces and practices could be organized, connected, and perceived.[6] In particular, many scholars have looked to network theory—which seeks to trace the patterning of relations and spread of ideas between social actors through different types of linkages—to provide a more flexible and dynamic process of mapping religious interaction.[7] Such a network approach encourages us not only to move beyond dichotomies of experience (i.e., polis or nonpolis) but also to highlight the multiplicity of experience and the continual process of generating meaning and connection, as well as the wide variety of rhetoric and narratives employed in formulating senses of community.[8]

One of the most common criticisms of the polis religion model is that it has—consciously and unconsciously—focused our attention on the most famous polis of them all, Athens, and, in so doing, narrowed our conception

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3. See Jones 2000; Burrell 2009; Chaniotis 2011; Connelly 2011; Papalexandrou 2011; Pilz 2011.

4. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, reprinted and extended in Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a and 2000b.

5. See, e.g., Morgan 2003; Kindt 2009.

6. See, e.g., Bremmer 2010.

7. For the wider application of network theory in recent ancient Mediterranean studies, see Horden and Purcell 2000; Malkin 2005; Constantakopoulou et al. 2009; Knappett 2011; Collar 2013.

8. In particular, see Eidinow 2011, 11, 15–18, 26–27.

of the variety and dynamism inherent in Greek religion.[9] To some extent, this is, of course, true. But, as a result, efforts to address religious life in the city of Athens through the application of new network approaches—let alone the package of theories laid out above (space, archaeology of the senses, and performance)—have been few and far between. This is true despite the fact that Athens was renown in the ancient world for being particularly full of gods (cf. Pausanias 1.17.1, 24.3; Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1006–7; Pindar, frag. 76); despite the fact that the current preferred mode in religious scholarship, because of the acknowledgment of the diversity and dynamism of religious ritual, is to study ritual within very specific chronological and geographical frames; and despite the fact that, in the instances where these new approaches have been briefly applied to Athens, interesting case studies of the ways in which religious networks could challenge mutually existing religious, political, and social networks within the polis have been put forward.[10] In short, while the desire to move scholarly attention away from Athens is understandable, it feels like, in reality, we have been cutting off the nose to spite the face: Athens still has much to tell us.

In this chapter, therefore, I briefly consider ways in which the conceptions implicit in network theory, combined with the most recent characterizations of the dynamic, polyvalent, and multiplicitous experience of ritual within sacred space, can be applied back onto the rich religious landscape of Athens. In so doing, I address how we can enhance our understanding of the way in which the dynamic, embedded, and diverse ritual world mapped onto and was understood through the landscape of this famous city. At the same time, I also consider the way in which questions posed by network theory point to the limitations of our understanding of the complexities of that landscape and, equally, how the surviving evidence points to limitations in the use of network approaches.

The Religious Landscape of Athens

Which gods were worshipped and where mattered for ancient Greeks.[11] In mapping the religious landscape of Athens, the tendency has been to characterize it

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9. See, e.g., Erskine 2010. Network theory has, in contrast, become so popular in recent years, in many ways, precisely because it has allowed us to look beyond Athens or, indeed, any single community, to map relationships over much wider distances (see, e.g., Collar 2013).

10. See Eidinow 2011, 11, 33.

11. See, e.g., Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 55.3: candidates for archonship election had to demonstrate they had shrines to Zeus *Herkeios* and Apollo *Patröos* in their homes. Aristotle's *Politics* 7.11.1 offers the conception of a polis in which all sacred spaces are placed together in one part of the city. Pausanias 9.22.2 praises the people of Tanagra in Boeotia because they have their houses separate from their shrines, which are in a "pure and holy spot away from men."

(and that of Attica as a whole) as reflecting the schema of center and periphery often imposed on the wider landscape, with a central core zone (the Akropolis), an outer ring of "suburban" religious spaces, and, at the boundaries, a ring for the appropriate "gate-holding/guarding" divinities.[12] But Parker, alongside many others, is quick to point out the inadequacy of this model for Athens, not least because of the multitude of divinities worshipped there and the complex way in which sacred spaces were interspersed throughout the city.[13]

In its place, a much more complex picture is emerging of the city's religious landscape, a network of small shrines radiating outward from each *oikos*, interacting with an irregular spread of public and private religious spaces of different kinds interspersed throughout the city (some of which may have functioned also as a central focus for each of the demes within the *astu,* like the temple of Artemis Aristoboule for the deme of Melite), punctuated by several nodal "hot spots," conglomerations of sanctuaries to a plethora of divinities. The hot spots included not only the Akropolis, as might be expected, but also the periacropolitan ring of sanctuaries at its base; the Agora (although only in terms of small cult shrines rather than monumental temple structures); the roads running north through (and outside) the city to the Academy; and, most important, the area diametrically opposite to the southeast, by the Olympieion and the Ilissos River (fig. 10.1).[14] Crucial is the way in which this much more tangled network of divine spaces seems to have worked to blur divisions within the city between public and private cult practice, ancestral and "new" rites, and deme and *astu* religious priorities, as well as between other networks created by local and private religious associations, not to mention the physical and political boundaries of the demes and the city itself.[15] As a result, this networked religious landscape created a sense of integration and social bonding that would have served to emphasize a picture of a collective Athenian identity.[16] At the same time, however, as but one "landscape" through which the city could be understood (cf., e.g., the political or economic environments), this religious map offered an overlapping but different perception and experience of what Athens was, one in which the key spaces were not the Akropolis, Agora, and Pnyx but, rather, the Akropolis and the southeastern area around the Ilissos

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12. See Garland 1992, 41; Parker 2005, 51.

13. See Herodotos 5.7, criticizing the politically backward Thracians (in comparison to the Athenians) on the grounds that they only worshipped three divinities (Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis).

14. For an outline of these nodal hot spots, see Wycherley 1970; Camp 2001; Parker 2005, 52–55.

15. For discussion, see Garland 1992, 24; Parker 1996, 3; 2005, 42–44, 62, 70–74.

16. See the mention by von Reden (1998, 174) of the "two topographies of the polis at stake" in Athenian society (Athens as a single place and Athens as a group of places linked to a political center).

1. Pompeion
2. Artemis Kalliste
3. Artemis Aristoboule
4. Hephaesteum
5. Shrine of Heracles
6. Zeus Phratrios Altar
7. Heros Iatros
8. Dionysus Eleuthereus
9. Asclepieum
10. Nymphe
11. Amyneion
12. Eleusinion
13. Olympieum
14. Ionic temple
 by the Ilissus
15. Pythion?
16. Pankrates
17. Fifth-century
 'boundary of a shrine'
 (of Codrus, Neleus
 and Basile?)
18. Small temple(?)
 In Christokopidou Street
19. Small archaic
 shrine at Poulopoulou 29
20. Tritopatreion

Fig. 10.1. Archaeologically located temples and sanctuaries in Athens, excluding the Akropolis and Agora. (From Parker 2005, fig. 4. Reproduced by permission.)

River.[17] Moreover, when we widen our focus to take in the Piraeus and Attica more generally, it seems certain that the religious landscape could also serve to differentiate more sharply between regions and identities. For example, the Piraeus featured a cluster of spaces for foreign deities, carefully screened and probably placed on the outskirts of the residential area in Hippodamian style (such a different style to that of the *astu*), and the deme of Acharnai seems to have underlined its difference and religious independence through a focus on otherwise unpopular Athenian divinities.[18]

How do network theory approaches help us in understanding this increasingly complex religious picture? The very concept of the network puts emphasis on the connections between "nodes" of people or places, particularly on the ways in which those connections allow innovation and social change to spread and develop.[19] In turn, such approaches focus our minds on the conditions nec-

17. See Parker 2005, 55.
18. Piraeus, see Garland 1987, 109. On Acharnai, with its emphasis on Ares, see von Reden 1998, 174; Camp 2001, 274–77.
19. For example, Harland (2003, 29) has identified five common types of social network that

essary for new information and ideas to spread, the "vulnerability" of a community to change, and the "critical threshold" necessary within communities for new ideas to be accepted and become embedded. In network terms, this vulnerability to change is governed by the nature of both "vertical" connections (e.g., family and lived environment) that determine the parameters of any innovation and "horizontal" connections (e.g., peer-to-peer links) that determine the energy of an idea to spread. At the same time, network approaches underline that any spread and acceptance of new ideas can be both active and passive. Network approaches can help us to understand how change happens, yet they do not explicitly answer for us the question of why change happens.[20]

Within this very broad-brush characterization of the religious landscape of ancient Athens and Attica as a complex network, as well as an equally broad-brush characterization of network theory as helping us to focus in on how religious change and innovation takes place, I want to examine the introduction of worship for the deity Pan within Athens (and Attica) and the creation of spaces of worship for him. In doing so, I want to investigate the degree to which network approaches can help us to articulate the nature of this god and the ways in which the Athenians chose to perceive, experience, and harness his divine power. At the same time, I want to think about the ways in which our understanding of the introduction of Pan points to limits in the usefulness of network approaches and, equally, how our understanding of network approaches highlights limits in our knowledge of Pan worship.

The story of the introduction of the worship of Pan to Athens is well known (cf. Herodotos 6.105): in the mountains near Tegea, this god from Arkadia met with Pheidippides (the runner who the Athenians planning to stand against the Persians at Marathon sent to ask for Spartan help), to ask why the Athenians did not worship him even though he had done them good deeds and would do more in the future. No source tells us what the Athenians thought Pan did for them at the battle of Marathon, but we hear that in the aftermath of that engagement, Miltiades, the leading Athenian general at Marathon, recognized the god's help against the Medes by setting up a statue of "the goat-footed Pan of Arkadia," accompanied by an epigram perhaps written by Simonides (*Palatine Anthology* 16.323). In turn, through the decision of public officials in their assembly, Pan was made a permanent part of the Athenian religious landscape.[21]

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drive religious associations and the spread of new religious ideas: household connections, ethnic connections, neighborhood connections, occupational connections, and cult/temple connections.

20. See Collar 2013, 287.

21. See Borgeaud 1988, 8, 94; Garland 1992, 47–62; Parker 1996, 187.

After his introduction to Athens, the worship of Pan, never previously spreading much beyond Arkadia, quickly diffused not just across Attica but across the Greek world, during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

In some ways, such a well-documented introduction of Pan into Athenian worship short-circuits the usefulness of network approaches. Polytheistic systems were extremely well versed in change, with the Greek pantheon rarely bounded or static in any form. While network approaches often speak of "tension" between an environment and a new idea, that resistance to change in the case of Pan seems nonexistent (and, indeed, is explicitly negated by the mythohistorical story surrounding his welcoming into Athens: he wanted, after all, to help the city). Moreover, given the official welcome that Pan received from the Athenian assembly and the (often-argued) state-sponsored expansion of his worship through Athens and Attica in such a short time thereafter, how the "critical threshold" was reached for the acceptance of the worship of this new god becomes less crucial. In essence, in their wealth, our ancient sources answer the questions that network approaches seek to elucidate.

In turn, network approaches encourage us to focus on a series of different questions, particularly how and where the worship of Pan was inserted into the Athenian religious landscape and how the connections created as a result elucidated the character of the god as worshipped in Athens. In focusing on these questions, we realize almost immediately that the Athenian Pan was heavily differentiated from his Arkadian origins. In Arkadia, Pan is known to have been worshipped in sanctuaries with temples,[22] whereas the official sanctuary given to him by the Athenians was one of the natural caves at the base of the Akropolis, on the northwest side, into which Miltiades' statue was probably placed (fig. 10.2).[23]

Why was Pan worshipped in caves in Athens? He was a god often claimed to be autochthonous, worshipped by a people who were themselves autochthonous Pelasgians.[24] The caves around the base of the Akropolis were where the heroine Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops, was worshipped; where honor was paid to the autochthonous Athenian Erecthoneus; and the site of the rape of Creusa by Apollo, as well as the birth and later exposure of Ion, progenitor of the Ionian Greeks.[25] These caves were spaces filled with the ancient beginnings of Athens, suited for a deity with similar ancestry. Such a "rustic" space within the middle of the *astu* has also been argued to reflect conveniently and to articulate

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22. Jost 1985, 476; Borgeaud 1988, 48–50; Parker 1996, 165.
23. See Travlos 1971, 417; Camp 2001, 121, 255–56.
24. Borgeaud 1988, 8, 47.
25. See Euripides, *Ion* 491–506; Borgeaud 1988, 152.
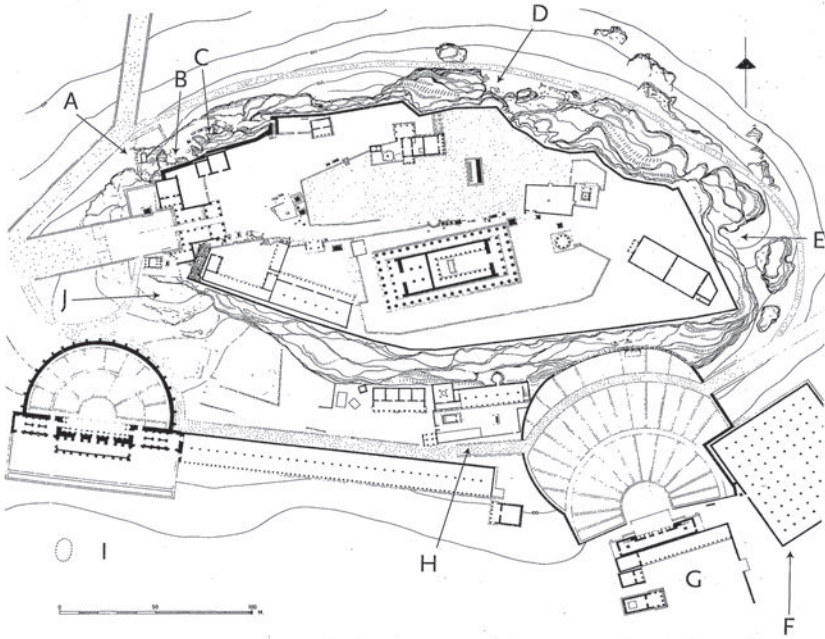
Fig. 10.2. Plan of the slopes of the Athenian Akropolis, showing the positions of the sanctuaries: (A) Klepsydra, (B) Cave of Apollo, (C) Cave of Pan, (D) Aphrodite and Eros, (E) Cave of Aglauros (?), (F) Odeion of Pericles, (G) Sanctuary of Dionysos, (H) Asklepieion, (I) Shrine of Nymphs, (J) Aphrodite Pandemos. (From Camp 2001, fig. 114. Reproduced by permission.)

not only the nature of this rustic goat-god but also the eagerness and hesitation with which people and the city engaged with him. Pan was a god of wilderness, and his space of worship in Athens was a "wild spot" in the center of the *astu*. He was also a god associated, in Athenians' eyes, with the spreading of panic and confusion within any community that was too disrespectful of him, as well as the overpowering of individuals who got too close.[26] Just the right level of distance was crucial in dealings with Pan, a balance reflected and articulated through the positioning of his sanctuary in a cave at the base of the Akropolis.

Pan's positioning also brought his sanctuary into close contact with those of other divinities, particularly Aphrodite and the Nymphs, both of whom also had caves dedicated to them at the base of the Akropolis.[27] Such associations

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26. See Thucydides 3.30.4; Euripides, *Rhesus* 34–37; Plato, *Phaedrus* 258c–d; Travlos 1971, 141; Borgeaud 1988, 120; Larson 2007, 150–51.
    27. In addition, on a terrace on the west side of the southern slope of the Akropolis, an inscrip-

articulated another aspect of Pan's character in Athens, his links with sexual relations and marriage (Aristophanes chooses Pan's cave as the place for a couple to have sex in his *Lysistrata*).[28] Association with the Nymphs was a new departure for the Athenian Pan (in Arkadia, Pan was never associated with Nymphs).[29] Both the placement of Pan within the wider Athenian religious network at the base of the Akropolis and the resulting immediate connections (in both style and proximity) between his cult space and that of other divinities were fundamentally influential in defining the new "idea" of the god that was being introduced. Here, network connections contributed to defining the very idea being introduced.

The network of associations into which Pan's cave at the base of the Akropolis was implanted seems to have extended further. Borgeaud has argued that the nocturnal torch race (*lampadedromia*) referred to by Herodotos (6.105), instituted as part of Pan's official cult by the Athenians in the wake of Marathon, was most likely carried out by ephebes, beginning at the altar of Prometheus and Hephaistos in the gymnasium of the Academy and ending at the cave of Pan at the base of the Akropolis, with the purpose of ensuring happiness for those who would marry that year.[30] In orchestrating a nocturnal torch race that processed from the Academy to the base of the Akropolis, ritual celebration of Pan echoed the nocturnal torch race undertaken as part of the crucial *Panathenaic* Festival (indeed, the torch races took the same route except that the Panathenaic race ended on top of the Akropolis).[31] Thanks to the way in which it was performed as a procession into and through the city, the worship of Pan linked itself not only to one of the other key nodal hot spots of the Athenian religious landscape (the roads leading to/from the Academy) but also to a festival at the very heart of Athenian society. In the performance of the worship of Pan, Athenians would have created connections for themselves not simply between parts of the city but between religious festivals and, in turn, between the figure of Pan and the well-being and prestige of the city.

As regards the public "annual sacrifice" alluded to by Herodotos (6.105) and the many private rituals conducted in honor of the god, Menander's *Dyskolos,* along with other fragmentary sources, gives us a good indication of their nature

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tion (*IG* II² 4994) testifies to the conjoined worship of Hermes, Aphrodite, Pan, the Nymphs, and Isis.

28. See Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1–3, 910–13, 998; Borgeaud 1988, 48, 75, 120, 38–39, 56.

29. Parker 1996, 165. Cf. Pindar, frag. 5, in which the Athenian Pan is also associated with Cybele.

30. Borgeaud 1988, 134, 53–55. This connection is not universally believed: see Parker 2005, 442, 47. Cf. Parke 1977, 172–73.

31. See Parker 2005, 166.

and intent: it seems that laughter, good humor, clapping, and dancing were key components of mediating approach to the god who could induce both communal panic and individual possession.[32] The festival started in the morning, lasted through to dawn the following day, and involved a sacrifice and a communal meal and celebration, as well as a night vigil (*pannuchis*), which linked the worship of Pan with around eleven other Athenian state festivals involving such a vigil.[33] What made the ritual of Pan stand out from other such festivals was the vital role played by women in the process (women celebrated and oversaw the sacrifice and later conducted the vigil), as well as the perceived need to avoid silence when approaching the god, in steep contrast to the worship of most divinities.[34] Conducting the rituals of Pan in an area so central to the city performed and articulated Pan's proximity and distance not just to the Athenians but to the rest of the pantheon.

The location of the sanctuary of Pan at the base of the Akropolis thus mediated between several aspects of the god's character and the way in which the Athenians chose to engage with him. It provided an element of protective distance that could be bridged at key moments like the torch race and annual sacrifice. These performed events linked the Athenians to Pan, articulated the ways in which Pan differed from other deities, and linked him and his worship to some of the most fundamental religious events in Athenian society and, in turn, to Athenian identity.

Crucial to network theory approaches is the understanding that no network is static; rather, networks are constantly dynamic and fluid. So were the connections created for Pan's cult space at the base of the Akropolis. Over the course of the fifth century BCE, particularly in response to the pressures of the Peloponnesian War (cf. Thucydides 2.17), which forced people to occupy the Pelargikon (the sacred area around the base of the Akropolis), the *boule* and the *demos* moved to fix the boundaries of the *hiera* of the Pelargikon, proclaiming for the future that "no one shall found altars, cut the stones . . . or take earth or stones" without their authorization (*IG* I³ 78; 422 BCE). Over a short period of time, the god's home appears to have been invaded and restored with renewed, civic authority, forever changing the degree to which this space could be claimed as wild and distant. Indeed, by the fourth century, the cave was clearly the place to display civic benefaction: Neoptolemus of Melite, who dedicated

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32. See Thespis, frag. 4; Theocritus 5.48; *SEG* 1 248; Borgeaud 1988, 150.

33. These festivals include the Panathenaia: cf. Parker 2005, 166. On sacrifice for Pan, see *LSS* 9 A 2; Lucian, *Bis accusatus sive tribunalia* 9.

34. See Borgeaud 1988, 166, 71. Wine was offered and consumed in rituals of Pan but was not used at all in worshipping the Nymphs, with whom Pan often shared a sacred space: see Borgeaud 1988, 163.

a sculptured relief of Pan, Hermes, the Nymphs, and Dionysus that was most probably set up in the cave, was proposed by Lycurgus for a crown in thanks for his civic benevolence in Athens.[35]

The Akropolis cave was not the only sanctuary of Pan in the city of Athens. Network theory approaches encourage us to think about how the different sacred locations of Pan created their own networks of meaning and association (and thus also contributed to the god's character) and about the extent to which the different sacred locations of Pan that were spread across Athens and Attica were themselves perceived as a connected network. What might be at stake in such a perception?

Pan was also found within the other key nodal hot spot of the Athenian religious landscape, around the Ilissos River, southeast of the Olympieion. Indeed, it seems clear that he was a rather major feature of the area: in Plato's *Phaedrus* (279b), Socrates calls out while walking in the area, "Friend Pan and all who are gods in this place, grant me to become fair within." Given the lack of clarity in the literary and archaeological sources, understanding the topography of sanctuaries in the Ilissos area is difficult, but we know that, generally, a visitor walking northeast to southwest along the Ilissos would encounter sanctuaries and sacred spaces like those of Apollo *Lykeios*, in the Lyceum; Pancrates (a chthonian with healing powers); Kodros, Neleus, and Basile (Kodros had been the heroic last king of Athens); Acheloos (the spirit of running water); the Nymphs, possibly Tyche; Pan (at possibly more than one shrine); Poseidon *Helikonios*; the Mother of the Gods and/or Artemis Agrotera; Demeter and the Lesser Mysteries, celebrated in a precinct of Kronos; the Muses; Boreas (the North Wind); Apollo Pythios; Aphrodite; possibly Dionysos, in the Marshes; the river god Ilissos; and Heracles, in a shrine in the Kynosarges gymnasium.[36] The shrine of Pan on the south bank of the Ilissos is a rock-cut recess with a relief of the god carved into the rock.[37]

As random as the aforementioned conglomeration of gods may appear, there were certainly links between them (e.g., between Pan and the Nymphs), and dedicatory inscriptions prove that they were perceived, by some worshippers at least, as a group.[38] More crucially, this area was considered an extremely important zone for the city, because, according to Thucydides (2.15.3–4), "this

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35. For the relief, see Camp 1992, 210–11; 2001, 119. On the civic honors, see Plutarch, *Moralia* 843–44.

36. For more detail on the layout of this area, see Wycherley 1963a; 1963b;1964; 1978, 169–72.

37. Travlos 1971, 296.

38. See *IG* II² 2934 (fourth century), a relief with images of Acheloos, Hermes, the Nymphs, and Pan in its upper register and of Demeter, Persephone, and a man leading horse in the lower register, with a dedication by "cleaners" to the Nymphs and all the gods.

is where men of old had their homes." Pan's place here linked him to the origins of Athens' story (just as the caves around the Akropolis linked him to Erechthoneus and Ion). His placement here also linked him with the nearby sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera and, by extension, back again to Marathon: the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera was the place for an annual celebration each year in honor of the victory (Pausanias 1.19.6).[39] Conversely, this area also drew together deities who had little to do with war (Acheloos, Ilissos, Aphrodite, the Mother of the Gods, Demeter), underlining Pan's nonmilitary, more amorous side and his connection with gods of fertility.[40] At the same time, the Lyceum gymnasium, slightly north of the Ilissos River, housed a grove sacred to Apollo Lykeios, echoing Pan's origins in Arkadia and his most famous sanctuary there, on Mount Lykaion (cf. Pausanias 8.38.5). Pan's location thus simultaneously enabled the articulation of the ancient and Arkadian nature of his cult, the respect with which he was held in Athens, his (Athenian) role in war, and his role in relationships and, more widely, in the crucial maintenance of the fertility and fecundity of life. As this crucial religious zone spread across the banks of the Ilissos, across deme boundaries, and across the Themistoklean walls of the city of Athens, once again blurring the many different boundaries of Athenian society, the network of Pan's divine associations was intensified, and his divine roles were diversified.

There was a sharp increase in the use of caves as sacred spaces in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE across Attica, with a good number dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs.[41] Many scholars have argued that the introduction of Pan to the *astu* of Athens was swiftly mirrored by his introduction across Attica: the periphery followed the center, perhaps as part of a state initiative.[42] Cave shrines of Pan and the Nymphs have been located at Eleusis, Vari (on Mount Hymettos), Phyle (on Mount Parnes), Mount Pentelikon, Oinoe near Marathon (which had rocks inside resembling goats, according to Pausanias 1.32.7), Daphni, and Piraeus (fig. 10.3).[43] How do these locations frame the articulation of the god and the way in which he was perceived and experienced? Most of the caves are fairly inconspicuous and only modestly accessible (with the exception of Daphni, which is within sight of the ancient *hiera odos*). But they were not

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39. Indeed, the link with Artemis is stronger: a particular type of vessel (*krateriskos*) found in Artemis sanctuaries is also found in shrines of Pan (but not in those of any other deities): see Wickens 1986, 177; Borgeaud 1988, 156. For the link with Artemis, see also Arrian, *Cynegeticus* 35.3.

40. For his connection to Demeter and the Mother of the Gods elsewhere in Athens, see Borgeaud 1988, 140–45, 47. Cf. also Plutarch, *Moralia* 768.

41. Wickens 1986, 168–69.

42. See Mikalson 1977, 433; Wickens 1986, 170; Parker 1996, 164.

43. See Garland 1992: 60.
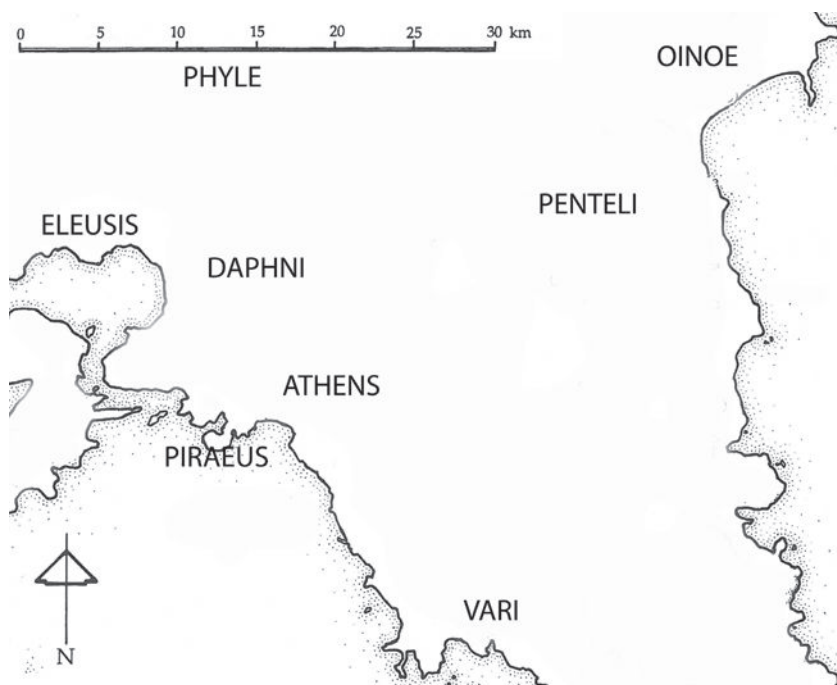
Fig. 10.3. Map of Attica, showing deme locations

completely isolated: the caves at Vari and Oinoe were close to deme centers, the Vari cave had a large farmhouse built just below it in the late fourth century, and the Phyle cave has been argued to have been run by the deme and may even have been the center of a deme festival.[44] In these locations, just as in his shrine below the Akropolis, Pan was oscillating in his proximity and distance from site to site, as their surroundings and official status changed over time.

   More important, these cave shrines seem to have been a focus of real interest for all levels of Athenian society as well as for the civic authorities. In the fifth century, a sacred law seems to have been imposed in the Vari cave regarding both the use of its spring and the ritual practices to be undertaken there (*IG* I³ 982). Probably at the end of the fifth century, the cave was embellished by a metic, Archedamus (*IG* I³ 980), and used for a relief dedication by twelve

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44. For Daphni, see Wickens 1986, 172. On the Vari farmhouse, see Wycherley 1978, 246. On Phyle, see Travlos 1988, 319, 25–26; Parker 2005, 69.

people (both Athenians and non-Athenians), as well as for up to twenty other relief dedications, by urban and rural Athenians, individuals and groups.[45] This picture is replicated at other Pan cult sites across Attica: a wide variety of social classes used the shrines, both urban and rural, and there was a particular renewal in cult activity following the end of the Peloponnesian War and into the fourth century.[46]

Pan appears in no surviving sacred calendar, and no official priesthood of Pan seems ever to have been set up.[47] We have no direct evidence for the degree to which the Athenians sought officially to connect up the different locations of and events associated with Pan worship. As a result, the answer to the second part of the question posed by network theory approaches—the extent to which the different sacred locations of Pan across Athens and Attica were perceived as a network by the Athenians—remains elusive. On the one hand, the similarity of these cult locations (caves) and of the related divine associations (between Pan and the Nymphs, among others) would have provided a series of connections through which Athenians visiting various cult sites of Pan could have understood there to be a network of Pan worship in Athens. On the other hand, the subtler variations in the god's character across these sites (e.g., more Arkadian at the Ilissos River than under the Akropolis), coupled with the absence of a much more active networked connection between his cult sites (e.g., in the case of the processions conducted between the Artemis sanctuary at Brauron and the Brauroneion on the Akropolis) may indicate a desire by the Athenians to leave Pan worship as more fragmented.

Indeed, it was perhaps the sheer variety of connections that the cult sites of Pan could create and maintain that made him so welcome as a new deity in Athens after 490 BCE. That period bore witness to the establishment of the new democracy and the new Kleisthenic tribal system, which was attempting to create new bonds between civic groups (different from those held by the old aristocratic elites) and to give "citizens"—whether urban or rural based—the sense of a stake in the new political system. The spread of Pan's worship at such a time—bringing together communities of worshippers from a variety of backgrounds at each of its cult locations, spread across urban and rural Attica; covering a range of divine interests and responsibilities of interest, to both urban and rural populations; and linking Pan to other deities and key Athenian institutions, especially in his Akropolis and Illisos cult sites—would have been

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45. Dunham 1903; Wickens 1986, 94.
46. See Wickens 1986, 180–81; Parker 1996, 167 n. 48.
47. See Garland 1992, 60; Parker 2005, 69.

a strong support in that project.[48] In such a light, it is perhaps no surprise that the Athenians did not seek to formalize the various sites of Pan worship into an articulated network (despite being so interested in supporting the introduction of the cult). The cohesive strength of Pan cult was its diversity of association and connective possibilities.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to take some of the principles of network theory and apply them to the religious landscape of the city of Athens—particularly the stories behind and cult locations of a new divinity introduced to that landscape—in order to assess the advantages and limitations both of such approaches and of our evidence for religious interaction. While we do not need network theory to understand the critical threshold for the introduction of worship of Pan or, to some extent, its spread and acceptance, network approaches do help us focus in on the wide range of connections created for that divinity through its cult spaces and rituals. Network theory underlines the way in which the Athenian Pan was articulated as different from his Arkadian origins and was aligned to be a fundamental and historic part of Athenian religious life, while being held at a respectful distance. Though the surviving evidence limits our understanding of the extent to which the cult locations of Pan were seen as a network in the Athenian imagination, we can suggest that his worship, in its different locations, was intended to bring Athenians together at a time of crucial civic renewal and re-presentation, expressly through its diversity and wide appeal.

Robert Parker once characterized religion for the Athenians as a "comfortable old coat"—something close and easy to live with.[49] I hope this chapter's application of the ideas behind network theory to the religious landscape of ancient Athens, particularly to the cult of Pan, has shown, however, that the analogy of the comfortable old coat has to be adapted to reflect a number of key themes. In particular, we have to take into consideration the multiplicity of experience engendered through contact with the divine, the continual process of generating meaning and connection inherent as the perception and experience of particular sacred spaces and their contexts changed over time, and the

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48. See Borgeaud 1988, 160–61; Garland 1992, 62; Parker 1996, 160. In a similar vein, the cave of Pan at Phyle was also associated with the location and moment when the Thirty Tyrants of Athens lost out to a revolution, which would bring with it the reestablishment of democracy, at the end of the fifth century BCE: see Diodorus Siculus 14.32.3.

49. Parker 2005, 453.

wide variety of rhetoric and narratives employed in formulating senses of community. Only then can we begin to understand the dynamic, rich, and complex nature and impact of the religious landscape of this ancient city so famously full of gods.

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The "Spatial Turn" in Ancient Greek Festival Research

*Venues of the Athenian City Dionysia
and the Great Panathenaia* Pompai

Soi Agelidis

The "spatial turn" of the late 1980s is one of the theoretical discourses most often discussed in classical archaeology, and it raises questions in various fields. The static understanding of space as a container in which people act and in which objects are positioned has limited the possibilities of interpretation of archaeological data, especially in cases where actions are crucial for the meaning of the entire context. However, the dynamic comprehension of space as an entity constituted through the interaction of places, people, acts, and objects can provide a more complete image, even when the archaeological and literary evidence is not very dense.[1]

Although this conception of space has been accepted as an important element of archaeological discourse in recent years, our understanding of the relevant models has not yet reached an acceptable level. The concepts of dynamic space coming from the fields of sociology and anthropology are often adapted without really understanding them and without the necessary reflection. This becomes especially obvious in the lack of precision in wording. A crucial point for achieving the necessary precision is the distinction between the everyday usage of the word *space*—in the sense of a "container space"—and

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1. This essay is a result of a long-standing reflection on space and ritual. In over ten years, I have profited from occasionally heated discussions in various circles, with colleagues from different disciplines. For their help and stimulus, I thank, especially, Anton Escher (Mainz) and, furthermore, Henning Börm (Constance), Marion Meyer (Vienna), Lisa Nevett (Ann Arbor), Jessica Paga (College of William and Mary), Michael Scott (Warwick), Alexander Sokolicek (New York), Jutta Stroszeck (Athens), Ulrich Thaler (Athens), Torsten Zimmer (Cologne), and the two anonymous reviewers of my text. The German terms coined by Löw (2001) to refer to spatial models, *absolutistisch* and *relativistisch*, are here rendered with the words *static* and *dynamic*, following Maran 2006, especially 77.

its contextual use in analysis. We can distinguish the physical space (the physical geographical context that can be objectively located and named without implying a specific function) from political space, ritual space, memorial space, and so on, which evolve out of place, action, objects, and people set in relation to each other. These spaces do not exist objectively but, rather, are subjective, dynamic entities with no materiality of their own, permanently constituted in people's perception of them based on their components—objects, persons, actions, venues.[2] The analysis in this chapter exemplifies the beneficial effect of applying a dynamic perception of space to the analysis of ancient Greek festivals, beginning with a brief introduction to choregic monuments and their frame of reference.[3]

The Choregic Monuments: Their Context and Their Interpretation

Today, more than two hundred ancient choregic monuments still exist and have been identified as such. Inscriptions and a range of literary sources provide us with much additional information on this kind of monument and on related institutions and festivals. The best-known group of these dedications called "anathemes" was erected by the *choregoi* of the dithyrambs at the Athenian City Dionysia. The *choregos* (chorus leader) financed all the needs of the chorus of his *phyle* (tribe) during the preparations for and performance in the festival. After a successful *agon* (contest) of the chorus in the discipline of the song to Dionysos, the *dithyrambos*, its *choregos* accepted the prize, a bronze tripod, on behalf of his tribe. He subsequently erected a monument with this tripod, dedicating it to the master of the festival, Dionysos. The bases for these tripods varied in form, size, and decor. Rectangular, stepped bases and triangular bases with concave threaded sides were the simplest forms. Already in the fifth and especially in the fourth century BCE, however, some *choregoi* chose to support their tripods with small buildings with the appearance of temples.

Independent of the size and design of the monument, a standard element of the anatheme was an inscription documenting the name of the *choregos* and his tribe, the discipline of the *agon*, and sometimes also the name of the *didaskalos* (teacher) and/or the *auletes* (flautist). The formula of the text was soon standardized and was used over decades without any modifications. The act

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2. See, e.g., Hölkeskamp 2004; Scott 2010; Fisher and Creekmore 2014.
3. For more detail, see Agelidis 2009.

of dedication was not usually recorded therein. Nevertheless, some sponsors chose a slightly different formulation or even a completely different wording for the inscriptions of their anathemes. For example, Nikias and Thrasyllos (both 320/19 BCE) explicitly mentioned the dedication in their inscriptions by using the formulation *anetheken* (set it up).[4]

The more modest choregic anathemes, consisting of a simple base and a tripod, were most probably erected in the Dionysion, as suggested by the findspots of the bases that have been identified. The elaborate monuments in the form of small-sized temples, however, could not occupy space in the temenos of Dionysos Eleuthereus, which was already quite confined. The *choregoi* therefore used the parodoi of the theater and also the way in the extension of the eastern parodos, the Street of the Tripods, to raise their anathemes. The Street of the Tripods—the Greek name was simply *Tripodes*—led from the Eleusinion, around the eastern slope of the Akropolis, to the Theater of Dionysos (for these locations, see chap. 10, fig. 10.1). It was named after the tripods carried by the choregic monuments along its sides, as Pausanias clearly testifies.[5] This statement of the geographer reflects the quality of the Street of the Tripods as a memorial space: the monuments commemorated the victories of the choruses not only for those alive at the time of their erection but also for some generations afterward. Their specific character and appearance evoked the perception of this place as a memorial space to the City Dionysia for a considerable length of time. But this is only one aspect of its significance, as we will see.

The lack of any precise reference to the dedication in the majority of the known choregic inscriptions has repeatedly been used as an argument for the secularization of the choregic monuments. However, this view overlooks that some *choregoi* mention the act of dedication in the inscriptions and that most buildings appeared like and were perceived as *naoi* (temples)—as Pausanias again attests. Another argument for the alleged complete change in the choregic monuments' significance has been their position along the Street of the Tripods, a very popular promenade of the Athenians,[6] which was not included in the temenos of Dionysos and has thus been regarded as an entirely secular place, not suitable for dedications to the god. Consequently, the choregic monuments were often seen exclusively as private memorials to the sponsor's generosity.[7] Questioning this interpretation of the context in the sense of the

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4. See *IG* II² 3055 and 3056, respectively.
5. Paus. 1.20.1.
6. As suggested by, e.g., Ath. 12.542f.
7. Costaki 2006, 224–30; Wilson 2000, 120–23, 198–262.

static comprehension of space, as briefly introduced here, was the object of my past research on choregic monuments.

The Street of the Tripods not only was connected to the City Dionysia by the choregic monuments but also was a part of the ritual space of the festival. In relation to the topography of the celebration, it seems very plausible that the processions in the context of the festival also passed this very way. On the night before the opening of the festival, the old cult statue of Dionysos Eleuthereos was brought, in a procession called *eisagoge apo tes escharas* (literally "bringing in from the hearth"), from a shrine on the way from the Academy, to his sanctuary on the south slope of the Akropolis. This practice was carried out as a reminder of the introduction of his cult from Boeotian Eleutherai in Archaic times.[8] Due to the topographic disposition of the relevant sites, the cortege, starting near the Academy, very likely followed Kerameikos Street,[9] entered the city at the Dipylon Gate, continued on the same street, and later crossed the Agora along the Panathenaic Way, from the northwest to the southeast. Since the propylon of the sanctuary of Dionysos lies on its eastern side, it is evident that, after passing the Agora, the procession, or *pompe*, entered the Street of the Tripods, which led to the temenos of the god.

Our knowledge about the main procession on the first day of the festival, before the sacrifice, is a little fuller. Its end point at the sanctuary of Dionysos is obvious, but a dance for the Twelve Gods, arguably at their altar in the Agora, is also attested by Xenophon (*Hipparch.* 3.2). Hence we can assume that the route of the sacrificial procession coincided generally with the one of the *eisagoge*, also using the Street of the Tripods to reach the Dionysion, although it probably had another, more central gathering point, since the Academy and the shrine of Dionysos in its neighborhood are insignificant for this ritual. I will return to this issue later in this chapter.

In this role of the street, we can detect the motive of the *choregoi* to raise their anathemes at this very site. During the *pompai*, the viewer watched people of all kinds, well-dressed and holding religious devices in their hands: musicians, priests, and city officials all strode solemnly together along the street, singing and praying, while escorting the sacrificial animals, decorated with ribbons, to the altar. The venue of this spectacle was perceived as a ritual space with a

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8. Paus. 1.2.5, 1.20.3, 1.29.2, 1.38.8; Philostr., *VS* 2.1.3; Schol. Ar., *Ach.* 243; *IG* II² 1006, 1008, 1011; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 59–61; Stroszeck 2004, 77 note 125; Parker 2005, 318.

9. The *horos* stones at the edge of the street leading from the Academy to the Agora called it "*Kerameikos*"; however, the deme, which we usually call "Kerameikos," was actually called "*Kerameis*" in Classical times: see Stroszeck 2004, 54–69 figs. 1–20, and pp. 69–73.

definite sacred character, due to the interaction of the elements described here and the meaning of their performance. This meaning also obtained on nonfestival days; the average viewer, familiar with the topography and the practice of the city and no doubt always aware of the fact that he or she stood in the place where the ritual was performed, thus perceived the place as a *lieu de mémoire*, a memorial space. Consequently, whether the Street of the Tripods was perceived primarily as a ritual or memorial space, it definitely was sensed as a sacred space. The immanent sacred disposition of the site allowed the *choregoi* to dedicate the tripods there. Although the location was not part of the sanctuary, it was sacred to the god and suitable for the erection of the anathemes. In turn, the sponsors of the Dionysiac choruses gradually provided the venue of the processions with a more appropriate setting by erecting their magnificent dedications to the god, materializing its cult significance. This appearance of the street again increased the religious atmosphere and thus intensified the impact of the ritual space, just described. It also allowed a viewer not familiar with Athenian habits and cult practice to perceive the Street of the Tripods as a sacred space.

At this point in this discussion, it is essential to make some methodological remarks. Crucial for our evaluation of place and space is not their legal status but the perception of the people. Therefore, it is also of major importance to underline the fact that the sharp distinction between sacred and secular is based on modern ideas and does not actually reflect the perception of the ancient participant.[10] Our categorization is nevertheless useful—if not indispensable—for our analysis, in order to describe and understand the conditions in the ancient societies with which we are dealing.

Other Athenian Ritual Locations: Two Comparative Examples

Looking at the Street of the Tripods and its whole context on the basis of a model that perceives space as dynamic has enabled us to understand more clearly the meaning of this place within ancient Athenian society. Considering two further examples of ritual venues will allow us to examine whether the same model can have a comparable effect on the perception of space there.

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10. Papazarkadas (2011, 1–15) provides a good survey of the effort made by modern scholarship to define the distinction between sacred and public land, but he also underlines that this is a modern way of thinking. On the distinction between "sacred" and "profane," see also Hölkeskamp 2004, 35.

The main question underlying the following discussion is what significance the starting points of the religious processions had for the city and its population. While the ending points of the *pompai* within festivals for various gods and goddesses were obviously most often their sanctuaries, the locations where the crowd gathered, lined up, and began walking varied greatly. A systematic overview of the possibilities is not yet viable, because the evidence of the starting point of processions is poor. Here, however, it seems useful to refer briefly to a few examples to show some of the possibilities attested.

The Prytaneion is, in some cases, testified to have been the place where *pompai* began. The cortege for Bendis in Piraeus and the one for Zeus in Olympia led from the office of the *prytaneis* to the relevant sanctuary. In Pergamon, the last king of the city, Attalos III, received a cult after returning from an allegedly victorious campaign and became *synnaos* (temple mate) to Asklepios Soter, whose sanctuary was situated about two kilometers southwest of the Akropolis. Among the known rituals was a *pompe* that began at the Prytaneion and headed for the Asklepieion. Also originating at the Prytaneion was the procession for Diodoros Pasparos, a Pergamene citizen, who received cult offerings some years before 70 BCE, because he achieved favorable judgments in Rome for his home city.[11] The office of the *prytaneis* is a primary building relating to administration by the people themselves—rather than by a ruler—and can thus be seen as a political space that symbolically represented the population of the city. Hence a *pompe* beginning at that point stood for the people as a whole paying their respects to the adored persons. The choice of that starting point can be interpreted as intentional differentiation from the *pragmata* (business matters) of the king or even of the local ruling class. In Smyrna, a ship on wheels that was conducted by the priest of Dionysos headed the procession of the Anthesteria. Due to this special feature, the *pompe* started at the harbor of the city. This ritual necessity dictated the venue, which conveniently also offered enough space to line up the personnel of the procession with the required cult paraphernalia. The particular political interests of any single group could not be advanced through the choice of the setting. Nevertheless, despite the specific character of the aforementioned venues as political or public spaces in the context of the festivals, they were (also) perceived as part of ritual space.

The generally accepted starting point of the Panathenaic *pompe* in Athens is the district of Kerameikos. Thucydides describes the circumstances of the

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11. Piraeus, see *IG* II² 1283; Parker 1996, 170–75; Blok 2007, 315. For Olympia, see Mylonopoulos 2006, 106–8. For Pergamon, Asklepios, and Attalos III, see *OGIS* I no. 332, 13–17; Radt 1999, 223. For Pergamon and Diodoros Pasparos, see Hepding 1907, 243–56 no. 4; Radt 1999, 248–54.
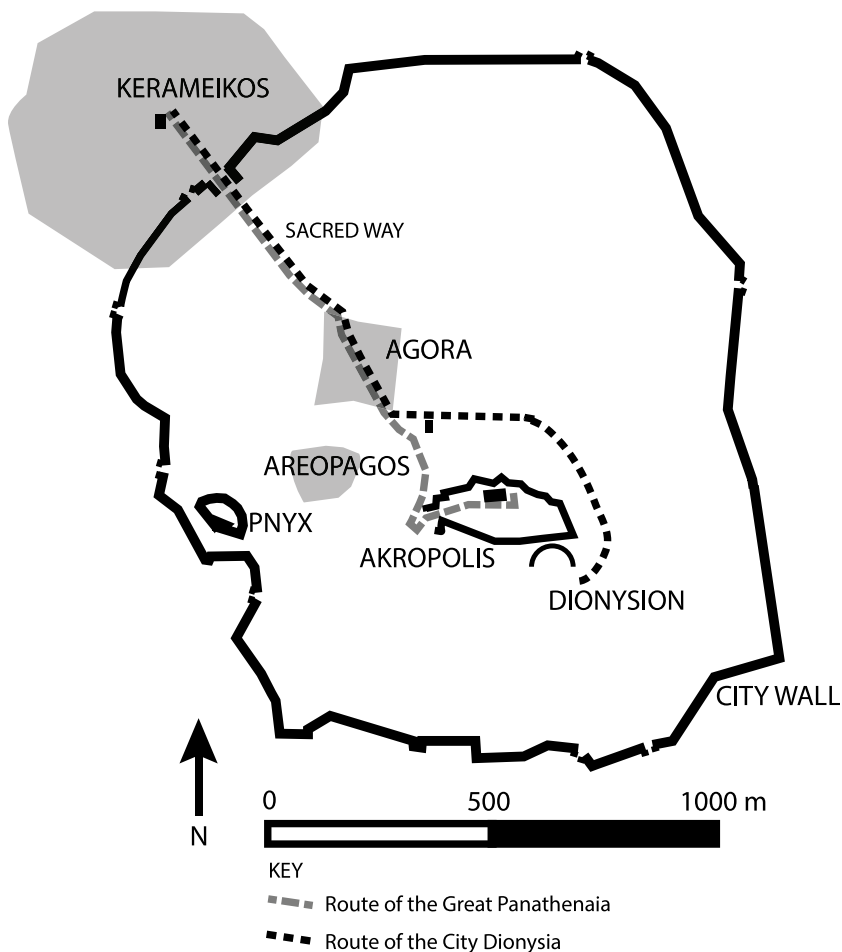
Fig. 11.1. Plan of ancient and modern Athens with the routes of the processions

assassination of Hipparchos during the preparations for the Panathenaic procession in 514 BCE. According to his report, the tyrant Hippias was arranging parts of the *pompe* in the so-called Kerameikos, outside the gates, when Harmodios and Aristogeiton approached to slay him. When they suspected that their intentions had been revealed, they rushed inside the gates, encountered Hipparchos at the so-called Leokoreion, and killed him instead of his brother.[12]

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12. Thuc. 6.57.1–3.

As Thucydides mentions earlier and Aristotle also testifies, Hipparchos stood at the Leokoreion while also arranging parts of the procession.[13]

For the late sixth century, we can thus assume, with some confidence, that the procession lined up on Kerameikos Street,[14] partly outside the city walls and partly inside the walls, near the Leokoreion.[15] A change in this practice is not likely until the destruction of the Archaic city walls by the Persians[16] and the erection of the Themistoklean walls in 478 BCE. However, although we know of the venue, we cannot locate it on the plan of the city. For neither the course of the Archaic city walls nor the site of the Leokoreion are securely determined yet. The Leokoreion can probably be identified with a stone enclosure at the northwestern corner of the Agora.[17] Combining this evidence with the testimony of Thucydides (1.93.2) that Themistocles enlarged the city significantly, we can assume that the Archaic walls in this part of the city lay in the area between the Themistoklean walls and the northwestern edge of the Agora.[18] Hence, in Archaic times, the *pompe* was probably arranged in the general vicinity of the northwestern corner of the Agora.[19] Whether Thucydides' discussion reflects the situation in the late sixth century BCE or actually projects the practice of his own time onto his narration of events in the distant past is of secondary importance for the question at hand. What matters is that Thucydides testifies to the relevance of the sites for the festival.

A place connected in Classical times with the Panathenaia and its procession is the narrow space between the Dipylon Gate and the Sacred Gate. The naturally boggy terrain there was filled with earth around 430–420 BCE in order to create a flat area.[20] Numerous postholes found at that spot, neither in strict order nor in identifiable patterns, can be dated to 420–415 BCE and are attributed to ephemeral facilities like tents, sun blinds, and market stalls used during the Panathenaia.[21] After a burned destruction, booths made of mud bricks and timber over a stone pedestal, which backed onto the city wall, were erected for the same purposes. Shortly after 410 BCE, a first attempt was made

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13. Thuc. 1.20.2; Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 18.3.

14. See n. 9 above.

15. See Müller 1996.

16. Concerning the controversial discussion on the Archaic city walls, see, most recently, Theocharaki 2011, 73–76. See also Capozzolli 2004 (a preliminary report on Capozzolli's doctoral thesis on the Archaic city walls of Athens).

17. Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 121–23; Müller 1996, 158–59 n. 27; Batino 2001, especially 58 with n. 20.

18. See Weir 1995, 256; Hölscher 1998, 70–71.

19. See Capozzoli 2004, 12.

20. Hoepfner 1976, 16.

21. The more recent group of postholes lies at a level about twenty to forty centimeters higher than the older group: see Hoepfner 1976, 16–19, 20–22, 220.
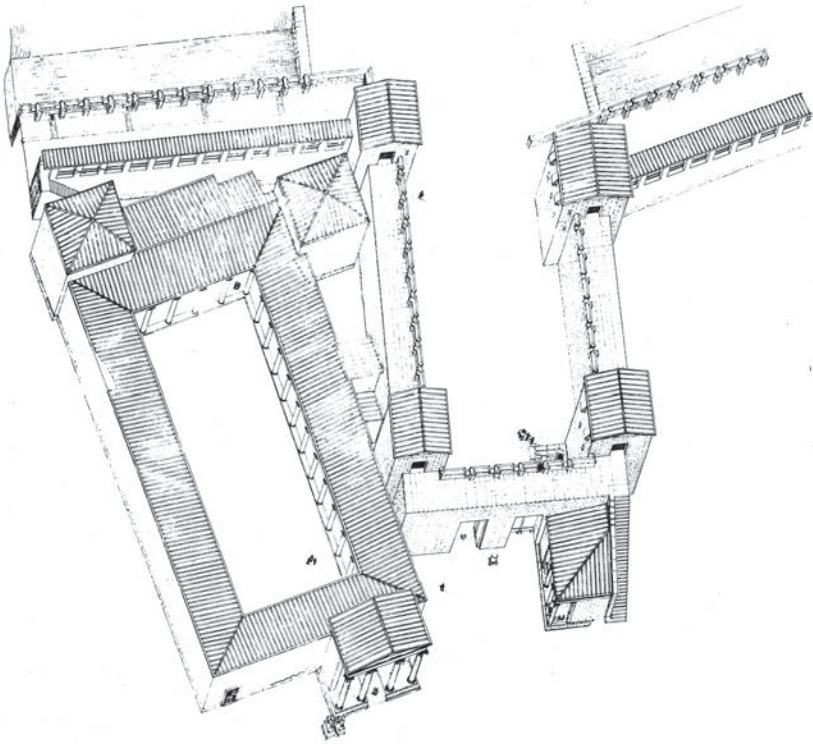
Fig. 11.2. Reconstruction of the Pompeion and the Dipylon Gate in Hellenistic times. (By G. Gruben; after: Hoepfner 1976, 120 fig. 147. Reproduced by permission.)

to build a solid edifice in the same place, but only parts of the foundation were laid. In the years between 404 and 392 BCE, the work for the Pompeion—the remains of which are partly visible today—was begun, although with a completely new plan: a colonnaded courtyard lay at the heart of the ensemble, with six dining rooms of different sizes arranged on its western and northern sides, while a propylon on the southern side provided a monumental entrance to the building.[22]

The *Pompeion* is first mentioned by Demosthenes (34.39) and is located by Pausanias (1.2.4) right inside the gates of the city, on the route from Piraeus.

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22. Hoepfner 1976, 22–23 (booths), 24–35 (first phase of the Pompeion), 34–136 (second phase of the Pompeion). See also Blok 2007, especially 312–13, 319.

The *Periegetes* specifies its function as a building where preparations for processions took place. Despite the lack of a specific reference in this context, we assume that the Panathenaic *pompe* was one of the corteges that were set up and started at the Pompeion, since the Panathenaia, as the main celebration for Athena Polias, was the major festival of the city.

Considering the masses of people who attended the *pompe* at the Panathenaia, we cannot expect that the whole crowd gathered in the Pompeion.[23] Significantly, Pausanias uses the word *paraskeue,* meaning "preparation," in connection with the Pompeion, contrary to Thucydides' and Aristotle's use of the word *diakosmein*, meaning "arrange," to describe Hippias' activity. The main body of the procession met in an open area, in order to line up properly and start walking solemnly when the ritual began. In the search for a suitable place near the Pompeion, we come across the part of Kerameikos Street right outside the Dipylon Gate. *Kerameikos* is the ancient name of the route leading from the Academy, through the Dipylon Gate, to the Agora, where it became the Panathenaic Way, crossing the Agora from the northwestern to the southeastern corner.[24] The Kerameikos and Panathenaic Way mark the route of the Panathenaic procession and were twenty-nine meters wide inside the city walls in Late Classical times.[25] Directly outside the Dipylon Gate, the street has an unparalleled width of almost forty meters, which seems to have stayed unaltered for a length of five hundred or maybe even one thousand meters.[26] This is likely to have been the venue for *agones*, contests like the chariot and torch races, before the construction of the stadium and hippodrome.[27] The location and the scale of the Kerameikos in this area strongly suggest that this was also the place where the large *pompai* were arranged—above all, the one for the Panathenaia.[28]

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23. See Hoepfner 1976, 126–27. The procession devices (πομπεῖα), for example, were very probably brought to the Pompeion sometime before the procession: see Hoepfner 1976, 125. Similarly, the Panathenaic amphorae were also kept in the building for a short time: see Hoepfner 1976, 122–23.

24. On the names of the street leading from the Academy to the Akropolis, see Stroszeck 2004, 74–78; Costaki 2006, 199–201, 205–6; Ficuciello 2008, 33–41.

25. Travlos 1971, 580: the width was less than ten meters in the sixth century BCE, sixteen in Classical times, twenty-nine in the fourth century BCE, and twenty in the first century CE (the remaining road covers only twenty-four meters).

26. Stroszeck 2004, 65, 76, 77; Lygouri 2009, 138–39. Among the rescue excavations of the Ephorate listed in Lygouri 2009, 139, see especially *ADelt* 30, 1975, B'1 28 (a report on the trench in the corner of odos Plataion 43 and Megalou Alexandrou 95, with a list of those remains of the Kerameikos' retaining walls on both sides that have been detected so far). For the excavation of O. Alexandri in 1970 in odos Pylou, see *ADelt* 27, 1972, B'1 79–80 figs. 43–44; Costaki 2006, 570–71 no. X 26.

27. Hoepfner 1976, 128; Hölscher 1998, 71–72; Stroszeck 2004, 70, 75, 77, 81; Ficuciello 2008, 35. Camp (1986, 45–46; Camp and Mauzy 2009, 30–31) identified as the venue for the *agones* a racetrack with a starting line on the Agora dated in the fifth century BCE.

28. See also, briefly, Hoepfner 1976, 20; Müller 1996, 162–63 n. 39; Stroszeck 2004, 56, 68, 70, 80; Arrington 2010, 528.

As we saw earlier, the route of the sacrificial procession opening the City Dionysia was probably very similar to the one of the Panathenaia as far as the beginning of the Street of the Tripods. Xenophon (*Hipparch.* 3.2) indicates that a rite included in the Dionysiac *pompe* was a dance for the Twelve Gods, so the first point that the procession passed was the Altar of the Twelve Gods, at the northwestern corner of the Agora.[29] Usually, the dance interrupted the main ritual of the *pompe,* and it must have taken place at some distance from its starting point. Following on from our considerations above, it seems very plausible—though not provable—that the sacrificial procession of the Great Dionysia was also arranged in the *extra muros* section of Kerameikos Street.[30]

Despite the doubts about these hypotheses, let us now look at the significance of the site for the Athenians and their festivals. The sites attested through literary or archaeological evidence as having been involved in the preparations for and organization of the processions all have in common their proximity to the city walls and gates. The choice of the place where the Pompeion was erected is, in this context, particularly interesting, for the Late Classical building was confined to the extremely narrow space between the Dipylon Gate and the Sacred Gate. This position was highly inconvenient for practical purposes and thus leads to the conclusion that proximity to the gates was essential for the function of the building. That the other places where parts of the procession lined up and started also lay in the vicinity of the gates is attested for the late sixth century BCE and assumed for Classical times.

This proximity to gates and walls turns out to be the common denominator for all related venues throughout this period and thus seems to be decisive for the structure of ritual space. In addition, at least in Classical times, the position of these venues in relation to each other is significant. The propylon of the Pompeion was set not on the middle axis of the building but at its southeastern corner, so it was positioned as close as possible to the Dipylon Gate. Due to this disposition of the buildings, the parts of the *pompe* coming through the gate and the propylon met immediately in the section of the Kerameikos in front of the Dipylon Gate and melded at the gate into a single procession. In my opinion, this arrangement is too elaborate to be coincidental and should be seen as consciously staged. However, neither the proximity to the gates and city walls nor the staging of the *pompe* as it entered the city, just described, has an obvious

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29. For the third century BCE, we know that tribunes made of timber could be erected on the Agora for the spectators of the Panathenaic *pompe*, as, for example, the grandson of Demetrios of Phaleron arranged for his hetaira Aristagora, according to Athenaios (167f; in Olson 2006, 307, the translation of the decisive passage "during the Panathenaia" is missing).

30. Hoepfner (1976, 128) also assumes that part of the *pompe* of the City Dionysia started in the Pompeion.

specific significance for Athena or for Dionysos and their festivals, so it has to be explained in a different way. The key to understanding this setup is its role as an element of ritual space.

The Panathenaia and the City Dionysia have repeatedly been characterized as the two main festivals of Athens, yet they have hardly ever been compared. The major importance of these occasions is doubtless that both involved not only large parts of the Athenian population but also envoys of allies, cleruchies, and other poleis. Moreover, the festivals affected many different places in the city: the ritual space constituted in the context of both celebrations extended topographically not only over the relevant sanctuaries and the site of the processions (the theater, stadium, etc.) but also over residential quarters near the festival venues. The substance and purpose of the two festivals were quite dissimilar: in the Panathenaia, Athens presented itself mainly to the attending foreigners as a great or even superior state, highlighting its economic and military potential; in the City Dionysia, it emphasized the inner cohesion of the Athenian population and styled itself as a caring institution to which everyone should contribute. In either case, however, the celebrating community claims to represent the whole state.[31] Projecting this perception on the *pompai*, we can say that, symbolically, the whole city processed to the sanctuary of the goddess or god, expressing the cultic adoration of the entire community. The participants in the cortege, being people living in the city and its surrounding area, attended the ritual in a specific role and as representatives of a certain group. This assembly of representatives slipped into its particular role of a worshipping congregation for the duration of the ritual. The liminal character of the starting point of the processions is therefore essential. The gathered crowd was constituted as a cultic community by performing the ritual—that is, by walking solemnly in the proper order, carrying the proper device, dressing in the proper clothes, and so on. But the venue for the start of the *pompe* provided the necessary boundary for the transformation of the heterogeneous mass of people into the cultic community. The actual or symbolic passing of the city limit marks the spot and moment of the transformation. From this point of view, the possibility that the especially wide section of Kerameikos Street was the starting point of the procession, already suggested earlier for practical reasons, proves to be even more probable if we also take into consideration the requirements for the constitution of ritual space.

Due to their function as architecturally constituted borders between inside

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31. The symbolic content of both festivals is extensively discussed in Agelidis, forthcoming.

and outside, city gates are places with a strongly transitional character.[32] In the context of the religious cortege, the action of transgressing this visually accented limit—in our case, the Dipylon Gate—converted the personnel of the *pompe* to a cultic unit, which consequently constituted ritual space through action and perception. The participants, who were deployed in the Pompeion, achieved this effect by stepping through the propylon. This functional correlation of the Dipylon gate and the propylon is probably one reason for the disposition of the entrance to the Pompeion close to the city gate and turned in its direction.

Of specific interest here is a further feature of the starting points for both parts of the *pompe*, namely, their position at the city walls. It is not a coincidence that the word *polis* originally meant "fortified place."[33] Already in the time of Homer, the city was identified symbolically with the city wall. Its function as a border between the inside and outside, together with its architectural form, confirms its purpose of protecting the city from all dangers coming from nature, gods, or humans. When the walls fell, the men defending them had already fallen, and the fate of women, children, and old people lay in the hands of the intruders. Consequently, every oikos—and thus the whole polis—was doomed. This life-sustaining function of the city walls seems to have been one reason why the mural crown became, in early Hellenistic times, the attribute par excellence for the personifications of cities. The walls came to serve as a symbol of the city as an organic whole, constituted by places, people, and institutions. Against this background, we can say that whether the cortege actually passed the gates or not, moving from the outer edge toward the center of the city and then to the sanctuary of the goddess or god was symbolically equivalent to a reentrance of the participants, now in the role of the adoring community representing the entire polis. Relevant here is not only the transitional character of the gates but also the sociocultural connotation of the walls for the city itself.[34]

Conclusion

To understand the significance of the surroundings of the city walls and gates and thus the motivation for the choice of this venue for an ancient Greek festival ritual, we have to consider not only the isolated elements of the ritual

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32. See Hölscher 1998, 69–71.
33. Hansen 2006, 39–40.
34. See Hölkeskamp 1997, 5–7; Hölscher 1998, 67–73; Meyer 2006, 110–12, 163; Mylonopoulos 2006, 106.

but also their interaction with each other. Here again, through an analysis of the ritual space, we conceive a more complete description of the context and provide the basis for a better understanding of the phenomenon of the *procession* and of its individual components. The vagueness of our individual pieces of evidence remains unaltered when the pieces are considered in isolation. However, a coherent concept emerges by considering the ritual space as dynamic, which, in turn, strengthens our individual arguments and enables them to be brought out more in other contexts.

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PART 4

❧

Funerary Landscapes

❦

Funerary Spatial Concepts and Spatial Practices in Southeastern Sicily during the Eighth to Fifth Centuries BCE

Kerstin P. Hofmann and Regina Attula

From an archaeological-anthropological point of view, burial rituals and customs generally provide a key criterion for investigating the identities of human individuals and groups. The individual graves as well as the necropoleis are often understood as the physical and social arenas of death and the places of the dead. We know of several examples in Archaic and Classical Greece where cemeteries were important public spaces as well as space-constituting elements for the development of settlements and for urban planning. The newly founded towns from the seventh through sixth centuries BCE in Sicily offer a rich field for studies that allow comparison with metropoleis and with settlements in the hinterland. This chapter raises several questions: What were the spatial concepts or spatial practices behind the different arrangements of the graves, and how did they develop? What can these concepts tell us about the burial rituals? What do they tell us about the individual people, their identities, and their positions within social groups?

To answer these questions, we here analyze different forms or types of graves and necropoleis and reconsider the topographical concept of the cemeteries. Among the Greek cities in southeastern Sicily, cemeteries extra muros predominate, in contrast with the spatial concepts in known cemeteries of their Greek mother cities, where both intra muros and extra muros burials are attested. A dominant indigenous spatial concept seems to be that of a "climbing dead-end," often in a rocky environment, reachable only by a small group of people. Both topographic models seem to make practical differences to the funeral rituals, if only to the number of the participants. Another point is the distinction between the collective and individual burials in chamber tombs. There are hybrid types, for example, represented by separate individual burials inside a collective grave. For analyzing this phenomenon, we need more precise

interpretative models. The diversity of the relevant contexts has revealed the flaws in older models of the acculturation processes and in "middle ground" theory. Although the latter offers a multidimensional approach, it is of limited use for many archaeological problems. The aim of this chapter is to revise that theory's applicability and create a newer, wider perspective for the usage of concepts of identity.[1]

Death and the postmortem are one of the central issues faced by humanity. The ideas that the people of a particular period and region form about death are always related to their life choices and lived practices, so death is a phenomenon of real historical and social relevance. Both life and death are manifested spatially, through settlements and burial spaces, in ways specific to different cultures and groups.[2] While death largely escapes human influence and is ultimately not comprehensible for the living person, the cultural categorization of spaces for dealing with the experience of death creates order and, thus, makes the experience easier for people to manage.[3]

In the written sources, graves, as burial customs, were accorded great significance in general.[4] Here, however, we are addressing neither the information from the written sources nor visual representations of burial rites. Instead, our focus is on the practices for dealing with death that have taken material form in the archaeological record of southeastern Sicily from the eighth to the fifth centuries BCE.

In this chapter, we first discuss some basic principles of our theoretical approach and address the problems that arise in all investigations of cultural change through cultural contact. We then look at concepts of identity, such as the "middle ground" concept. Following this, we propose a definition of burial

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1. The idea of this article was born in the inspirational atmosphere of the Berlin research network Topoi: The Formation and Transformation of Space and Knowledge in Ancient Civilizations. Our thanks go to the network's speakers for their support, to several colleagues for their discussion, to S. Schreiber and J. Straub for helpful comments and for access to unpublished work, and to O. Mullholland for the translation of our manuscript. Fundamental to this chapter is the former research in this field by K. P. Hofmann, funded by a grant from the German Archaeological Institute at Rome (Hofmann 2009a, 2009b, 2013b); her gratitude for comments goes to the audiences of her talks at Berlin, Giessen, Linz, Mannheim, Munich, and Rome. During our collaboration in the Topoi network and further, as lecturers at the Institute for Classical Archaeology at the Freie Universität Berlin, we have seen how fruitfully one can combine several approaches from prehistoric and classical archaeology, especially in the field of mortuary archaeology, and we thank our students for contributing to stimulating discussion of relevant topics.

2. Silvermann and Small 2002; Maddrell and Sidaway 2010.

3. This can best be seen in the descriptions of *nomoi*, the customs of particular (ethnic) groups. Various examples can be found in the *Histories* of Herodotos, from the fifth century BCE; a much more recent example is given by Plutarch (*Sol.* 10) when he writes that the orientation of the graves was cited as an argument for Megarian or Athenian law in the dispute over the island of Salamis (Barloewen 1996).

4. Duff 2002.

sites as the social spaces of death. Next, we turn our attention to the funerary cultures of Iron Age southeastern Sicily. In place of the usual division of such analyses between indigenous populations and colonists, we have deliberately chosen to organize our material following a simple, geographical arrangement, to avoid a priori assumptions. Nonetheless, this way of differentiating the material is not arbitrary; it derives from our research interest in the effects of the movement of Greek colonization. In a final synthesis, we aim to interpret the various concepts of funerary space that have been presented.

Cultural Change through Cultural Contact

When cultural change through cultural contact is discussed—at least among the majority of archaeologists in Germany—the most favored approach is still to understand it under the general heading of "acculturation,"[5] despite strong criticism from other cultural disciplines.[6] If the old concept of acculturation is not abandoned entirely, it must at least be reformulated.[7] Three problematic aspects of the concept must be addressed. First, the term *acculturation* refers to a process in which long-term contact between human groups with different cultural identities effects changes in the culture of one or both groups.[8] The concept of acculturation focuses on the topic of borrowings and their adaptation. The term assumes a holistic concept of culture, where separate hermetic entities stand in opposition to each other. This concept no longer matches the way we understand human societies today; we would assume a dynamic internal structure.[9] Therefore, we need a more actor-oriented concept of culture, one that gives due weight to heterogeneity internal to a culture. In our view, these requirements are best met by the approach of Wimmer, who understands culture as "compromise," as an open and unstable process of negotiating meanings, which puts competent actors with differing interests in relation to each other.[10] Through the compromises they make, this process leads actors toward social exclusivity and to a corresponding marking of cultural boundaries. We propose that analysts should also adopt a complex, referential concept of identity, which we will return to later.

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5. Cusick 1998; Blum 2002; Meyer 2007.
6. Barth 1967; Murphy 1964.
7. Gotter 2001; Hofmann 2014.
8. Redfield et al. 1936; Rudolph 1965.
9. Gotter 2001, 269; Kokot 2005, 23; Giangiulio 2010; Kistler 2012; 2014; Sommer 2012; Domínguez 2012; Hodos 2012.
10. Wimmer 1996.

Second, cultural contact is usually a long-term phenomenon, and it is hard to identify its beginning or end. The acculturation concept can thus only be usefully applied when investigating contact between strangers.[11] There always has to be a kind of cultural border between the entities investigated.[12] Further, acculturation is a dynamic process.[13] Here, it would be very useful to extend the concept of acculturation through applications of, for example, Bitterli's "types of cultural contacts,"[14] models from reception research[15] and innovation research,[16] and analyses of the process of cultural appropriation, which we address below.

The third problem of the concept of acculturation is raised by the history of research. Already in 1940, Ortiz had criticized the concept of acculturation for its Eurocentric unilateralism.[17] The concept of transculturation, which he developed for Central America, places weight on the interactive dimension of cultural transformations. The neologism *transculturation* is understood by Ortiz as referring to a process of active cultural transformation that begins with the (violent) impact of different cultures and leads to the creation of new cultural forms. Transculturation thus ultimately leads to the simultaneous presence of heterogeneous forms and formations, which, however, do not entirely mix or fuse. In this context, it is currently common to speak—often following Homi Bhabha—of third spaces.[18] An important role has been played here by the concept of hybridity, which has been reconceptualized in the context of postcolonial studies.[19] It is applied to situations of cultural overlap in which somewhat antagonistic logics and intellectual contents drawn from different cultural, social, or religious spheres are combined to form new patterns of behavior and thought. For Bhabha, hybridization is not simply a mixture but a strategic and selective appropriation of meanings that creates a space for agents whose freedom and equality are threatened.[20]

In the archaeology of ancient Greece, White's concept of a "middle ground" has become particularly popular.[21] White's middle ground is a meeting space

11. Gotter 2001, 268.
12. Gotter 2010.
13. Gotter 2001, 275.
14. Bitterli 1986, 17–54. See Münkler 2000, 14–20.
15. Link 1980; Gehrau 2002.
16. Hofmann 2012b.
17. Ortiz 1995. See Font and Quiroz 2005.
18. Bhabha 1994.
19. Ackermann 2004.
20. Rutherford 1990.
21. White 1991; Malkin 1998; 2002; Gosden 2004, 82–113. For criticism, see Giangiulio 2010, 13–14; De Angelis 2012.

that is not yet shaped by the dominance of a conqueror's culture, which leaves room for cultural interaction and the emergence of hybrid cultural forms. Central to his concept is a more or less intentional misunderstanding.[22] The concept of the middle ground shares the limitations of all figures of thought based on a third position, which permit complexity but simultaneously limit it, because they are still dependent on dichotomies. They are designed to address transgressions but are not able to conceptualize them. A clear advantage is their flexibility; the main drawback is their sheer ubiquity. It is important to focus on concrete historical situations.[23] The general problem with applying the concept of the middle ground—if it is to be more than just a metaphor—is that it is very hard to demonstrate intended and tolerated misunderstandings archaeologically. Further, to speak of misunderstanding is to assume the existence of a "correct" interpretation of the original.

When dealing with archaeological sources, we prefer to use the concept of nostrification,[24] that is, to analyze the process of cultural appropriation.[25] This places the focus on the agency of members of different cultures and can explain why the consumption of the same things does not necessarily result in a homogenization of cultures and may sometimes even lead to the formation of identities via individual ways of dealing with things.[26] In our opinion, this anthropological theory of consumption can be applied not only to artifacts or things but also—with minor adaptations—to some ideas and practices. The process of cultural appropriation can be described systematically as follows: the first stage is the observation of something new; next, in the context of objectification, the use and context of the object is named and explored; after this, in the stage of incorporation, a culturally specific, correct way to handle the object is assigned. Only through objectification and incorporation is something foreign transformed into something of one's own. This may include material redesigns to the extent that the original derivation is no longer unambiguously recognizable. A process of traditionalization may even occur: something that was originally foreign is given a new local history and tradition, rebranding the original source with a new narrative (fig. 12.1).

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22. White 1991, 10.
23. Kiening 2006, 34.
24. Kohl 2003, 187.
25. Hahn 2005, 99–108; Schreiber 2011, 272–78.
26. Appadurai 1986; Dietler 1999. For the domestic material of the fifth century BCE from the site of Morgantina, see Walsh 2013.
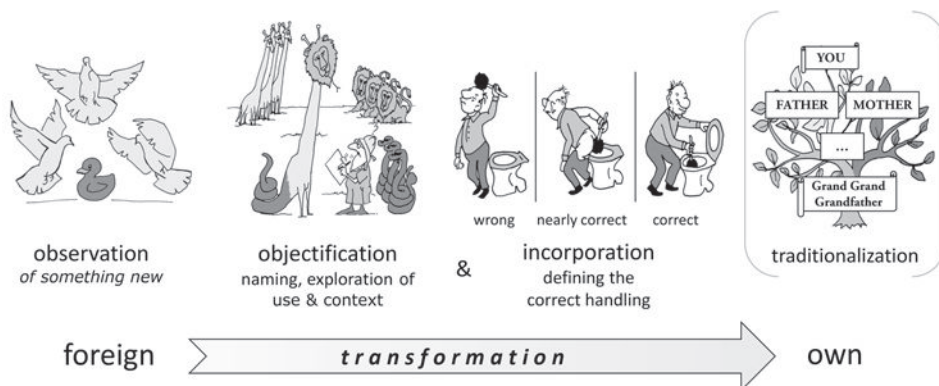
Fig. 12.1. Nostrification and cultural appropriation as a process. (Diagram by Kerstin P. Hofmann, after Hahn 2005, 100–107, diagram 4.)

The Concept of Identity

Unlike identity in mathematics or logic, the "identity" of a person or group among people (i.e., the quality of being the same) does not entail complete equivalence or agreement. Instead, it is a dynamic and fragile unity of their diachronic and synchronic differences, or a "synthesis of the heterogeneous,"[27] by subjects who distance themselves from others while associating themselves with self and others.[28] The processual construction of identities is thus based on the interplay between inclusion and exclusion and is accompanied by the construction of alterities and alienity (fig. 12.2). The distinctions that are made in this conjunction can differ greatly; they depend on the given situation and on differences in perception and in the values ascribed by self and by third parties.[29]

Identity is often figured in opposition to what is "nonidentical," but this figuration is inadequate. Rather, one should proceed from at least a triadic structure;[30] "identity" should be located in a continuum between the extremes set up by the terms *totality* and *multiplicity* (fig. 12.3). Whereas multiplicity may lead to divisions and an inability to act collectively, totality is a rigid, enforced structure, closed off against the foreign and new and stubbornly concerned to reproduce itself. For a long time, the latter was the preferred model in

27. Ricoeur 1984, 9.
28. Straub 2012, 334; Hofmann 2014.
29. Brather 2004, 291.
30. Straub 2012; Straub and Chakkarath 2010, 6; Erikson 1973.
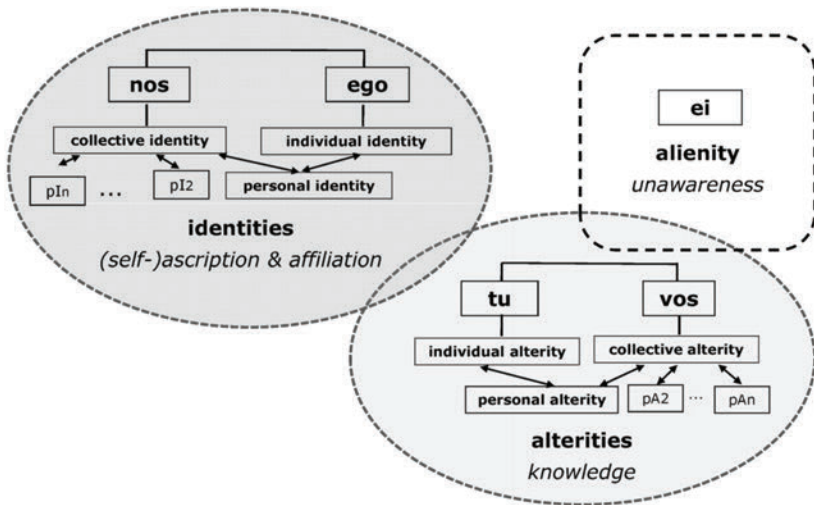
Fig. 12.2. Identities, alterities, alienity. (Diagram by Kerstin P. Hofmann.)

Fig. 12.3. The triadic pragma-semantic of identity, totality, and multiplicity. (After Straub 2012, 336.)

archaeology whenever collective identities were discussed; individual, external characteristics and artifacts were used to infer ethnic identities independent of any given situation, in a direct and essentialist way. A position closer to totality is a strategic solution that is repeatedly practiced in collective identities when they lack strength, vitality, and self-confidence and are consequently threatened with fragmentation. However, this strategy often leads to serious problems as innovation is deflected and as conflicts arise from contact with strangers. As a result, totality is most often of limited duration.[31]

On this model, every collective identity first faces the issue of the constitu-

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31. Hofmann 2014.

tion and justification of the collective.[32] In this connection, shared characteristics, a historical continuity that binds and is binding on everyone, and coherence in practical matters are often invoked.[33] In collective identities, a major role is played by their dramatization and representation: a shared burial ground is a very good arena for this.[34]

The Social Space of Death

Burial grounds can be understood as social spaces of death.[35] This designation rests on a culture-based concept of space; that is, social spaces are the result of discursive constructions, and, at the same time, space is granted a constructive force in social matters. Following Löw,[36] space is constituted by two processes: spacing, which is erection or positioning in relation to other placings; and synthesizing, which is the organization of goods and people into spaces through processes of observation, imagination, and memory. Burial grounds are institutionalized spaces. They are ultimately the result of a conscious decision to designate a piece of land for the deposition of the dead. Through the choice of this place, our relation to death and the dead is constructed or confirmed, our memory and forgetting is influenced, and the significance and identity of the dead (and sometimes of those still living) are collectively defined. Burial grounds are formations that are permanently reproduced in routines and rituals; their arrangement remains effective beyond concrete actions—for example, the particular installation of burials—and gives rise to normative acts of synthesizing and to a particular spacing.[37] Furthermore, burial grounds are important elements of constituted landscapes and can be expressions of mental topographies.[38] Through permanent markings, space can link events and objects across time; history crystallizes out of this. Through enclosures, gravestones, or other marks visible on the surface, burial grounds acquire their own history; based on this, conclusions can be drawn about the relation between the elements that furnish the space, such as the graves. Communicative spaces become places.[39]

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32. Straub 1998, 98.
33. Straub 1998.
34. Hofmann 2012a.
35. Huber 2009.
36. Löw 2001, 158–61.
37. Löw 2001, 162–64.
38. Härke 2001, 17–8.
39. Löw 2001, 199; Schlögl 2004, 5.

For Foucault, burial grounds are "other spaces" or "heterotopias."[40] They are "real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."[41] In most cases, heterotopias are linked to temporal disruptions; in the case of the burial ground, for example, this is the heterochrony created by death, in the loss of an individual's life and, simultaneously, that individual's quasi immortality. In this sense, Hölscher terms the grave monuments at the Greek cemeteries "mnemata," monuments through which an effect from the past is felt in the present and future. The living people and their dead, as well as their ancestors and gods, belong to the community of a Greek polis.[42]

The distinctive intermediate position held by burial grounds is evident in the occurrence there of not only transition and integration but also retrospective, introspective, and prospective representations, as semantic features or sets of features. Semiotic analyses show that in burial grounds, visual perceptions commonly dominate, and the spatial dimension, indicated by the strong presence in the surface and space of simultaneously present indexes and icons, is often more important than the temporal one.[43] It is all the more surprising, therefore, that the spatial dimension of death ritual has so far been relatively understudied by archaeologists.[44]

Graves as a Source for Identity Discourses?

Graves are a symbolic expression of how individuals and societies cope with death.[45] Grave finds combine characteristics of both types of historical sources: remains and tradition. Within the context of funerary rituals, we find that the formalized practice of remembering tends always to be accompanied by the custom of "making memories," a confirmation and creation of a shared past.[46] Graves occupy a unique, liminal position: *retrospectively,* they stand for what

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40. Foucault 1986.
41. Foucault 1986, 24.
42. Hölscher 1999, 65. Hölscher following Niemeyer 1996, 12–17; Bohen 1997, 44–46; Carter 1997.
43. Hofmann 2008, 140–44.
44. For a positive exception, see Silverman and Small 2002.
45. See Hofmann 2008, 140–64; 2012a.
46. See von Brandt 1992, 48–64; Eggert 2008, 44–49, 102–4 fig. 4; Bohen 1997; Carter 1997.

has been; *introspectively*, they communicate information about their context and environment and contemporaries; *prospectively*, they refer to what the future is believed to hold in store.[47]

Van Gennep sees burials as rites of passage divided into three phases, during the course of which individuals are ascribed to and classified in various social groups.[48] Burials are often linked to information regarding the identity of the dead person and of the community that buried the person. Therefore, they seem to be a suitable source for the investigation of identity processes in general. But what are the possibilities and constraints for detecting identities and alterities on the basis of burial data? If anything, only especially idealized images and stereotypes can be identified. These can but do not have to largely match with the life practice of the deceased or the funeral community. Incidentally, this statement also applies to identities. Based solely on the material traces of burial practices, individual identities cannot usually be detected. During the burial, the community probably reflected on the personal identity of the dead, in a somewhat retrospective manner. Thus, particularly relevant social identities of the dead and, thereby, possibly also collective identities of certain members of the funeral community might have been negotiated within the framework of burial rituals.

Detection of such negotiations is still problematic, because each act can be practiced for various reasons. Also, grave goods are not necessarily testimonies of former identity discourses but can also be expressions of belief in a life hereafter, of mourning, and of consolation.[49] In addition, it is difficult to infer certain identities, as rituals can also lead to changes. Certainly, only very few of the former discourses on identity are physically preserved for us, and we can only speculate on their special semiotic significance. Nevertheless, with careful analysis of the materiality of funerary practices, burial places can give us an idea of changing communities, especially in cultural encounters. Of course, a comparison with other sources is always necessary. Thus, the results of analysis of settlements and cult sites are considered here in general. Unfortunately, a comprehensive study into this field cannot be achieved here, especially since the availability of sources and the character of previous research are also very diverse.

For the analysis of funerary space, five complementary levels of significance should be considered: the location of the burial ground, the internal structure of the burial ground, the tomb construction, the disposal of the dead, and the

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47. Hofmann 2013b, 237.
48. Van Gennep 1960.
49. Giuliani 1995, 149–56; Graepler 1997, 149–52; Sojc 2005.

composition and positioning of the funerary assemblage.[50] In most cases, the last two levels are relevant only for those present at the burial, as they are no longer traceable by others after the grave has been closed. Further, there is hardly any information on them from southeastern Sicily. For this reason, these two levels will not be addressed here.

Southeastern Sicily

In its colonization phase, the island of Sicily can be counted as a dynamic space in which networks formed at various scales, from local and regional to global. The area that we have investigated is southeastern Sicily, where, especially along the coast, new communities, *apoikiai*, were founded. At the same time, a concentration of settlements took place in the mountain regions, which Greek tradition identifies as the territory of the Sikels.[51] As in the archaeology of Iron Age Greece, the systematic study of burial grounds has been of limited interest for a long time. As a result, there is a lack of information about funerary spatial practices.[52]

Most of the large number of graves recorded from southeastern Sicily are old discoveries that were not recovered in the context of systematic excavations. Apart from the investigation of Megara Hyblaea,[53] systematic excavation was done only in the interior in the 1960s and 1970s.[54] The burial chambers in the mountain region were often used over long periods of time, making it difficult to evaluate and analyze their chronologies. In many cases, no detailed publications and reevaluations of older finds have appeared.

Shepherd's 1995 observation that "references to the necropoleis are brief and stop short of any real analysis"[55] is unfortunately still true, apart from a small number of exceptions like Morgantina.[56] Due to the limitations of the sources, further interpretive conclusions about the funerary cultures can therefore only be made with some reservations. This applies especially to the internal structure of the burial places.

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50. Hofmann 2013b, 225.
51. Albanese Procelli 1999; 2003; Hodos 2006, 89–157; Leighton 2000; La Torre 2012.
52. Graepler 2002, 129.
53. Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1975, 1976–77; Gras 1975.
54. Fouilland et al. 1994–95; Lyons 1996a; Voza 1978.
55. Shepherd 1995, 51.
56. Lyons 1996a; Neils 2003.

Funerary Practices of "Greece"

The Early Iron Age culture of "Greece" is distinguished by its regional diversity. In the eighth century BCE, every region—to an extent, even every larger settlement—has its own very varied death ritual. In the seventh century BCE, the variability of burial rites decreases in general. Now the dominant form of the burials is inhumation, often in a (monolithic) stone sarcophagus. If new burial grounds are instituted in the seventh century BCE, they usually occur extra muros, outside the city gates, along the arterial roads.[57] Further, there is a noticeable increase in individualization and privatization of the graves.[58]

Funerary Practices of Southeastern Sicily, Eighth to Sixth Centuries BCE

Coastal Sites

The coastal sites are distinguished in general by their systematic, expansive city plans.[59] The cemeteries were located outside the city walls, along the most important roads out of the city.[60] They were easily accessible and clearly suitable for large funeral processions. Anyone who wanted to visit or depart from the coastal sites drove or walked through one of these burial grounds. They are, thus, "drive-through cemeteries."[61]

The internal structure of this type of burial ground is exemplified by an especially well-preserved section of the north cemetery at Megara Hyblaea.[62] The larger graves of the sixth century BCE lay along the road to Syracuse, the powerful neighboring city. This may be a hint that the graves visible above ground also served as displays of status by the cities and the individual families. Unfortunately, the full context of the region's two well-known grave statues—the limestone kourotrophos from the northwestern cemetery and the marble kouros from the south cemetery—is disturbed or lost.[63]

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57. Hofmann 2013b, 225–26; Kurtz and Boardman 1971; Bohen 1997; Morris 1998, 10, 15, 19.
58. Sjögren 2003, 68–75, 110. For the Argolis, see Courbin 1974; Hägg 1974, 1983. For Athens, see Morris 1987, 1992.
59. Domínguez 2006; Mertens 2009; 2010; Haug 2007.
60. De Angelis 2003, 19 fig. 6; Lanza 1989, 111; Neutsch 1954, 631–32 fig. 91; Pelagatti 1984–5, fig. 184.
61. Hofmann 2013b.
62. Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1975, 21.
63. Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1975, 18–19; Mertens-Horn 2010; Bennett et al. 2003, 72 fig. 4.

In the course of time, the cemeteries became increasingly crowded, though no efficient, systematic use of the space through normative positions and common orientation of the graves can be detected.[64] They are almost exclusively single graves, with inhumations as their dominant form. The forms are extremely varied. Attempts to harmonize them with those in the Greek mother cities have not been successful.[65] It is striking that the percentage of the different grave forms is different in each of the coastal sites. For example, the rock-cut grave with stone slabs ("fossa") predominates in Syracuse, whereas monolithic sarcophagi are most common in Megara Hyblaea.[66] Further, some grave forms are claimed to be typical on qualitative grounds: in Megara Hyblaea, there are hypogeic chambers;[67] in Gela, clay sarcophagi, in some cases with architectural ornaments.[68] While some shifts in preferences for particular grave forms can be identified from the eighth to sixth centuries BCE,[69] the data on which this is based are presently too weak to draw any further historical conclusions from these shifts.

The Mountain Region

In the mountain region, burials are located on steep slopes and were probably visible from some distance. Relatively little can be established about the relationship of these grave sites to the settlements. In the case of the Archaic period at Morgantina[70] and probably also at Villasmundo,[71] settlements were located on the mountain that was used as a burial place. The cemeteries could only be accessed by individual visitors or small groups. This concept of funerary space can be termed a "climb-in, dead-end cemetery."[72]

Lentini plays a special role, with several necropoleis.[73] The dating of the local chamber tombs to the eighth to seventh century BCE is controversial. Single graves extra muros on the plain are similar to the burials at the coastal sites and date predominantly to the sixth to fifth century BCE, with some as

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64. Orlandini 1960, 138 fig. 1; Orsi 1906, fig. 282.
65. Shepherd 1995; Hofmann 2013b.
66. Shepherd 1995, 58 fig. 3.
67. Gentili 1954, 107 fig. 30.
68. Orsi 1906, 384–86 fig. 284, 285.
69. Shepherd 1995, 62 fig. 5.
70. Antonaccio 1997; Lyons 1996a; Neils 2003.
71. Voza 1978.
72. Hofmann 2013b.
73. Frasca 2009.

late as the second century BCE.[74] Due to the inadequacy of the archaeological record and the chronology, the change from a "climb-in, dead-end cemetery" to a ground-level, "drive-through cemetery" cannot be described in detail. A similar observation holds true for Morgantina, where the city was refounded in the mid-fifth century BCE.[75] Based on the internal structure of the cemeteries, it is barely possible to draw any definite conclusions at present. In most cases, no systematic arrangement of the chamber tombs (e.g., in rows) can be identified. Instead, their layout is fitted to the natural topography, as becomes especially clear in the example of Monte Casasia.[76] Nonetheless, concentrations of graves can frequently be identified. In Morgantina, for example, there is an indication of shared use of the areas in front of the graves.[77] In Villasmundo, there are chambers arranged in a row, with worked facades.[78]

When different forms of graves appear, they are generally not separated into special burial areas. The occasional use of collective chamber tombs for separate, individual burials leads to the parceling of space, the creation of a space within a space.[79] The chamber tombs of the mountain region are predominantly collective burials. They are most often described as family burial places,[80] though that categorization has not been confirmed by any studies of the human remains. The burial chamber was accessible directly or via a dromos and/or an outer courtyard. This type of grave is characteristic of southeastern Sicily from the Bronze Age onward.[81] Inside the chambers, there were mostly inhumations, whose numbers vary greatly. The architectural furnishings of the chambers (e.g., bases on the sides for the deposition of the dead) and the tendency toward separating the dead do not appear simultaneously in the mountain region: whereas they are attested already in the sixth century BCE in Morgantina,[82] they first appear in Monte Casasia in the fifth century BCE.[83] The burial forms of the individual sites also show clear variations. Morgantina wins a special position in the sixth century BCE through its rich variety of types and forms, some of which are also usual in the coastal sites.[84]

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74. Leighton 1999, 241–42; Rizza 1980; 2003.
75. Sjöqvist 1958, 158; 1960, 128; 1962a, 143; 1968, 146.
76. Fouilland et al. 1994–95; Frasca 2000; Di Stefano 1988–89, 93 fig. 2.
77. Lyons 1996a, 20–21 plate 95.
78. Voza 1978, 105–6 fig. 2.
79. Hofmann 2013b.
80. Lyons 1996a, 119.
81. Leighton 1993, 10.
82. Lyons 1996.
83. Frasca 2000, 14.
84. Lyons 1996b.

Synthesis

Looking at the topographical situation of the burial grounds of the coastal sites and the mountain region of southeastern Sicily, we find two parallel conceptions of space, which hardly influence each other over a long period: "drive-through cemeteries" versus "climb-in, dead-end cemeteries" (fig. 12.4). Two different spatial structures can also be seen at the level of the individual tombs, namely, single graves versus collective burials in chamber tombs. The former place more stress on the individual, the latter on the community. Owing to multiple relocations of the bones, collective burials merge personal identity with that of the ancestors. From the point of view of historical mentality, collective burials, in contrast to single graves, confront people with the decomposition processes of the human body. In introducing the practice of creating individual burials in separate locations, as happened at Morgantina, the inhabitants of mountain regions were not only parceling up space to a greater extent but also changing their treatment of the dead bodies. At the level of the individual grave forms, too, there are differences between the coastal sites and the mountain region. Overall, the number of variants seems to increase through time in both zones. No processes of standardization can be observed; rather, the choice of particular burial practices was probably made individually.

When we view the development of concepts of funerary space in their historical context, the spatial funerary practices of the foundations do not represent exact copies of their mother cities. The differences could be explained using, inter alia, Foucault's heterotopy approach, according to which colonies—at least in their foundation phase—often represent realized utopias.[85] Here, perfect order reigns, in contrast with the muddled disorder of space that has grown up historically. If the realized utopia becomes successful, it may even have an effect on the original homeland itself, such as, perhaps, the spread of the "drive-through cemeteries" in Greece.

The diversity of grave forms established for the coastal sites in southeastern Sicily indicates societies that do not determine burial rituals in an authoritarian manner and permits plural discourses on different social identities. This argues for collective identities that have more in common with a multiplicity than a totality (fig. 12.3). The various sites of the mountain region, which were mainly inhabited by "the indigenous people," exhibit different modifications of the custom of collective graves and of individual burials. Some, like Monte Casasia, largely stay true to the regional burial traditions. Other sites, especially

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85. Foucault 1986, 27.
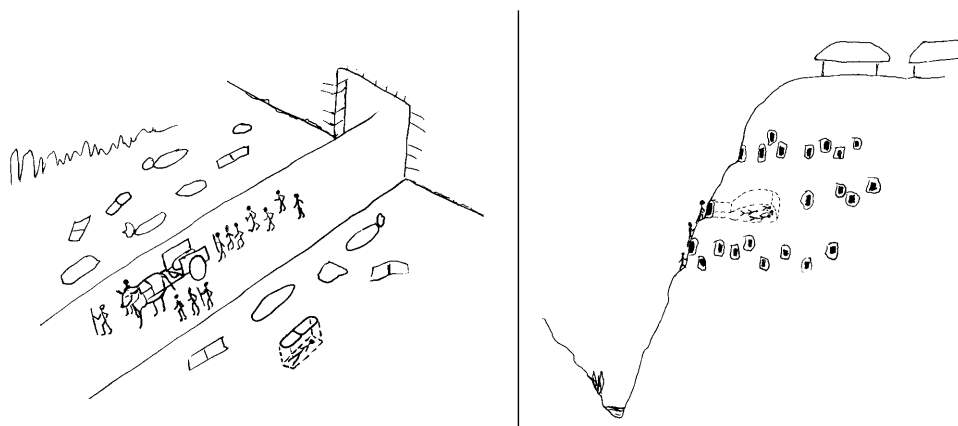
Fig. 12.4. The two funerary space concepts in southeastern Sicily: "drive-through" versus "climb-in, dead-end" cemeteries. (Drawing by Kerstin P. Hofmann.)

Morgantina,[86] are distinguished by a growing level of innovation and variation in burial practices. In general, the knowledge and acquisition of new grave forms seems to go hand in hand with a greater differentiation and individualization of the dead, although local traditions are not completely abandoned. It is a crucial point, however, that the overarching conception of cemetery layout first changes when the new settlement is laid out in the middle of the fifth century BCE. Only at the level of the burial practices carried out for particular individuals can we see earlier changes, which are not as radical as in the colonial coastal cities or in Lentini. Indications of intentional misunderstandings, which would be necessary for a strict application of the "middle ground" concept, cannot be detected. Rather, at Morgantina, it seems that different elements were combined, with a taste for experimentation. Out of the large number of new burial practices, no decision had been made at this stage about "the appropriate one" for the whole society. It seems that identities, alterities, and alienity were in flux and, during the performance of the burial, were negotiated through individual practices. Instead of working with a concept of cultural contact that

86. There is repeated debate about the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of Morgantina; it was identified previously as a Greek emporion, more recently as a middle ground or a hybrid. In particular, the settlement features of the sixth century BCE often served as evidence of strong hellenization (Sjöqvist 1962b, 63–68; 1973, 28–35; Kenfield 1993; Antonaccio 1997, 172–73; 2005, 98–101; Lyons 1996b; Neils 2003; Hofmann 2009a; Giangiulio 2010; Walsh 2011/12).

assumes dualistic, static entities and ultimately remains tied to an imperialistic schema, the goal today must be to investigate the dynamic between groups and their effects on the communities in each case. For this, the model of cultural appropriation that we have presented seems promising.

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CHAPTER 13

❦

The Tomb Doth Protest Too Much?

Constructed Identity in Tomb II at Vergina

Elina Salminen

In this chapter, Tomb II at Vergina, the "Tomb of Philip," is analyzed utilizing identity theory.[1] Emphasis is placed on facets of identity seen in the burials, rather than on historical personages. It is argued that while the tomb is exceptional in its focus on military and masculine artifacts, that focus need not be in harmony with how the deceased were perceived in life.

In 2008, Miltiades Hatzopoulos published an article about Tomb II at Vergina with the subtitle "The Unending Controversy on the Identity of the Occupants of Tomb II."[2] The title seems apt, as does Hatzopoulos' description of the debate as "tiresome."[3] It is telling, however, that in addition to summarizing thirty years of arguments, Hatzopoulos felt compelled to voice his own opinion about whether the tomb contained the bones of Philip II, although he admitted that arriving at a definite conclusion is difficult. From its discovery in 1977 on, discussion of Tomb II has been dominated, almost to the point of monopoly, by the question of who was buried within, the most popular candidates being Philip II and one of his wives (in 336 BCE) or Philip III Arrhidaios and his wife, Eurydike (in 316 or 315). The question should not be dismissed as trivial. The continuing trickle of articles on the topic, sometimes

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2. Hatzopoulos 2008.
3. Hatzopoulos 2008, 117.

written in a passionate tone, is proof of just how significant the issue is to academics and the public alike.[4]

While I acknowledge both the importance of this debate and the long shadow it casts over all research on the topic, this chapter aims to explore identity and Tomb II from a different perspective, focusing on "types" of identities over specific, named historical individuals. An attempt is made to apply new theories about materiality, gender, and identity to the ancient burials, in the hope of shedding at least some of the baggage accumulated over thirty years, in what, at times, has seemed like a tug-of-war. This exploration of the identities communicated by the burials starts with the archaeological record, rather than the written sources, and argues that Tomb II and its artifact assemblage were used to manipulate actively and construct identity and possibly even to conceal individual characteristics of the deceased. The material focus of this analysis is on the weapons and, correspondingly, on warrior identity. Tomb II is here compared with some other contemporaneous burials, to show that the extreme emphasis on weaponry is out of the ordinary even for northern Greece, where memories of the epic warrior-hero lingered longer than in the south.[5]

Vergina and Tomb II

Vergina, the site identified as ancient Aigai, the seat of the Argead kings until the late fifth or early fourth century BCE,[6] was first researched by Leon Heuzey around the mid-nineteenth century.[7] Konstantinos Rhomaios resumed excavations in 1937, and they have continued with only relatively short interruptions ever since, under multiple project directors.[8] The archaeological remains of the settlement date mainly to the fourth century BCE.[9] A palace, a theater, sanctuaries, and public buildings have been studied. Large numbers of burials, not all aristocratic or royal, span from the tenth century BCE until Roman times.[10] Over twenty-five hundred burials have been excavated, including over three

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4. For a small sampling, see the debate between Williams Lehmann (1980, 1981) and Andronikos (1980); Borza 1987; Musgrave et al. 2010. Hatzopoulos 2008 offers a good bibliography and summary of the prolific scholarship on the topic. Specific artifact groups are being published by specialists; an example is Stella Drougou's (2005) valuable contribution on the pottery from Megali Toumba.

5. Miller 1993, 49.

6. Kottaridi 2011a, 161–62, arguing for a move during Amyntas' reign.

7. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006, 52.

8. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006, 68–93.

9. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1999; Kottaridi 2011a, 162.

10. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006, 146; 1999, 36.

hundred Iron Age tumuli with five to fifteen burials each, so that the later burials are in the minority.[11] There are several masonry tombs dated to the fourth and third centuries BCE, some already studied by Heuzey.[12]

The star attraction is, however, the Megali Toumba, or Great Tumulus, located north of the city and east of the other tumuli. Manolis Andronikos began studying the mound as early as 1952 and unearthed the tombs within from 1977 to 1980.[13] The tombs and he became something of an overnight sensation, as he well summarizes.

> And it was then that I understood that what we had achieved in the isolation of Vergina was not of concern only to the archaeologist. The entire Greek people had taken to their heart what started as an academic discovery. Today I know that there is no satisfaction and no honour which can compare with the love of those who said to me "Thank you for what you have given us. Health and long life be yours."[14]

Megali Toumba yielded four monumental tombs—three of a type with vaulted ceilings commonly referred to as "Macedonian tombs"[15]—and a poorly preserved building identified (based on an educated guess, rather than certainty) as a heröon.[16] Of these, only Tombs II and III were found unlooted. Tomb II, the so-called Tomb of Philip, shares many elements with its neighbors, but differences can be noted as well. The schematic plan (fig. 13.1) illustrates the placement of some of the artifacts and features; a complete, definitive catalog of finds is not yet available, and the findspots of all published finds are not known to me. A painted frieze on the facade shows a hunting scene.[17] Twenty silver vessels and nine bronze ones were found, all types associated with banqueting or (ritual) bathing.[18] Many of the vessels are highly decorative and in quite sharp contrast with the simple finishes of similar vessels found in Tomb III. There is a multitude of weapons, discussed at length below. There were two sets of cremated remains in the tomb, one in the antechamber and the other in

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11. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1999, 36.

12. See Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006, 183–202, for tombs outside the Great Tumulus.

13. Andronikos 1977, 40; 1984, 22.

14. Andronikos 1984, 79.

15. See Miller 1993, chap. 1; von Mangoldt 2012 (for a definition). Von Mangoldt also has a catalog including all but the most recently excavated Macedonian tombs.

16. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2006, 180) comment on how a heröon "is what we would expect" next to such burials, but they spend a mere two sentences on the description of the remains—a reflection of how little can be said about it.

17. Brekoulaki 2011, 209; Franks 2012 (for a recent in-depth treatment).

18. Andronikos 1984, 157; Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 210.
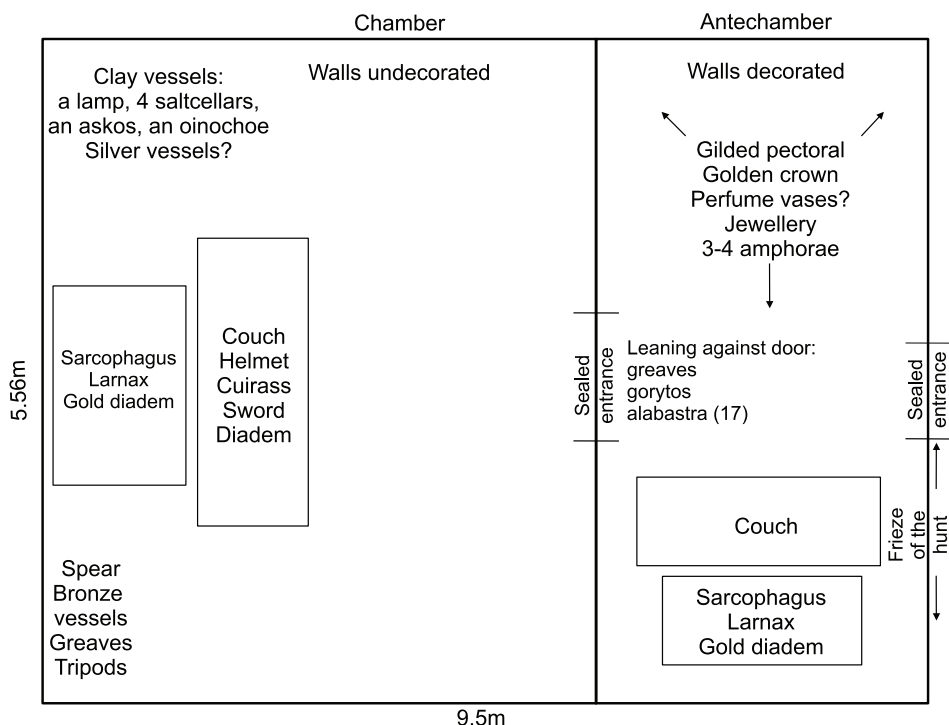
Fig. 13.1. Schematic plan of Tomb II at Vergina. (Drawn by Elina Salminen.)

the main chamber. The burial in the antechamber is that of a young woman, while the main chamber contains a middle-aged man.[19] Each cremation was placed in a golden *larnax* with a diadem resting on the bones.[20] The dating of the tomb has been hotly debated and ties in closely with the arguments about the identity of the deceased, but all agree that the tomb dates to sometime between 350 and 300.[21]

All the tombs were eventually covered with a mixture of earth and old funerary stelai. Andronikos connects this covering to looting of the tombs by Pyrrhos' Gauls around 274 BCE, but prior to this smaller mounds covered individual tombs or pairs of them.[22] Andronikos, among others, seems to suggest

19. Borza 1990, 258. For a recent comment on the osteology, see Musgrave et al. 2010.
20. Tsigarida 1994, 85.
21. See the works cited in n. 4, all of which hinge on dating.
22. Andronikos 1984, 62. See Plut., *Pyrrhus* 26.6, for Gauls looting kings' tombs at Aigai.

that Tomb II was entirely covered up soon after the facade was finished,[23] but this need not be the case. Vessels associated with funerary rituals have been found in front of the facade; although these could have been connected to rites immediately following the burial, they could also have continued to be deposited afterward.[24] In addition, the very design of the tomb seems to suggest that the vault was covered by earth while the facade was left visible: a brick structure framing the facade appears to have kept the masses of soil from collapsing over the facade.[25]

Theoretical Frameworks

Before discussing the significance of the weaponry found in Tomb II, it is useful to provide an overview of the various theoretical approaches that inform the analysis here. These approaches include gender theory, theories of identity, and artifact biographies.

Within the field of identity theory, a common current view is that identity is dynamic and multifaceted and that isolating aspects like "ethnic identity" does not reflect the complex reality of constantly shifting and negotiated identities. A state-of-the-field introduction to identity from 2004 notes that "individuals associate and live within multiple categories in the course of their life trajectory and further connect to others by various practices of identification" and that "we need to break the boundaries of identity categories."[26] Analyzing such complexity is difficult, however, and publications tackling one understudied aspect of identity are more common than attempts to fully integrate multiple identities.[27] Looking at specific, highly limited contexts seems like a potential avenue for approaching identity without too much simplification, on the one hand, or complete deconstruction, on the other. In the case of Tomb II, the context is conveniently narrowed down, but this should not be taken to mean that the same can be said of possible identities detectable in the material. In this analysis, however, a couple of facets of identity that feature heavily at the expense of others are gender and warrior identity. As will hopefully become apparent below, these aspects can be argued to emerge, to a certain degree, from

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23. Andronikos 1984, 100.
24. Drougou 1994, 115.
25. Andronikos (1984, 100) suggests the supporting function of the structure.
26. Meskell and Preucel 2004, 122–23. See also Gilchrist 2004, 142, 152, for gender as a category in flux and entangled with other identities.
27. See, e.g., Gardner 2007, on military identity. Meskell 1999 is a valuable (albeit not unproblematic) study of the interaction of multiple identities.

the material itself, but the choice of emphasis is also partly influenced by my own interests and general trends in scholarship.

Another important theme in identity studies that is picked up here is the idea of identity as constructed.[28] *Habitus* and subconscious or semiconscious aspects can surely affect how identity is perceived or manifested, but this becomes problematic from an analytical point of view: how can the archaeologist (or scholar in any field) perceive and correctly interpret something unintentional and "innate"? It is argued below that Tomb II shows an active attempt to construct identity and that it appears intense or prominent enough to catch our attention because of this.[29] Furthermore, it is assumed below that material culture is an important agent in this process. There are numerous examples of studies showing different ways of identity building through material culture, many, but not all, coming from gender studies. Susan Langdon carefully traces the biographies of two Geometric vessels from burial contexts.[30] She explains that material symbols "mediated gender, age, and status—and became associated with specific families or individuals," and she argues that the vessels were used to blur gender identity, in one case, and as a "material 'completion' of a child's life stage through grave goods," in another.[31] Another example is more extreme: Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Trinidad Tortosa have argued that presentation of Iberian women as goddesses was a way for those women to gain power through divine associations.[32]

Gender has been a popular aspect of identity to study, and the emphasis is again on how contextual and negotiated gender is and how it can get entangled with other identities and be transformed in the process. Langdon has discussed middle-aged women sometimes being buried with masculine symbols, including weapons.[33] She takes this to be an indication of how gender gets renegotiated as women outlive their male partners and become the senior members of their family units or as they gain power otherwise. It is worth noting at this point that gender ambiguities have been associated with young children and postmenopausal women, while the female occupant of Tomb II was in her midtwenties.[34]

Another preliminary point to make is the danger of talking about "masculine" and "feminine" artifacts, characteristics, or behaviors. A sword need not

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28. Meskell and Preucel 2004, 133; Hekman 2000, 294.
29. Meskell and Preucel 2004, 124, for intensities of identities.
30. Langdon 2001.
31. Langdon 2001, 584, 599.
32. Díaz-Andreu and Tortosa 1999.
33. Langdon 2001, 591.
34. Langdon 2001, 591.

stand for "male," nor need a spindle whorl stand for "female." In the case of northern Greek burials of the fourth century, arguments on gender must come with the awkward caveat that few osteological data have been published thus far, partly due to poor preservation of skeletal material and extensive looting (especially in the case of the easily visible Macedonian tombs). Instead, many burials are assigned a gender—or, rather, a sex—based on the finds assemblage. Both the dearth of osteological analyses and the issues with "gendering" finds assemblages are touched on in more detail below, in the section on comparanda for Tomb II. Many artifacts (e.g., *alabastra*, *lekythoi*, and some drinking vessels) cut across gender boundaries in fourth-century Macedon, and burials with both a male and a female are especially tricky to interpret, but the combined literary and documentary sources, visual depictions of males and females, and the scarce osteological evidence seem to suggest that weapons, especially, would have sent a "masculine" message.[35] If weapons are taken to signal masculinity, this makes the exceptions all the more interesting, as argued below. The lesson against "reading" a person's life history and status from material culture in a simplistic way—offered by Langdon, Díaz-Andreu, Tortosa, and others—is applied in a broader sense below to argue that the identity represented by the burial assemblage need not reflect the persona or qualities of the deceased.

Object biographies and materiality have already come up and inform much of this analysis: in one state-of-the-field chapter on materiality, Christopher Tilley, who notes how people "make themselves" through interaction with things, argues that the "object world is thus absolutely central to an understanding of the identities of individual persons."[36] While tracing the life course of the burial goods in Tomb II before deposition is difficult, much can be gained from brief glimpses into and hints at the history of the materials. I argue below that some artifacts in Tomb II carry a weight of entanglements with them.[37]

Finally, Martin Wobst's theory of style and Roland Fletcher's ideas on space offer useful ways of operationalizing theory. In a 1977 article, Wobst argued for levels of visibility corresponding to different kinds of messages: stylistic elements communicating ethnicity tend to be visible from afar, whereas there is little need to proclaim identity in a domestic context, since identity is known

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35. E.g., Tomb III at Vergina, the "Prince's Tomb," contained weapons and a male burial. *Alabastra* are extremely common and plentiful in most burials, including male burials; *lekythoi* and a loom weight were found alongside a spearhead and a strigil in burial 1979 III at Vergina. A comparison with, e.g., Nevett 1999, Houby-Nielsen 1995, and the gendering of vessels in an Athenian context yields interesting leads, but these will have to be followed elsewhere.

36. Tilley 2006, 61.

37. Whitley 2002.

to the household.[38] This approach, deeply embedded in systems theory, can be criticized for being simplistic, as Wobst himself has acknowledged,[39] but as long as it is not applied rigidly and mechanistically, it offers a heuristic device to start teasing out some of the complexities of identity and representation. While this chapter does not address style, the idea that high visibility can send a strong message underlies much of what follows. Fletcher, for his part, gives space the same weight and agency that others have given to artifacts. He argues that humans "pattern space" through placement of objects and people and that position "delivers meaning."[40] In what follows, these two approaches are used as a framework from which it is inferred that the identity most visible to us is the most actively asserted one.

The Forest: Tomb II and Contemporary Burials

Tomb II might be unique in the attention it has received, but in terms of its physical form and finds assemblage, it seems to have much in common with some other contemporary burials. Funerary *klinai* with glass and ivory decoration, golden or gilded decoration for clothing, *alabastra* (frequently in great quantities), wreaths (golden or gilded), drinking vessels, and *larnakes* (metal vessels used as urns) seem to have been almost ubiquitous in wealthy burials and to have crossed gender boundaries. Such common features receive little attention here, where Tomb II is compared with a sampling of contemporary burials, mainly in an attempt to tease out differences, which, I argue, are quite pronounced and informative of the heterogeneity that could exist within the broader class of "elite." This section discusses the problems with such comparisons and notes some basic statistics on fourth-century Macedonian burials, while the next section addresses the more specific context of Tomb II. Table 13.1 and the analysis below make no attempt at being comprehensive, but they will hopefully offer enough of a sampling to argue for Tomb II being special, if not unique.

Comparisons between fourth-century northern Greek burials are complicated by several factors. In table 13.1, some looted burials are included (although most were excluded), but these will not be discussed at length: the cist grave from Pella published by Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati, for example, yielded eighteen ceramic vessels, figurative wall paintings (of philosophers and a horse

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38. Wobst 1977, 325.
39. Wobst 1999, 122.
40. Fletcher 2004, 118, 114.

race), and some gold and iron fragments.[41] Given the elaborate decoration of the grave and the metal fragments, as well as a male burial (in addition to burials of a female and a child) identified by osteological analysis, the lack of weapons and metal vessels is likely to be the result of looters. Problems with preservation have already been mentioned, especially in terms of osteological remains. In the table, sexing based on osteological analysis is noted in brackets; for most burials, I was unable to find mentions of skeletal analysis. Finally, comparing complex assemblages might sometimes seem like comparing apples and oranges, and in the analysis below, some rather gross simplification was used. Ceramic vessels and *alabastra* were added up, as were metal vessels. Weapons and armor received a count of their own, again simplified—for example, to count a pair of greaves as one "item." Securely identifiable fragments were similarly counted as one item each. This approach was used to gain at least some kind of numerical basis allowing comparisons regarding the wealth and number of weapons in burials, no matter how crude.

Out of the burials listed, no female-only burials contained weapons (keeping in mind the issues of sexing). Not all burials with males had weapons, but those without them had all been looted, making it impossible to speculate about the original assemblage. In addition to Tomb II, three burials with weapons had both a male and a female burial: Phoinikas and Derveni B and Δ.[42] Phoinikas had two *sarissae* stuck in the ground in front of the facade of the burial (and spears found in the fill), but it had been looted. Derveni B had a more substantial array, with eleven items, representing a full but realistic set of armor: a sword, three spears, a chest plate, a pair of greaves, a pectoral, spurs, and some blades and horse trappings. Derveni Δ had three spears and a sword. Male-only burials with weapons mostly only yielded an item or two, with the notable exceptions of Tomb III at Vergina and Derveni A. Tomb III contained a pair of greaves, two to four spears, a cuirass, and a pectoral.[43] Derveni A had fifteen sword pommels, eleven knives, several swords and daggers, "many" iron points or spearheads, decoration from armor, and two pairs of greaves. The grave also included a baffling forty-five strigils. As for more modest graves, of the nineteen graves from Lefkadia dated to 350–300 BCE, five can be said definitely to have had weapons, all but one having yielded a single spear.[44] An average of one to two clay vessels was found in most of the Lefkadia graves.

41. Lilimbaki-Akamati 2007. Thoroughly disturbed and looted burials were excluded; those that still contained enough material to be informative were included, to bulk up the sample, despite the obvious risk of incomplete data.

42. Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997 (Derveni); Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005 (Phoinikas).

43. Andronikos 1984; Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006; Drougou 2005.

44. Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002.

TABLE 13.1. Some northern Greek burials and their finds assemblages

Site and burial	Date (all BCE)	Type of burial	Looted/ Unlooted	Gender of deceased	Weapons	Pottery (incl. alabastra)	Metal vessels	Decoration of walls
Vergina, Tomb I[a]	c. 350	Macedonian tomb	Looted	male, female, and infant (osteology)[b]	—	2+2 outside tomb	—	Rape of Persephone
Vergina, Tomb II	350–300	Macedonian tomb	Unlooted	male and female (osteology)	33+74 arrows: helmet, cuirasses, greaves, gorgets, shields, bow, gorytos, swords, spears	29+37 outside tomb	29	Hunt
Vergina, Tomb III	c. 315	Macedonian tomb	Unlooted	male (osteology)	5-7: greaves, spears, cuirass, pectoral	4+3 outside tomb	31	Chariot race
Vergina, Tomb IV	late 4th/early 3rd c.	Macedonian tomb	Looted	unknown	—	—	—	—
Vergina, τάφος 1979 I[c]	350–300	Cist grave	Unlooted	male (osteology not mentioned)	1-2: spear, blade	7	—	—
Vergina, τάφος 1979 II	350–300	Cist grave	?	possibly female (no osteology)	—	10	—	—
Vergina, τάφος 1979 III	350–300	Cist grave	?	male (no osteology)	1: spear	6	—	—
Derveni, Tomb A[d]	325–300	Cist grave	Unlooted	male (no osteology)	33: swords, daggers, spearheads, greaves, decoration from armor	39	21	Floral
Derveni, Tomb B	325–300	Cist grave	Unlooted	male and female (osteology)	11: sword, knives, spears, greaves, pectoral, chest plate, spurs	44	43	Floral
Derveni, Tomb Γ	325–300	Macedonian tomb	Looted	unknown	—	14	—	White plaster
Derveni, Tomb Δ	325–300	Cist grave	Unlooted	male and female (no osteology)	4: spears, sword	29	14	Simple band

Site	Date	Grave type	Status	Sex	Weapons	No.	No.	Description
Derveni, Tomb E	325–300	Cist grave	Unlooted	female (no osteology)	—	6	—	Red plaster
Derveni, Tomb Z	325–300	Pit grave	Looted	female and "probably" male (no osteology)	—	11	12	Red plaster
Pella, "Thinkers" burial[e]	late 4th/early 3rd c.	Cist grave	Looted	male, female, and child (osteology)	—	18	—	"Thinkers"/philosophers, floral, horse race
Aineias, Mound A Burial 2[f]	350–300	Cist grave	Unlooted	female (osteology)	—	15	—	Floral, grave-goods
Aineias, Mound A Burial 3	350–300	Cist grave	Unlooted	female and infant/fetus (osteology)	—	41	1	Floral, wreaths
Phoinikas[g]	325–300	Macedonian tomb	Looted	male and female (no osteology)	2: sarissae (+spears from fill)	9+2 from fill	1	Soldiers, horses, floral
Agios Athanasios[h]	325–300	Macedonian tomb	Looted	male (no osteology)	?iron fragments from armor, not specified	1	—	Soldiers, riders, banquet, spearbearers
Lefkadia/Mieza[i] 19 burials	c. 350–300	Mostly cist graves	—	(no osteology)	4 burials with 1 spearhead; 1 burial with 2	average 1–2	—	—

[a] Andronikos 1984; Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2006; Drougou 2005.
[b] See Borza and Palagia 2007 for a recent interpretation and bibliography.
[c] For all the Vergina 1979 burials, see Drougou 2005.
[d] For all Derveni burials, see Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997.
[e] Lilimbaki-Akamati 2007.
[f] For all Aineias burials, see Vokotopoulou 1990.
[g] Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005.
[h] Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005.
[i] Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002.

Derveni A comes close to Tomb II in the overabundance of weapons, but even in a society where weapons were a "constant feature in . . . burials,"[45] Tomb II seems to be in a class of its own. The total comes to one helmet, three cuirasses, four pairs of greaves, three gorgets, three shields, a bow, seventy-four or more arrows, a *gorytos* (combined quiver and bow holder), four swords, and thirteen spears and javelins.[46] It is worth noting that the assemblage from Derveni A is much more monotonous than that from Tomb II: swords and daggers add up to twenty-six of the thirty-three items. Wealth alone cannot explain the multitude of weapons in Tomb II. The Derveni burials, for example, show a comparable wealth. Tomb A yielded thirty-nine ceramic vessels (or *alabastra*) and twenty-one metal vessels; Tomb B, forty-four ceramic and forty-three metal. Tomb II had twenty-nine ceramic vessels inside it (although thirty-seven more were found outside it) and twenty-nine metal vessels. Tomb III at Vergina contained seven ceramic vessels and thirty-one metal ones. The display of wealth is thus remarkable but not unique; indeed, the Derveni cist graves were literally crammed full of valuables. The weapons stand out in comparison to other burials, and I deal with them in more detail in the next section of this chapter, while tying them to the theoretical frameworks outlined above.[47]

The Tallest Tree: Tomb II in Close-Up

In Tomb II, weapons were found in the antechamber, the main chamber, and among the remains of a funeral pyre over the tomb.[48] Some of them were placed in the corner of the chamber, but others were given a central place: a pair of greaves and a gorytos were placed leaning against the door connecting the antechamber and chamber, and a helmet, a cuirass, a pair of greaves, and two swords were on the funerary couch, in direct line of sight to anyone entering the tomb.[49] This makes for a strong visual statement: symbols of military power are the first thing a visitor would see. The Phoinikas burial shows a similar tendency in setting up two *sarissae* in front of the tomb, but this seems like a less personal statement: the *sarissae* seem like abstract symbols or decorations more than representations of a warrior.

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45. Graekos 2011, 82.
46. Faklaris 1994, 105.
47. The tomb type would have also figured into the cost. Questions about the distribution and use of Macedonian tombs are very interesting in themselves, but time and space do not allow me to tackle those issues here.
48. Faklaris 1994, 113.
49. See Andronikos 1984, 122, for a reconstruction of the artifacts placed on the couch.

The sheer number of the weapons in Tomb II makes it unlikely that they would have been used by one person. Derveni A shows such redundancy (with forty-five strigils), and many burials have yielded *alabastra* in the dozens, but all the weapons assemblages listed in table 13.1 seem more or less viable as sets of an individual warrior, with the exception of the multitude of swords and knives in Derveni A. It is difficult to trace the biographies of the artifacts of Tomb II in any detail, but some observations can be made. There are indications that some of the weaponry seems more "customized" than the rest: one of the cuirasses had iron plates lining it (the earliest example of its kind, of those known in 1984), while the two others were made of linen.[50] It might be significant that this iron-plated cuirass was placed on the funerary couch of the main chamber, in the most prominent place. The pair of greaves outside the chamber door differ markedly in size, but the reason for this is uncertain. Some have suggested that the owner had different-sized or injured legs; others argue that the shorter greave would have allowed for kneeling to shoot arrows.[51] More interesting, however, is the date of the greaves, which is earlier than that of the tomb or the other weapons.[52] Unfortunately, Panagiotis Faklaris does not specify how much older they are, but their earlier date further suggests that not all the weapons were made for use by the deceased while he lived and that they had a history of their own, extending beyond the occupant of Tomb II.

In an article about burials with weapons, James Whitley briefly mentions Tomb II.[53] He argues that there need be no connection between weapons as burial goods and the battle experience of the deceased. Instead, weapons can be used to "tap into" the power and prestige of their previous owners. This approach, echoing lessons of Igor Kopytoff and materiality theory, focuses on the entanglements of people and things and offers a useful way of looking at heirlooms, exotica, or antiquities.[54] The greaves can perhaps be seen in this light, as a way of associating the deceased with a past warrior. While falling outside the class of weapons, some other artifacts in the chamber are relevant to the discussion. A tripod dating to the fifth century and bearing an inscription referring to the games of Argive Hera was placed in the corner of the room.[55] It has obvious potential for messages of ethnic identity, but it should not be read as confined to one aspect of identity. (Indeed, one wonders if ethnicity would be the most prominent and "useful" identity to manifest in this context, just

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50. Andronikos 1984, 140–42; Faklaris 1994, 107.
51. Andronikos 1984, 189.
52. Faklaris 1994, 113.
53. Whitley 2002.
54. Kopytoff 2000.
55. Kottaridi 2011c, 6; *SEG* 29.652.

as tombstones in Macedon are less likely to refer to someone as "Macedonian" than are tombstones found in, e.g., Athens.)[56] The tripod could also serve to hint at male athleticism, the ancestors of the Argeads (who, according to myth, hailed from Argos, as the name suggests), the house and lineage of the Argeads, or even Homeric Argos.[57] Furthermore, a message of powerful ancestry might be echoed in the individualized figures depicted on the funerary couch. Philip II and Alexander the Great have been identified among them,[58] but, again, a more general point can be made: the symbols of the power of the deceased very concretely rested on their ancestors.[59]

The discussion above has focused on the manifestation of identity. It now remains to look at what is *not* obvious on entering the tomb—indeed, what, I argue here, is hidden. Osteological analysis has shown that the bones in the antechamber belonged to a woman in her midtwenties.[60] The artifacts placed in the antechamber, however, are not those that archaeologists typically associate with a young woman. Apart from the greaves, spear, and gorytos leaning against the door, there were also a pectoral and another spear in the room.[61] The funerary couch depicted scenes of warfare and Dionysiac themes, similar to the couch in the main chamber.[62] As Andronikos notes, the only artifacts found that are typically associated with female burials were a brooch placed on the sarcophagus and a diadem placed within the *larnax*.[63] His explanation for the weapons assemblage, which he considers puzzling and having "no other archaeological parallels," is that the woman's jewelry was destroyed in the pyre.[64] While this is possible, it does not really address the presence of the weapons. Surely other jewelry could have been placed in the antechamber instead. The male burial seems to have involved two sets of weapons: one for the cremation, one for the tomb. At the very least, weapons need not have been placed with the female burial.[65] Rather than try to explain the finds away, we can tackle them as

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56. Hatzopoulos 1996.

57. Hdt. 5.22 for the Argive origins of the Macedonian royal house.

58. Andronikos 1984, 131.

59. For the complex interplay between historical rulers, their ancestors, and heroic-mythical figures, see Franks 2012, chap. 4; Cohen 1995.

60. See n. 19. While aging skeletal remains of adults is difficult, skeletons of people who died at the age of twenty-five and younger can be given a narrow age range with relative confidence (according to Brian Leslie, personal communication).

61. Andronikos 1984, 177.

62. Kottaridi 1994, 103.

63. Andronikos 1984, 178.

64. Andronikos 1984, 178–79.

65. It has already been mentioned that there were weapons found both above and within the tomb, but it should be added that the remains of the pyre seem connected to the male burial (see Andronikos 1984, 100).

an interesting phenomenon. It was mentioned above that middle-aged or older women were sometimes buried with weapons or other masculine symbols.[66] The argument about age blurring gender lines is obviously not applicable here, since the deceased would have been of fertile age. Some have suggested that the weapons in Tomb II reflect a woman involved or experienced in battle.[67] This argument is linked to ancient sources talking of Eurydike as having received military training and being heavily involved in politics and warfare.[68] While this is possible, it would not explain why more weapons were lavished on Philip III, hardly known for military valor, than on his wife. Even if one accepts the idea of a warrior queen (but see below), it does not change the fact that, out of all possible identities, the female burial emphasized military connotations at the expense of others, such as gender. Finally, that the brooch and diadem are in a style typically reserved for females[69] seems to suggest that a female identity was perceived but was only given expression in a muted, almost secretive way, inside the *larnax* and on the sarcophagus (which was placed behind the funerary couch).

How unique such "muting" of gender was in fourth-century northern Greece is a difficult question, deserving its own study. Vessels such as pyxides and drinking vessels have been found from burials with males, females, or both, and it is difficult to point to many artifact types that could be used as indicators of female gender.[70] Burial 3 from Mound A of Aineias contained a mirror, a pyxis, and a ring depicting a female drawn by geese, while Derveni E had protomes of goddesses.[71] Other burials, such as Derveni Δ, show few or no obvious signs of the female occupant. Based on the scarce osteological evidence (and as discussed above), weapons seem limited to burials with males (with or without females). It is thus possible that male identity was signaled more actively in burials containing both a male and a female, while female identity gained a more prominent expression in female-only burials—although proving that this is likely would require a much more thorough and extensive study.[72] Until more osteological data are available, such tentative suggestions run the

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66. See n. 33.

67. Adams 1980. Carney (2014) complicates the picture by seeing the assemblage as presenting a woman as a warrior but not a contemporary, realistic one and by instead drawing links to mythical Amazons and barbarians.

68. Polyaenus 8.60; Diod. Sic. 18.39.

69. Andronikos 1984, 178.

70. For gender as played out in art in this period, see Cohen 2010, arguing for the dominance of male figures and interpreting the prominence of rape scenes as establishing and maintaining male dominance over the female (and the Other).

71. Vokotopoulou 1990 (Aineias); Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997 (Derveni).

72. Lisa Nevett (personal communication) points out that this phenomenon finds a parallel in other aspects of culture, such as the use of the masculine plural to indicate a mixed-sex group.

risk of a circular argument. At this point, it can be said that Tomb II is different from other burials in the way the female burial is given a completely separate space; the Derveni cist tombs, for example, obviously make it more difficult to display two individuals with their separate identities. Phoinikas, which is a Macedonian tomb and had two pedestals for two burials, has been looted and is difficult to interpret. One pedestal had female jewelry on it, but the rest of the assemblage is not strongly suggestive of gender. Thus Tomb II now stands as unique in having a multitude of weapons placed in an area reserved for a female burial, but it might be an extreme case of a more common tendency in the region.

To summarize, in Tomb II, warrior and masculine identities were signaled (1) through weapons and other masculine symbols and their prominent placement, (2) at the expense of female identity, and (3) through association with past warriors or powerful ancestors. Amid this cacophony of military, masculine virtue, where can we find the deceased? While by no means extraordinary in being placed out of sight, it seems poignant that the bones are tucked inside *larnakes* placed inside sarcophagi, which are, in turn, hidden behind funerary couches.

Conclusion

Manolis Andronikos comments not only on how the mortuary assemblage of Tomb II shows "good taste from which exaggeration and *hubris* are both excluded" but also on how the tomb displays a fondness for weapons, with Philip III Arrhidaios being the "last man who could conceivably have had" such artifacts "in his lifetime, or in his grave."[73] In this chapter, I have attempted to set Philip II(I) aside and approach the artifact assemblage from a range of theoretical points of view. I have argued that the multitude of weapons *is* exaggerated, in good taste or not, and that this exaggeration is possible exactly because, as discussed in the theory section, constructed identities are not constrained by realities, such as weak limbs or slow thinking. A mortuary context is, as a matter of fact, a perfect opportunity for the living to reinterpret identity, since the deceased is no longer present to contest it. Revisiting historical sources might allow for interesting speculation here: how might not only the characters and wishes of the Philips but also the choices of Alexander or Kassandros fit into

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73. Andronikos 1984, 123, 140.

the picture?[74] Furthermore, identity theorists have discussed how significant "otherness" is in activating displays of identity: Jonathan Hall's discussion of Hellenic ethnicity is one of the best known in the world of classical studies.[75] While the disjuncture here is between the individual and ideal rather than the Greeks and "barbarians," the analogy could be argued to hold. It is possible—just possible—that the warrior identity is so prominently displayed because it was contrary to reality.

Another question touched on here and worthy of further study regards the role of women in Macedonian society in the middle to late fourth century. From historical sources, we know that Alexander the Great's mother Olympias was not the only powerful royal woman in this period.[76] Philip II's mother, Eurydike, was heavily involved with the sanctuary of Eukleia;[77] in the aftermath of Alexander's death, two armies were assembled, behind Olympias and Philip Arrhidaios' wife, Eurydike;[78] although there is debate over the exact personages and their (semi)divine status, all agree that the Philippeion at Olympia included statues of two women as part of a royal dynastic group.[79] Burials of this period suggest, however, that this power had its limits, and this suggestion is indeed echoed by the historical sources. According to Diodorus, Olympias was restored by Polyperkhon, and Arrhidaios and Eurydike's army yielded to them, "remembering the benefits that they had received from Alexander."[80] Eurydike was allied with Kassandros and, of course, was a regent for Arrhidaios. Much attention has been paid to the "warrior women" of Macedon, but I argue that the burials testify more to men's status and to women operating at least nominally under men's auspices rather than acquiring masculine or warrior status themselves. This is not a case of women boosting their status by adopting masculine attributes; we can speculate about the women acting as puppet masters in the background, but the charade of male agency is a convincing one with seemingly little room for female characters.

This chapter has not solved the debate about who—which named, historical individuals—were buried in Tomb II at Vergina, nor was the original aim to do

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74. In an article published after the writing of this article, Emiliano Arena (2013) puts forth an interesting and nuanced argument that Kassandros presented the adolescent buried in Tomb III at Vergina as a strong adult ruler, to legitimize his own power.

75. Hall 2002.

76. See Carney 2000 for an extensive and nuanced discussion of the evidence for royal Argead women. Importantly, Carney argues for fluctuations in power even within an individual woman's lifetime and depending on the context.

77. Carney 2012, 309; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2000, 393–97.

78. Diod. Sic. 19.11.

79. Schultz 2007; Palagia 2010.

80. Diod. Sic. 19.11; trans. Geer.

so. Instead, a few other lessons have hopefully been learned. Current theoretical approaches—in this case, especially identity and gender theories—can offer different ways of looking at archaeological material, allowing one to ask new questions and notice things that might otherwise go unobserved. At the same time, their limitations must be acknowledged: the above suggestion for why warrior identity was emphasized in Tomb II is just that—one possible suggestion. A careful study of both the archaeological material and written sources might allow for the most educated guess; here, the trick lies in not letting one type of evidence bias the analysis. In addition, detailed study and publication of osteological data from more burials at more sites might prove invaluable. Even from a cursory analysis, it has become obvious that gender might have been signaled differently in northern Greece from in other regions.

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PART 5

❦

Responses

CHAPTER 14

❧

Theory and Method in Greek Archaeology

Some Opportunities and Challenges

Lin Foxhall

In Greek archaeology, we have become adept at manipulating our data in relation to an exceptionally wide range and quantity of other, nonarchaeological kinds of source material about the particular pasts we investigate. This results from many factors, including the history of classical scholarship and the development of Greek archaeology within it. These processes have had major impacts on our methodologies and, paradoxically, on both the richness and the fragmentation of our data sets. Written and iconographic sources can sometimes expand the contextual framework within which we deploy theory to ask questions of the data. Many of us who study the Archaic through Hellenistic Greek world are more familiar and at ease with using these other kinds of sources (and, where relevant, studying them in the original languages) than our counterparts in other archaeologies, even Roman and medieval archaeologies, which have similarly rich contextual landscapes of data.

One consequence of this adeptness is that we often may have a fairly extensive awareness of what we have irretrievably lost. Yet, at the same time, the data themselves are often depressingly limited, either for taphonomic reasons or because of the way in which the material was excavated, published, or curated. In part because of these factors, our data are often less amenable to quantification than those of some other archaeologies, even those of, for example, the Roman world. But, more than almost any other subfield of archaeology, even other historical archaeologies, we have engaged with a wide range of methodologies from other disciplines, precisely because of the ways in which we have been channeled into addressing nonarchaeological source material over the course of the development of Greek archaeology.

This process has led us to incorporate some of the theoretical frameworks

and intellectual perspectives of these other fields, including historical, literary, linguistic, art historical, and visual cultural theory, as well as the anthropological, geographical, and philosophical bodies of theory that underpin most other branches of archaeology. In that regard, it has undoubtedly been enriching. However, it is interesting to see that the research objectives at the heart of almost all the chapters in this book are, at least to some extent (and to a considerable extent in some cases), stimulated and generated by historical questions, which are directly related to information presented in written texts.

This is not necessarily a problem, as long as we engage in this process deliberately, fully aware that we may be trying to link events that play out on different scales. For example, the implementation of Kleisthenic democracy in Athens is presented in our written sources as a discrete historical event attributable to a single archon year, and though it is generally accepted that the reality was more complicated, we think that we can tie the process down to around a few decades. But the complexity becomes even greater when we try to map this onto the conceptual and physical construction of civic space, including the erection of specialist buildings to accommodate the new political structures, processes that happened over a much longer timescale (at least half a century) and that we cannot date very precisely. Indeed, the Peisistratids had already implemented some "civic" functions in the area of the Classical Agora (e.g., a public fountain house), albeit utilizing completely different ideologies from the fifth-century construction of democratic space emerging from the principles of Kleisthenic democracy. However, the archaeological timescale of modifying the Agora, spreading over the final three or four decades of the sixth century and the early decades of the fifth century, can sometimes make it difficult to align with the historical record and to ascertain precisely which modifications belong to the era of Peisistratid rule and which belong to the new democracy. Even Building F, whatever its function, may not have been either entirely "private" or "civic/public" space, as the evidence for large-scale feasting associated with the building suggests. For Jessica Paga, the application of spatial theory to interpret the setting, construction, and uses of this building, for which we have only fragmentary archaeological remains but whose function has been identified from written texts, presents an opportunity to ask new kinds of *archaeological* questions about this structure, with the potential to gain new and different understandings of the behaviors of *bouleutai* (council members) and citizens as political agents.

This intellectual tightrope bridging the application of theory to archaeology, where aspects of the key questions emerge from written texts, has here been imaginatively negotiated by James Whitley and Elina Salminen. Whitley,

though focusing on early writing and literacy, ushers in a new approach by treating the writing itself (not just the objects on which the texts appear) as material culture, with materiality and agency of its own, opening up an alternative way of applying archaeological theory to early inscribed objects to reveal new dimensions of the phenomenon of the introduction and local significance of alphabetic writing in Greece.

Salminen addresses identities in the Vergina tombs but expressly foregrounds broader archaeological identities of the individuals in the tombs, rather than the identification of particular historical figures (which has most often been the focus of scholarly debate), to investigate the nuancing of funerary identities among the Macedonian elite. Analogously, Rebecca Martin's art historical analysis of the "Alexander Sarcophagus" (that very name, applied by modern scholars, revealing the work's entanglement in texts and historical questions) negotiates the problem of trying to pin down historically constructed ethnic and personal attributions that have often been simplistically applied to iconography and material culture. Indeed, the variegated iconography of this remarkable piece might suggest that the visual representation rises above the particular, perhaps in a time and place when Alexander was, in some senses, already part of legend rather than "history," as a heroic leader of both Greeks and Persians.

Different kinds of data present different methodological affordances: objects and texts, for instance, cannot be interrogated using the same techniques. This can also result in different theoretical affordances. Theory is the intellectual framework we use to structure our research questions. It stands to reason, then, that since not all data sets are amenable to the same methodological techniques or to addressing the same questions (and there are some questions that it may be impossible to ask of a particular data set), any specific theoretical approach may helpfully guide our questions for some bodies of data but not others. This issue is particularly foregrounded for practitioners of Greek archaeology, where so many of the key questions we are pursuing are embedded, in one way or another, in historical (*sensu lato*) data, because of the legacy of our development as a discipline.

Potentially, this agility at integrating different kinds of data, methodologies, and theories may be one of the most important contributions of Greek archaeology to the wider discipline. However, we can go further in our contribution to the development of theory in archaeology more broadly. Among the most interesting and clearly visible issues to arise as we attempt to use a range of diverse source materials together are the differences in the spatial, temporal, and conceptual scales on which they operate. A consequence of this is that, in real-

ity, we can only rarely directly link the information provided by different kinds of sources. Epigraphical texts usually (though not always) present a moment in time. The same can also be true of literary texts; however, literary tradition and reception add other chronological and scalar levels that need to be addressed. Images are harder to pin down: they can present normative ideals and aspirations, but they can embody many other things as well, some of which, as Kathleen Lynch points out, we may be cut off from perceiving. In contrast, the archaeological data we collect are an aggregate of many individual actions, even if these were instigated by groups or institutions. Some person put this pot in a tomb or moved that votive in a sanctuary to a new location. Normally, however, we have no idea who these individuals were; and more often than not, we can only discern motivation at a basic level. That the individuals operated at different scales compels us also to construct historical, iconographical, and archaeological "events" at different scales specific to each type of data set, which cannot usually be mapped directly onto each other, or to discover and implement nonscalar approaches, which is surprisingly difficult in practice.

The chapters in this volume demonstrate the distinctive way in which Greek archaeology has managed to integrate archaeological data with these other types of source material particularly effectively. At the heart of even the most innovative of the theoretical initiatives presented here remains our long-established expertise at weaving together different strands of evidence and concomitantly redeploying the methodologies and theoretical paradigms associated with them in a range of imaginative lateral approaches. We need to do this with our eyes open, and to frame our questions carefully to suit the data, methodologies, and theoretical approaches that are available, in tune with their scalar idiosyncrasies. As this volume also shows, we have learned, in recent years, to do this in new, more imaginative and sophisticated ways, opening up a whole different spectrum of questions that we can now begin to ask.

CHAPTER 15

❧

Does "Greek Archaeology" Matter?

Zosia Archibald

Theoretical Perspectives on Classical Archaeology

In a book of essays entitled *Pascalian Meditations*, Pierre Bourdieu brought together many of the ideas that he had explored in earlier works, in order to put academic thinking in the spotlight. The assumptions that we make as scholars about the disciplines in which we work are not based, he argues, on any kind of secure, systematic foundation. "Scholastic reasoning" is apt to forget that intellectual ideas emerge in rather specific contexts, which cannot—indeed, should not—be generalized, in case we start to generate unintended fallacies (Bourdieu 2000, 49–92). If we accept Bourdieu's now familiar notion of *habitus* as a formative and progressive epistemological praxis for human beings, we must also consider, he tells us, the ways in which practical, bodily experience, as well as abstract learning, shape the way we think and classify ideas (Bourdieu 2000, 128–63). Some of the contributors to this volume offer excellent examples of how the application of experiential insights can enhance the abstract and cognitive approaches that have dominated the field of "classical archaeology" for two and a half centuries. I am thinking here particularly of Bradley Ault's reflections on construction and architectural planning; but this is also evident in Smyrnaios' investigation of the *chaîne opértoire* in ceramic technology, and all contributors are interested, to a greater or lesser extent, in the ways in which cultural dynamics must be integrated into our concepts of Aegean and wider Mediterranean social histories.

Bourdieu applies his intellectual scalpel to academic practice in other ways too. In particular, he delves into the underdeveloped conversations and under-articulated "norms" that form the parameters of subject areas in academic life (Bourdieu 2000, 94–97, 99–118). The point of his remarks was to draw attention to the ways in which intellectual research is hampered by the mental frameworks

that academic discourse unwittingly creates around a subject area. This makes the process of "thinking outside the box" more difficult than it sounds.

For classical archaeologists, this radical approach to scholarship presents an interesting challenge. What are the underacknowledged assumptions in this field? What difficult areas have not been fully articulated and conceded? In her introductory chapter in this book, Lisa Nevett begins to offer some answers to these questions. She explores the evolution of intellectual thought in Greek archaeology over the course of the past eighty or so years and has put the contributions to this volume into a broader scholarly context. In what follows, I want to develop the discussion in a slightly different direction, which will, I hope, generate some further responses to Bourdieu's challenge to academic self-satisfaction.

I begin with some reflections by Ian Morris, who has been one of the most outspoken critics of the inadequacies of past practice in classical archaeology but has nevertheless taken a decisive move in a new direction, judging by a number of works from the last decade, in what is becoming a prolific *oeuvre*. An overview of classical archaeology, published in a recent *Companion to Archaeology*, starts by consciously echoing an observation made by Anthony Snodgrass, that the kind of classical archaeology practiced in the 1980s "had more in common with classical philology and an unusual kind of art history, than with the ferment then taking place in prehistoric archaeology" (Morris 2006, 253). This theme has been the signature tune of a number of critiques of classical archaeology; but Morris (267) goes on to argue, "As classics itself changes, substituting a broad social, economic, and cultural approach to the Mediterranean, and its larger place in world history, for the old idea of elucidating the paradigm for Western civilization, so too must Classical archaeology. Stripped of the idea of a foundational 'classical' moment in history, Greek and Roman, (and Near Eastern and west Mediterranean) archaeology makes most sense as part of a broader historical archaeology of complex societies. In teaching, writing, and fieldwork, the new classical archaeology speaks of central debates in archaeology as a whole."

In the present volume, Small's chapter most consciously engages with key questions that are of interest to many archaeologists, although other contributors (e.g., Stone) are also aware of the importance of the wider disciplinary ramifications of their work. Anthony Snodgrass framed the value of this broader perspective a little differently: "Once historians extend their interests from political and military events to social and economic processes, it is obvious that archaeological evidence can offer them far more, once Classical archaeologists turn from the outstanding works of art to the totality of material products, then

history (thus widely interpreted) will provide them with a more serviceable framework" (Snodgrass 1980, 13; see also Morris 2006, 262). Both Snodgrass and Morris were challenging classical archaeologists not only to engage with the theoretical approaches and scientific methods explored in other branches of archaeology but also to contribute more confidently to historical studies.

Classical Archaeology in Broader Perspectives

One of the curious aspects of classical archaeology is the way in which the geographical parameters appear to ebb and flow with the configuration of various historical narratives: the dissemination of Greek overseas networks; the scope of Macedonian conquests, beginning with Alexander the Great; the pattern of Roman conquests (cf. Morris 2006, 257–59). The "Greek and Roman" framework with which this series of fluctuating boundaries has been matched now appears decidedly arbitrary and needs to be unpacked and reconfigured in a way that respects broader cultural patterns, both within and beyond these notional boundaries (see, e.g., Doherty and Kurke 2003; Vlassopoulos 2007). It is in this light that I have myself explored the northern peripheries of the Aegean, in terms of their social and economic dimensions (see Archibald 2013). In this volume, Lisa Çakmak's study of two thousand clay bullae from Tel Kedesh explores this topic from the point of view of scholarly assumptions about the identity of images—in this case, images of naked female divinities. Visual familiarity with the goddess Aphrodite has been the obvious preference, but perhaps we should also be thinking of Astarte. In her reflections on the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon, Rebecca Martin shows that simple correspondences between items of dress and equipment, which have often been assigned an "ethnic" label, neither account for the choices made by the creators of this monument nor provide a satisfactory explanation of the place that this particular commemorative sculptured dedication has in the history of Sidonian funerary architecture. Both Çakmak and Martin argue that the assumptions about ethnicity that conventional interpretations assign do not explain the objects that they purport to describe.

Theoretically informed approaches to the classical past have helped archaeologists to break away from assumptions that have been found wanting. As David Stone shows, it has proved easier for prehistoric archaeologists working in the Aegean area to engage with theoretical perspectives, judging by straightforward statistics based on the titles in journal articles (as represented in a selection from the principal journals that publish work on Greek archaeology).

How far other kinds of publications, particularly monographs, also engage with theoretical approaches is more difficult to judge, as Stone himself comments. The number of publications in the field of archaeology has multiplied by several orders of magnitude in the past three decades, as have publications in other disciplines. The result is that scholars tend to specialize more than they used to—and this tendency applies just as much to other disciplines.

Many of the contributors to this volume are conscious of the fluidity and multiform meanings of cultural characteristics in changing locations. Kathleen Lynch provides a master class in the study of visual reception. Whereas, in contemporary art criticism, "artistic expression and viewer reception are two separate processes," scholars of the classical past have an urgent need to understand what an "actual viewer" thinks about an object created with a specific narrative combination, independently of what an artist or painter may have had in mind when a piece of work was commissioned. Scott explores the visual experience of a votary of Pan moving across the spaces of the city of Athens toward the cave of Pan, below the Athenian Acropolis, a trajectory that links the viewer to a raft of cults in and around the Ilissos River; while Agelidis uses a similar approach to link the choregic monuments along the Street of the Tripods with the two great processional festivals of the Panathenaia and the City Dionysia. Jessica Paga shows the innovation of the design of the Old Bouleuterion, a construction that created a private space where councillors could meet and discuss business without being spatially cut off from ordinary Athenians wandering about the Agora.

These explorations of spatial knowledge in the geography of ancient Athens require a great deal more abstract imagination than scholars have ever been expected to make. The task of incorporating texts and the abstract world of knowledge into the equation makes even greater demands on our imagination. James Whitley talks about the ways in which objects communicate abstract notions through graffiti, as well as through their graphic forms (*oggetti parlanti*). There is still a great deal to be done if we are going to include inscriptions in this exercise too. Archaeologists have yet to absorb many of the insights made by epigraphers, whose patient sleuthing of inscriptions offers a rich pattern of social engagement in rural as well as urban contexts (for recent reviews, see the contributions in Davies and Wilkes 2012). Recent studies show how much value can be extracted from a combination of epigraphic, spatial, and architectural studies, which display gestures of patronage, personal initiatives, and acts of commemoration, in settings where inscribed artifacts can be studied within their social environments (see Marchand 2015; Fournier et al. 2015). Epigraphers are leading the way in exploring the relationship between commemorative monuments and the communities for whom and by whom they were erected (see, e.g., Ma 2013).

The greater challenge set by Snodgrass and Morris is to set the societies of the "Old World" more securely within a global historical continuum. Two scholars have so far attempted to provide responses, which demonstrate that Bourdieu's reflections about the arbitrariness of disciplinary boundaries have genuine substance. The first is the 2013 *mega biblion* on the early Mediterranean by Cyprian Broodbank, which begins 1.8 million years ago. Broodbank has drawn up an immensely ambitious panorama of teeming activity and intense exchanges, which blows away any vestiges of "primitive" activity in the second and first millennia BC. The other is Ian Morris' 2015 book *Foragers, Farmers, and Fossil Fuels*, which presents nothing less than a history of human energy consumption. If classical archaeologists have felt sheltered from the highways of intellectual endeavor, that era has passed.

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