ARCHAIC GREECE

New Approaches and New Evidence

Edited by Nick Fisher and Hans van Wees

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

This book derives from a conference held in Aberdare Hall, Cardiff, 19–21 September, 1995. We are grateful to the *University of Wales Institute of Classics and Ancient History* for including both the original conference and the present volume in its programmes, and to all those who contributed to the Cardiff conference as speakers, chairs, and participants, and made it such a lively and enjoyable occasion. In particular, we should like to thank the British Academy for its contribution towards the expenses of our overseas speakers; the Warden of Aberdare Hall (now, very sadly, no longer with us) and her staff for providing excellent facilities and constant, friendly service; the *School of History and Archaeology* of the University of Wales Cardiff, for general support; and Karen Pierce and Louis Rawlings for ensuring that everything ran smoothly and an appropriately convivial atmosphere was created.

The publication of this volume was much helped by all our contributors' prompt submission of revised papers and proofs, by the unfailing advice and assistance, academic and technical, of Anton Powell, as Director of the Institute and manager of the Classical Press of Wales, and finally by Ernest Buckley's rapid and expert production of copy.

Note that in the application of conventions we have aimed for consistency within each chapter, but have allowed authors their own preferred spellings of Greek names (thus both Alkaios and Alcaeus appear) and transliterations of Greek words (with or without indicating long vowels), as well as their choice of American or English spelling, and dates rendered as BC or BCE.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAA	*Athens Annals of Archaeology*
Acta Arch	*Acta Archaeologica*
AD	*Archaiologikon Deltion*
AE	*Archaiologiki Ephemeris*
AEMTh	*To Archaiologiko Ergo sti Makedonia kai Thraki*
AION	*Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica, Instituto Orientali di Napoli*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AM	*Athenische Mitteilungen*
Anat St	*Anatolian Studies*
AntJ	*Antiquaries Journal*
AntK	*Antike Kunst*
AR	*Archaeological Reports*
ASAA	*Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BdA	*Bollettino d'Arte*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
ClR	*Clara Rhodos*
DAI	*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*
D-K	H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 10th edn
Ergon	*Ergon tis en Athinais Archaiologikis Etaireias*
F(r.)	fragment
FGE	D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*
FGH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
Fornara	C.W. Fornara, *Archaic Times to the end of the Peloponnesian War*, 2nd edn
I.C(ret.)	*Inscriptiones Creticae*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IM	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
L-P	E. Lobel and D.L.Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*
ML	R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*
ÖJh	*Österreichische Jahreshefte*
Op Ath	*Opuscula Atheniensa*
PMG (Page)	D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*
Praktika	*Praktika tis en Athinais Archaiologikis Etaireias*
PZ	*Prähistorische Zeitschrift*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SIG	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn
TGF N^2	A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2nd edn

Return to Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

Nick Fisher and *Hans van Wees*

The writing of the history of archaic Greece has been transformed between the 1970s and the end of the millenium. Two key stages in this process may in due course come to be distinguished. In 1980, Anthony Snodgrass's *Archaic Greece* and Oswyn Murray's *Early Greece* sought to demonstrate, in their different ways, the fundamental importance of placing the archaeological evidence at the centre of interpretation, and adopting a more sceptical approach to the later literary evidence.[1] Since then, there has been a steady and judicious introduction of the principles of post-processual archaeology into the Greek Iron Age, which has placed a solid emphasis on the study of the symbolic meaning of systems of material culture, and on the diversity of developments in different regions.[2] This, and other new approaches, such as those borrowed from anthropology, have fundamentally altered our views on such issues as the rise of the *polis*, the relations between *poleis* and *ethne*, the development of sanctuaries and territorial consolidation, the introduction and growth of literacy and written law, the interaction of oral and literary systems, and the processes by which the written evidence has suffered major distortions through the centuries of oral transmission and through the varied contemporary agendas of those engaged in writing it down.[3]

By the mid-1990s, the time seemed ripe for incorporation of the mass of new archaeological material – now produced by survey as much as by excavation – into new, more complex, pictures of development, for reflection on the wider implications of the more critical approach to the literary evidence, and for a move away from the narrative political history which had come to seem largely unattainable. One major manifestation of these concerns is *Greece in the Making* (1996), Robin Osborne's bold attempt at a broad history of the period from the end of the Bronze Age to the Persian Wars. Worthy of honourable mention will also be the records of two conferences on Archaic Greece held in September 1995: the Durham conference on *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece*,[4] and the Cardiff conference whose product is this volume. Both attracted many leading scholars in the

Return to Table of Contents

UK and from wider afield, four of whom contributed papers to both volumes.

The papers gathered here are divided into three groups. The first consists of four chapters which deal predominantly with material evidence and share a concern with the extent to which different parts of Greece developed in different directions. The next four chapters reassess the significance of major works of poetry as evidence for the archaic period, and the remaining six papers, which range across archaeological, iconographical, epigraphical, and literary evidence, address a series of related issues concerning social status, power, and state-formation. This division is slightly arbitrary: most of the contributors cover such broad historical questions, and give such prominence to explicit confrontation and integration of the various kinds of evidence, that their papers might almost as easily have been assigned to one of the other sections.

In Part I, Ian Morris' long introductory article offers a *catalogue raisonnée* of material culture, organised thematically (under the categories of burials, sanctuaries and settlements), regionally (divided between Central Greece, Northern Greece, Western Greece, and Crete), and historically (three key stages are distinguished). His presentation of this vast mass of material will serve as an invaluable data-bank for historians less *au fait* with the material scattered through excavation reports and journals; but it offers much more. As is his wont, Morris launches a set of provocative hypotheses of regionally diverse cultural and ideological patterns. He explores ways in which broad-brush interpretations of the surviving archaic poetry can suggest, or set limits to, a range of possible explanations of patterns of material culture, and interprets both kinds of evidence as a reflection of conflict between an egalitarian or proto-democratic 'middling' tradition and an 'elitist' counterpart, dominating the history of archaic Greece from *c.* 750–500 BC. This theory will provoke fierce debate, here already taken up to an extent in Paul Cartledge's concluding chapter.

Two complementary, though methodologically diverse, chapters address the question of whether archaic Sparta was as unique a *polis* as the later literary evidence would have us believe. Stephen Hodkinson takes the hard quantitative approach favoured by such as Snodgrass and Morris, and on the basis of a detailed scrutiny of Lakonian pottery, bronzework, and lead figurines, demonstrates that talk of a peculiarly Spartan 'artistic decline' after the mid-sixth century, and of the imposition of a culture of austerity at this time, is unwarranted. He

Return to Table of Contents

concludes with a call for more systematic analysis of all the finds from Spartan sanctuaries, and for a change of focus from *production* to the Spartans' *use* of wealth, a theme echoed in this volume in Lin Foxhall's application of the theory of *consumption* to explain the extent of exchange in early Greece.

Anton Powell turns to the iconography of Lakonian figured pottery, and in a subtle study of predominant themes on Spartan pots (favourite mythological characters, unusual religious imagery, and a range of sympotic, komastic, and sexual representations) brings to light features characteristic of Spartan culture. Yet he also finds evidence for a relaxed and pleasure-loving atmosphere in Sparta even after the middle of the sixth century, confirming Hodkinson's thesis of a Spartan society not fundamentally different from other Greek communities. Powell suggests that the 'Lykourgan reform' may have been a late archaic reaction to an aristocratic regime seen as excessively soft-living, a reaction which encouraged a more austere life style and gave a new twist to such Spartan practices as public nudity, homosexual relations, and whipping. A general retreat from 'luxury' is, according to Morris, signalled by Central Greek archaeological evidence from 500 BC onwards, and in a later chapter Hans van Wees argues that a similar trend is discernible in Athenian iconography of the mid-fifth century.

Finally in this section, and moving across the Aegean, Alexandra Villing focuses on the contribution of iconography to issues of regional diversity in cult and culture. Her detailed study of the distinctive representation in East Greece of a spinning Athena, and the goddess's strong presence also there in warlike poses, leads to cautious, but stimulating, conclusions: it may be possible to discern some Anatolian influence on the material culture and ideology of these cities (perhaps involving a slightly higher valuation of women's work than elsewhere), and it is necessary to cast serious doubt on the image of the east Greeks as 'softies' which comes to us from later, mainland Greek, literary sources.

Part II focuses on the literary sources for archaic Greece, the sadly few major poems to have survived complete, and the fragmentary remains, constantly expanding as new papyri are published. The first category is represented here by two essays on Homer and one on Hesiod, which explore in different ways the contexts and complexities of these texts. Kurt Raaflaub's assault on the mass of problems associated with the phrase 'a historical Homeric society' aligns itself firmly with those who believe that the poems presuppose, and work with, a coherently presented social order which was in many ways close to

that of the poet's or poets' own time. He argues, moreover, that the *effective* span of the oral tradition is likely not to have exceeded three generations and that consciously 'archaizing' elements in the poems are drawn from living memory of the world as it was before the dramatic changes of the mid-eighth century. While favouring a date in the late eighth century for the composition of the epics, Raaflaub considers possible the early seventh-century date favoured by many others recently.[5]

This later dating of the epics, making 'Homer' a poet inhabiting much the same world as Archilochos or Tyrtaeus, is the starting point of Andrew Dalby's investigation into the different types of songs and singers (more or less professional), that are revealed in the Homeric poems. The traditional view, that epic came first, and that all the songs mentioned in the Homeric poems were modelled, in metrical form, tone, or ethos, on hexameter epic, is properly challenged. Dalby shows that there is reason to suppose that the full range of songs – hymnic, lyric, iambic, paraenetic and so on – is known to the epic poets. The writing of archaic history has often relied heavily on comparisons and contrasts between the world of Homer and the worlds revealed by other poets and by the archaeological record, and Raaflaub's and Dalby's reassessments of the nature and date of the epic tradition, and of its relation to other poetic genres, therefore have dramatic implications for the study of early Greece.

As for Hesiod, Daniel Ogden's subtle analysis of the Pandora myth finds another significant strand of associations and beliefs – to do with the *teras*-baby, a deformed child, bringer of plague or famine if it is not expelled from the community – which further enriches this famous myth, which, as has been shown by the studies of scholars such as Vernant and Faraone,[6] is fundamental to so much of Greek thinking about gender difference and marriage, sacrifice and agriculture, and the relations between gods, humans and animals. Throughout, and also in his trenchant Appendix, Ogden applies his characteristic combination of close attention to linguistic meaning and structural analysis of *mentalités*[7] to reveal how densely-packed, long-lasting, and essentially Greek is the thinking that produced such stories, for all that elements in the Prometheus and Pandora stories may find parallels in Near Eastern myths.

Among recent additions to remains of Greek poetry found on papyrus, few have attracted as much attention as the forty-seven fragments of Simonides' elegies first published in 1992. Among these by far the the most extensive and interesting are more than fifty lines from a lengthy

narrative elegy on the Greeks' victory over the Persians at Plataea in 479, probably composed for recitation at a victory celebration very soon afterwards, and thus falling precisely on the disputable boundary between the archaic and the classical periods.[8] Deborah Boedeker's paper, besides contributing to the debate of the poem's plan and occasion, explores sensitively the ways in which poetic honours can express these Greek achievements by a striking analogy between the contemporary Greeks, celebrated by the poet Simonides, and such men as Achilles, the 'heroes' of Homer's Greek war against Troy, and an emphasis on the ways in which both sets of 'heroes' were connected to, and supported by, the gods. She suggests poems of this kind helped to create the climate which enabled the glorious dead of the Persian Wars to be themselves 'immortalized' in cult.

Many of the chapters in Part III draw out various ways in which careful attention to the totality of the primary evidence and scepticism towards our later accounts enables new questions to be pursued, and traditional views undermined. The predominant themes are state-formation and the activities of smaller groups, including the extent of state-involvement and private enterprise in exchange, settlement, and warfare, and the gradual, regionally diverse, establishment of social control inside the community over the lives of individuals.

Robin Osborne provocatively seeks to demonstrate that early Greek 'colonization' is not an expression – let alone a cause – of state-formation. Indeed, he wishes to remove altogether from our accounts of early Greece the term 'colonization' (which was always recognised to be problematic). His argument, based alike on the Homeric and Hesiodic pictures of widespread individual movement and individual settlement, and on the archaeological picture of overseas settlement (e.g. in Southern Italy and Sicily), is that there was much trade and other traffic across the Aegean, and that Greek settlements, from Pithecusae in the middle of the eighth century onwards, were normally founded by privately organised groups, often drawing manpower from several Greek communities. The alternative vision of a decision taken by a single mother-city, reinforced by a Delphic oracle, to send out, perhaps by conscription, a proportion of the citizen body led by a single founder – a model which appears from Herodotus onwards and has traditionally been accepted by scholars – should be seen as a 'charter' put about to legitimise relations between the settlement and one or more cities back in the heartland of Greece.

The decline of private raiding parties and the development of formal 'navies', that is, state-managed stores of dedicated warships with

supporting harbour installations, is a clear index of growing governmental centralization. In tracing this development, Philip de Souza shows that, unfortunately, archaeological evidence is at present of limited use and that one therefore has to operate – sceptically – with the traditions that began with the fifth-century historiography of Herodotus, Thucydides, and more shadowy precursors of the 'Eusebian thalassocracy list'. Much in detail remains uncertain, but de Souza argues plausibly that much of what is attributed to 'naval states' before Polycrates of Samos is fantasy and the product of facile schematization. Systematic and widespead development of mostly small navies got under way, largely in response to non-Greek states such as Carthage and Phoenicia/Persia, only in the latter part of the sixth century.

Lin Foxhall adds strikingly to the thesis of considerable overseas movement of goods and people in our period, here concentrating on the multiplicity of contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks to the East. Like Osborne, she starts from the totality of the material record. Her chapter suggests that the application of 'consumption theory', with its emphasis on the rapid development of desires for luxuries, varieties, and fashionable products, as much as the need for agricultural or metallurgical products and materials, can help explain both the archaeological record and the expressions of longings and enjoyments found in the poets.

Turning to relations of power within the city-states, James Whitley's treatment of literacy in archaic Crete, currently itself such an enigma archaeologically,[9] reinforces another central theme of the book: the importance of attending to archaeologically revealed regional variations in the nature and pace of developments. He emphasizes the stark contrast in the early uses of writing and monumental display between Attica and Crete; his elegant explanation (reinforced by a telling analogy from *Animal Farm*) of the functions of the inscribing of so many laws and regulations in the oligarchic and apparently reclusive Cretan *poleis*, and of these cities' apparently specialist, elite, 'public scribes', like Spensithios of the Dataleis, reminds us that inscriptions can be monuments to be viewed and admired, but not necessarily to be read, and can serve as tools of repression as well as of liberation.

Connecting the internal development of the state and the changing life styles of the archaic upper classes, Hans van Wees focuses on the under-studied question of when, and why, Greek men, especially among the elite, abandoned the habit of appearing under arms in civilian life. His detailed analysis of the iconographical record suggests that the carrying of swords and spears was abandoned in favour of

wearing ever more cumbersome and luxurious clothes, and posing with staffs. It is argued that this increasingly 'elegant' and 'civilised' style of self-presentation – culminating in the late sixth century, and perhaps, as Thucydides claimed, first adopted in Athens – was integral to a more general development towards the competitive display of leisure and wealth in *gymnasia* and *symposia*, and away from the display of physical prowess, as demonstrated above all in the violent settlement of disputes. The extent to which this process was encouraged by state-regulation or by social pressure, from peers or from below, remains obscure, above all because of the gaps in our evidence for early law and the unreliability of the traditions about the 'lawgivers', but its result would have been to enable Greek communities to exercise a greater degree of central control over the use of force.

Finally, Paul Cartledge's overview of the political theory and practice that led to the explicit creation of complex structures of male citizen democracy in Athens and elsewhere, links back to the themes of Morris' initial paper. Cartledge considers the issue of whether reforms such as those of Cleisthenes of Athens presuppose any form of coherent democratic or egalitarian theory, or whether in contrast successful practice supported by relatively vague sloganising later produced some theory, in support, or, more substantially, in opposition to democratic practice. He also questions the relative roles of leading individuals with new ideas and of collective, politicised ideologies, and suggests that there were at the end of the archaic age remarkable advances in collective preparedness to attempt new solutions to political and social problems,[10] but that the convictions and rhetoric of certain elite individuals, against the apparent traditions and interests of their class, played a major part in making change acceptable.

The Cardiff conference was originally called *Archaic Greece: The Evidence and Its Limitations*. As the papers published here show beyond a doubt, this was an unduly negative title: for every limitation exposed in the sources, a new direction for research has opened up. Not only does new evidence, material and literary, continue to accumulate, but there is, it appears, no end to the new approaches to be explored.

Notes

[1] At the Cardiff conference, both Anthony Snodgrass and Oswyn Murray gave papers; these are appearing elsewhere (as is the paper given by Sitta von Reden).

[2] See Snodgrass 1987; Morris (ed.) 1994, and below; Davies in Mitchell and

Rhodes 1997.

[3] See Morris 1987; Whitley 1991a, b; Morgan 1990; Marinatos and Hägg (eds.) 1993; Alcock and Osborne (eds.) 1994; de Polignac 1995a; Thomas 1989, 1991; Hölkeskamp 1992 a, b.

[4] Published as Mitchell and Rhodes 1997.

[5] See Van Wees 1994; West 1995; Crielaard (ed.) 1995; Andersen and Dickie (eds.) 1995.

[6] Vernant 1980, 1989; Faraone 1992.

[7] Shown extensively in his innovative book *The Crooked Kings of Ancient Greece* (1997), which shows how many repeated patterns of myth-making, and how few pieces of reliable 'information', are to be found in the stories about early tyrants, lawgivers and poets.

[8] On which see Cartledge, pp. 386–7 below.

[9] See Morris, pp. 61–8 below.

[10] See Ober 1996.

Return to Table of Contents

1

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHAIC GREEK HISTORY

Ian Morris

What role for archaeology in the writing of archaic Greek history? How we answer this question depends in large part on how we define its terms, and the kind of definitions favored by historians and archaeologists have changed significantly in the last twenty years. Nothing illustrates this better than the brief methodological statements in two of the best-known English-language studies of early Greece. In his magisterial account of *Geometric Greece*, Nicolas Coldstream suggested that the methods appropriate to the study of the Greek Dark Age (by which he meant the period *c.* 1100–900 BC) were totally different from those needed for analysis of the archaic period (700–500). He observed that Vincent Desborough's book *The Greek Dark Ages* (1972), published in the same series as *Geometric Greece*, was 'based almost wholly on the material remains recovered from excavation, which offer the only evidence at first hand', while Lilian Jeffery's *Archaic Greece* (1976), the third book in the same series, 'draws upon a rich variety of literary sources, supplemented by contemporary inscriptions; in reconstructing the history of those times, archaeology performs only an ancillary function' (Coldstream 1977, 17).

Coldstream's judgments rested on two assumptions. The first was that archaeology was the history of art, subdivided into 'the local pottery style, the local burial customs, the jewelry, bronzes, ivories, and seals' (Coldstream 1977, 19). The second was that archaic history meant political narrative: 'Although no systematic records were kept before the fifth century, the main course of events in archaic Greece has been saved from oblivion in the central narrative and long digressions of Herodotus, and in the more disjointed memories recorded by other ancient historians' (1977, 17). No proper history in this sense can be written for the years before 700, so they should be studied by the methods of archaeology (as he defined them). Some kind of narrative can be reconstructed from written sources for the post-700 period,

Return to Table of Contents

so archaeology, as Coldstream puts it, 'performs only an ancillary function' for the archaic historian.

But just a few years later, Anthony Snodgrass offered very different definitions of the key terms in his survey of *Archaic Greece*. He suggested that classicists had started to define 'the field of archaeology [as] the entire material culture – so far as it is recoverable – of an ancient society' (1980, 12). He concluded that:

> by enlarging their horizons in this way, ancient history and classical archaeology have also become much closer. 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, not least because Greek art is notoriously deficient in historical reference. As a result of this *rapprochement*, it will be difficult for a future researcher to embark on an historical subject in the field of archaic Greece without becoming involved in archaeological questions, and vice versa. (Snodgrass 1980, 13)

Given such radically different assumptions, expressed by leading scholars in widely read books, we might expect that classical scholars would have rushed to debate in print the merits and possibilities of each vision of the field. But as is often the case in academia, this did not happen. Rather, a revolution in thought has taken place in the quietest of ways. Little by little, one step at a time, archaeologists and historians have been slipping away from the entrenched positions of the 1960s and '70s. There is no obvious way to quantify such a shift, but my impression is that by the end of the 1980s Snodgrass's way of defining the issues had won general acceptance in English-language scholarship, showing how the systematic study of archaeology could illuminate archaic history. Yet despite what seems to be near-consensus on the theoretical level, the number of actual published studies treating archaeology (broadly defined) as a basic source for archaic cultural history remains small.

I see two major reasons for this. The first is structural. Ever since scholarship on ancient Greece was institutionalized in universities in the late nineteenth century, ancient history and classical archaeology have normally been pursued together within Classics departments, but with archaeology taking a subordinate role. Its practitioners established a niche for themselves by monopolizing the study of artifacts, at the cost of renouncing claims to impinge on the dominant text-based fields. Students of classical archaeology and ancient history sit in the

same classes, but the goals, methods, and forms of discourse which they are encouraged to internalize scarcely overlap. [1]

I have written at length about this great divide elsewhere (Morris 1992; 1994a), and will not repeat my arguments here. In this paper I concentrate on a second problem. Until the late 1970s, historians and archaeologists generally approached the Early Iron Age (*c.* 1100–700 BC) in much the same way that they continue to approach the archaic period twenty years later. It seems that nearly everyone agreed that artifacts and texts ought to be combined, but hardly anyone actually did so. In one camp were the historians, who worked from Homer and Hesiod, and argued back from later sources. They usually envisaged a complex and warlike early Greek 'heroic age' obsessed with honor and status. In the other camp were archaeologists, who worked from pottery and metalwork, usually seeing a simple, isolated, backward, and poor Dark Age, preoccupied with just surviving (Morris 1997a).

This academic division of labor broke down by 1980. The main reason, I believe, was the publication of three monumental surveys of the material record (Snodgrass 1971; Desborough 1972; Coldstream 1977). Reading these books was not the same thing as reading the primary sources (the excavation reports), but they suddenly made it much easier for the Homerist who believed that she or he ought to draw on archaeology to go out and do so. The 1970s syntheses were comprehensive, authoritative, and accessible. The footnotes to the proceedings of the four great international conferences on the Early Iron Age held between 1979 and 1988[2] illustrate the impact of the syntheses. Snodgrass, Desborough, and Coldstream feature as prominently in the papers of philologists, historians, and linguists as in those of archaeologists.

But there are no equivalent syntheses of archaic archaeology,[3] and the growing theoretical sophistication among ancient historians about the possible uses of archaeology is often held back by empirical ignorance about what actually survives from archaic times. There are excellent surveys, easily available, of the best examples of sculpture, architecture, and vase painting. But the historian who wants to know about the kinds of material culture which have become central to historical writing on the Early Iron Age – say, about seventh-century houses in the Cyclades or sixth-century burials in Thessaly – has to go to the original site reports, scattered across a century of journal issues in half a dozen languages; and most historians are unwilling to do this. I cannot provide a thorough survey of the evidence in a single chapter,

Return to Table of Contents

but I can offer at least a quick sketch and indicate some of the main areas of debate.

Material culture and historical writing

My goal, then, is highly empirical: I want to provide a picture of archaic archaeology. But my decisions about which parts of the record deserve description inevitably depend on prior non-empirical assumptions. In this section, I set out what I see as the four main presuppositions guiding my choices.

The first is that archaic Greeks, like humans everywhere, used material culture to say things about themselves. The recent fascination with material culture among modern historians and the 'post-processual' movement in prehistoric archaeology rest on the recognition that material culture is part of a symbolic field which real people manipulate in pursuit of their goals.[4] Archaeology is thus an example of what Clifford Geertz (1973, 15) calls a second-order interpretation – that is, it is our interpretations of ancient interpretations (an idea emphasized by Christopher Tilley in his edited volume *Interpretative Archaeology* (1993)). It may be possible to read through this human manipulation of material culture to obtain objective information about trade patterns, levels of wealth, etc. But we first have to recognize that everything in the archaeological record which survives from archaic Greece comes to us mediated through a series of filters. The first of these – certainly the most interesting, and arguably the most important – consists of the individual decisions made by breathing, thinking people in the past, which led to some objects entering the archaeological record, and others disappearing forever. Contrary to the assumptions behind Christopher Hawkes's still-influential model of a 'ladder of inference', economic analyses are not more secure than inferences about ideas or institutions, because economic arguments are in fact third-order interpretations – i.e., our readings of ancient readings of symbolic processes, followed by our imaginative attempts at reading away the ancient interpretations to gain access to a body of uninterpreted data.

The significance of these ancient decisions about what to do with material objects is obvious when we are talking about objects which have come from contexts of deposition like offerings to the dead or the gods. It would be ridiculous to assume that the objects we excavate in cemeteries and sanctuaries represent a cross-section of the goods people would have encountered in their everyday lives. What we learn about when we dig these things up is primarily what kinds of things

Return to Table of Contents

people thought it was appropriate to bury with their relatives or offer to the immortals. We can certainly try to use them as evidence for something else, such as the overall level of wealth in society or changes in technology. But such arguments always depend on a further level of interpretation, predicated on our understanding of why these particular things, and not other things, were being used. All archaeological analysis must begin with an effort to enter into the non-verbal symbolic languages of people in the past – the 'system of objects', as Baudrillard (1968) called it – which generated the patterns of deposition which originally formed the archaeological record.

Archaeologists usually recognize this in principle, but often forget it when they get down to the serious job of analyzing artifacts. And when archaeologists are confronted with the remains of houses or garbage pits, rather than of temples or graves, even the principle that material culture always comes to us mediated through past symbolic activity is sometimes forgotten. There is a temptation to see the physical remains of these kinds of activity as a transparent window onto the realities of the past, in contrast to slippery sources like literature or rituals, which are full of distortion.[5] Nothing could be further from the truth. Few things are more important to most people than what they throw away and where they do it, as was made clear in a famous study of colonial New England (Deetz 1977) which showed how changes in refuse disposal formed part of a much larger shift in the ways people understood the world. Equally, every element of the house can be the scene of complex signification. Many anthropologists and historians have explored how the experience of domestic space contributes to people's sense of the proper structure of the world.[6]

Ian Hodder has summed up the situation by suggesting that 'in archaeology *all* inference is via material culture. If material culture, all of it, has a symbolic dimension such that the relationship between people and things is affected, then *all* of archaeology, economic and social, is implicated' (Hodder 1991, 3). Archaeology thus draws close to the central ideas of the self-styled 'new cultural history' (Chartier 1988; Hunt 1989) in insisting that we cannot reduce cultural practices to underlying economic and social realities which have analytical priority. Our understanding of the world is always discursively constituted, through the manipulation of words and things, and through competing interpretations of what such manipulations mean. Archaeology has to be about the contextual analysis of meanings. However, as Hodder concedes, '…in the construction of the cultural world, all dimensions (the height and color of pottery for example) already have

Return to Table of Contents

meaning associations. An individual in the past is situated within this historical frame, and interprets the cultural order from within its perspective. The archaeologist seeks also to get "inside" the historical context, but the jump is often a considerable one' (Hodder 1987, 7).

Prehistorians normally make the jump by using general theoretical propositions or analogical arguments as springboards (see Hodder 1992), but here the Hellenist has a distinct advantage. The Greeks themselves show how aware they were of material culture as something they could use creatively, in the same way as language, and which required interpretation. For Homer, a large part of Odysseus' skill was that he could apply his *noēsis* (intelligence) more successfully than anyone else to the material *sēmata* (signs) which he confronted, identifying meanings in them which eluded others, and taking advantage of this knowledge to further his own ends (Nagy 1990b, 202–22). The hero had to be adept at reading all manner of non-verbal signals, from smiles to architecture (Lateiner 1995). In the fifth century, Aeschylus could take it for granted that his audience would be attuned to the ambiguities of the carpet scene in the *Agamemnon* (Crane 1993); and in the fourth, any good orator knew that a passing reference to hairstyle, choice of cloak, or taste in tableware spoke volumes about the wicked intentions of his rivals (Ober 1989). Just as cultural historians of fourth-century Athens have moved away from reading the orations as direct evidence for everyday life toward seeing them as speakers' competing efforts to fashion images of themselves as idealized Athenian men,[7] so we should see the archaeological record primarily as the residue of non-verbal languages in which these (and other) debates were also going on (Morris 1992, 1–30).

My second assumption is that we will make most sense of our evidence by combining archaeological/non-verbal communication acts with textual/verbal ones. We can use the literary record to constrain somewhat the almost endless interpretive possibilities which the artifacts present. When we look at the archaeological data in the light of what Sappho, Archilochus, Pindar, and others were saying about wealth, restraint, the East, and the past, we get a clearer sense of how material culture was used in competing efforts at self-fashioning; and, conversely, the detail and geographical spread of the non-verbal remains allow us to understand better the panhellenizing simplifications of archaic poetic genres.[8]

Third, I take it for granted that we can read this non-verbal language best if we follow a method pioneered by Anthony Snodgrass in his work on the Early Iron Age. We need to collect *all* the evidence

Return to Table of Contents

to find out what belongs to a general pattern and what is unique, and the temporal and spatial scales on which processes operated. Snodgrass explained that his method

> is to examine the whole period in chronological sequence, scrutinizing the evidence as it comes, assembling the facts and endeavouring to face them. This sounds banal enough, but in this instance it involves abandoning the normal priorities of the historian, the literary scholar or the classical archaeologist… This method also entails an almost obsessional insistence on chronology. Much of the material that is available is trivial in itself and ambiguous as to the conclusions that can be drawn from it; yet this same material has some security as a basis for a broader understanding of the period. (Snodgrass 1971, vii–viii)

This method is the greatest legacy of the structural interests of historians and archaeologists in the 1960s and '70s. Words and things, they argued, could only be understood in terms of their relations to other words and things, that is, from their position in an overall system. Examining an individual find or site in isolation, or solely in relationship to earlier or later finds or sites, began to seem pointless; we could only know what something meant by looking at it synchronically, in the most complete context possible. Pushed to extremes, this reduces archaeology to an abstract formalism, but it remains a basic starting point.[9]

This is not always (indeed, not often) how archaeologists approach archaic data. For example, Robin Osborne (1988; cf. 1989) has argued that the contrasts between the funerary scene on the name vase of the Dipylon Master, probably painted about 750 BC, and the blinding scene on the name vase of the Polyphemus Painter, *c.* 675 BC, reveal a profound shift in Athenian mentalities. Almost all of the funerary scenes by the Dipylon Master and his circle come from one small cemetery on the north-west edge of Athens, while buriers using the dozens of other known cemeteries in Attica apparently felt no need for such scenes. Seventh-century painted grave pots like that of the Polyphemus Painter, found in the West Cemetery at Eleusis, are even less common. Fewer than 2% of seventh-century child burials in Attica were made in decorated pots. This does not undermine the interest of these paintings, but it does affect their historical significance.[10] Whose mentalities were changing? Do the two pots relate to comparable groups within Attic society? Why did so few people want (or perhaps have access to) such images? These questions can only be approached through systematic analysis of the whole range of evidence. Snodgrass has pointedly summed up the problem: 'make no mistake, the real

Return to Table of Contents

opponents of [Whitley's] new approach [to early Greek art…are] the new art historians who regard the concept of "total material culture" as an impediment to their own mystic communion with the viewers and users of the pottery.' [11]

My final assumption is that we should be looking at *contexts of behavior*, not at decontextualized artifacts, whether singly or in quantity. So, I divide the evidence into categories of graves, sanctuaries, and settlements, not the more conventional pottery, metalwork, and sculpture. This focus also grows out of the structural approach: since the ancient users of objects expected them to signify meaning by virtue of their position within the overall cultural system, looking at them as isolated works of art will get us nowhere.

The point has been made repeatedly by archaeologists of the post-processual school pioneered by Ian Hodder. A gold cup that has been put in a grave may mean something radically different from one that has been given to a god, or displayed in a dining room. The best example of this is the so-called 'Orphic' graves of the late fourth and third century BC: their grave goods are much like those which we find in other rich burials of these years, yet the buriers assumed that the deceased was heading for a next life radically different from that expected within mainstream versions of Greek religion. Gold cups did not have the same meanings for different buriers (Morris 1992, 17–18, 104).

Some associations may carry over from one context to another, and in that sense we can talk about an irreducible core of meanings attributed to gold cups by a particular group at a particular moment; but many important meanings were entirely context-dependent. To pour libations to the gods from gold cups as the Athenian fleet sailed for Sicily in 415 BC was apparently a fine and patriotic thing (Thucydides 6.32), but to say that a man took pride in owning gold cups was to imply that he was vulgar, lacking in the qualities of the true citizen (Demosthenes 22.75). To say that your enemy went round positively bragging about his cups was even worse – it evoked the image of a rich man who harbored anti-social *hubris* (Demosthenes 21.133, 158). When Pseudo-Andocides (4.29) wanted to convince a jury that Alcibiades was beyond the pale of civilized society, he took advantage of these associations by alleging that Alcibiades had deliberately tried to create an impression that gold vessels belonging to an Athenian embassy were his own, not only pretending that cups made him a better man, but even lying about owning them.

To bury a gold cup with a dead relative may have been even more hubristic. In the three thousand or so fifth- and fourth-century graves

Return to Table of Contents

which have been excavated and published from Athens, there is not a single case of this happening (Morris 1992, 108–27). The literary sources do not give us 'the' meaning of the gold cup, which we can then mechanically apply to such finds. But they do give us a sense of the semantic range of artifacts, of how the possibilities available to the people who used them varied from context to context, and of the limits of plausible interpretation.

These three anaytical categories – the burial, the sanctuary, and the house – are not the only ones I could have chosen, [12] but they do have three great merits. Two of these merits are obvious: first, the vast majority of our surviving evidence comes from one or another of these contexts; and second, these contexts transcend the limitations of the written record in that they come from the whole Greek world and potentially represent the activities of ordinary men and women, slave as well as free. Of course, they also have limitations. Most activities do not leave residues for us to dig up. We can recognize funerals, for example, but not weddings. And even in the case of the funeral, the burial may be the only phase to produce a deposit, although mourning may have mattered more than burying, and marrying may have been a more significant ritual than either (Morris 1992, 104–8). We do not have the whole story. But then, of course, neither do we have the whole story when we use literary sources. If we had to have all the evidence before we could say anything, history-writing of any kind would be impossible. In archaeology as in text-based history, we work by interrogating the evidence in its context, looking for patterns and trying to make sense of them. Studying house remains requires different methods from studying epic, and archaeological data constrain interpretation less than textual ones; but the principles of analysis are much the same.

The third merit of my chosen categories, that they would have made abundant sense to ancient Greeks, calls for more discussion.

The burial. As is well known, Herodotus was obsessed with the disposal of the dead, and treated it as a key to national character. It was in the context of discussing funeral customs that he made explicit his (Pindaric) view that *nomos* was king of all (3.38). A century later, Athenian orators presented their audiences with similar views of the importance of the grave. For Aeschines, a man's ancestral tombs and shrines were the best proof that he was a citizen (2.23); he could even say that graves and shrines *were* a man's homeland (2.152). And, he alleged, if the Athenians let Demosthenes keep a gold crown he had been awarded, the very tombs of their fathers would groan aloud

Return to Table of Contents

(3.239). None of these claims was exactly true, but Aeschines would hardly have wasted time on them had he not been confident that tombs were highly charged symbols of community, which would evoke useful emotions in his listeners.

THE SANCTUARY. Herodotus is again a valuable witness. His Athenians used the ways Greeks worshipped their gods, along with the Greek language itself, as the twin pillars defining *to Hellēnikon*, 'Greekness,' in the face of the Persian threat (8.144). For Aristotle, sacrificing properly was a major component of a man's standing in the community (*Rhetoric* 1361a); and for Xenophon, the ability to make good sacrifices was central to living a good life (*Oeconomicus* 11.9). Plato believed that shared sacrifices built a sense of community (*Laws* 771d), and Theophrastus regularly used the image of inappropriate behavior at sacrifices to mock undesirable types of men (*Characters* 9.2; 19.4; 20.12; 21.7, 11; 22.4). Correct sacrifice was fundamentally important, and variations from expectations were loaded with significance.

THE HOUSE. This too was a basic metaphor for the social order, and particularly gender relations (D. Cohen 1991, 72–97; Nevett 1994; 1995). To enter another citizen's house without an invitation was *hubris*, a penetration of his personal space with extremely strong sexual overtones (e.g., Lysias 1.4, 25, 36; Demosthenes 18.132). It is not likely that women were secluded in the secure rear parts of houses, but the *idea* that space was gendered was very important to Athenians. Cohen and Nevett argue that the courtyard house, with its controllable entry point and restricted lines of vision, maximized opportunities for Greek men to create an image of gendered space, which then became a powerful metaphor for the structure of the community. The house also played a major part in thinking about class. Demosthenes (23.207–8; cf. 3.25–6; 13.20) claimed to be scandalized that whereas in the good old days public temples were grand and private homes simple, by 352 BC 'some men have built private dwellings more magnificent than many public buildings'. As with the grave and the sanctuary, the house was overflowing with meanings, a place to assert notions of the proper constitution of the group, or to challenge conventions.

Regional patterns

These, then, are my guiding assumptions. I now turn to the archaic finds.[13] The most striking feature of the record is regional diversity, and I break the Aegean world down into four broad spatial groups (*Fig.* 1). These regions are not homogeneous. No two archaeological sites are ever exactly alike, and grouping them into geographical units

Return to Table of Contents

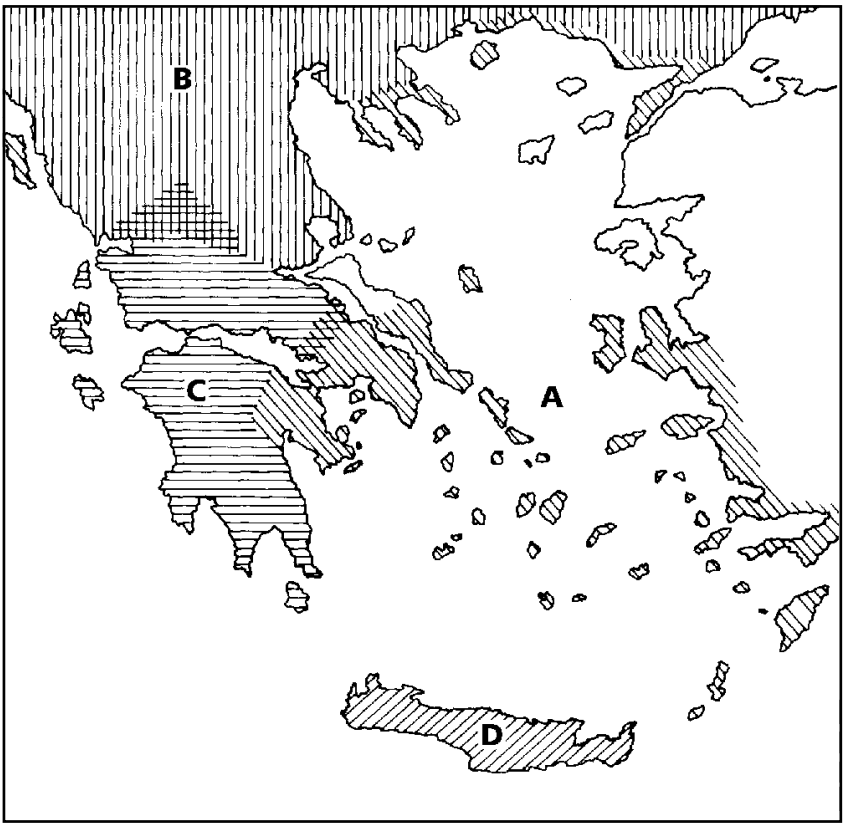

Fig. 1. The four regions: A Central Greece, B Northern Greece, C Western Greece, D Crete.

(or 'cultures,' as they are generally called among prehistorians) is always an interpretive act (see Hodder 1987). Other scholars, looking at other elements within the overall assemblage, might come up with very different spatial units. Nor are the boundaries between the regions which I identify always clear-cut. For example, while Boeotia belongs fairly clearly in the central Greek area, just a few miles to the west, in Phthiotis, Locris, and perhaps Phocis, we see a mixture of central and western elements. Similarly, some Thessalian sites have much in common with those in my central area, while others seem to look more toward Macedonia.

But for all the definitional problems, I suggest that this geographical organization of the data clarifies much more than it obscures. These four broad zones of material culture seem to be very old. Snodgrass (1971, 228–68) sees similar regional patterns of pottery decoration,

Return to Table of Contents

metal use, and building taking shape as early as the eleventh century. They may well have been the outcome of different responses to the breakup of palatial civilization; or were perhaps already present in the late Mycenaean world. What he called the 'advanced' regions of Protogeometric Greece (Snodgrass 1971, 374–6) correspond roughly to my central Greek area, around the shores of the Aegean Sea. This was the homeland of the most famous archaic and classical *poleis*. I begin my survey with these city-states, partly because they have attracted far more attention from historians than other parts of Greece, and partly because this is the best-explored region. I emphasize the variations within central Greece as much as the factors which unite it, but argue that this area as a whole went through a profound social and cultural revolution in the eighth century, which created a unique archaic civic society.

The eighth-century revolution was less pronounced in other parts of Greece. I group Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly together as a northern zone. As noted above, Thessaly is in many regards transitional, and as we move further north, pottery, metalwork, burials, houses, and religion all show stronger links to the Balkans than to the Aegean. The establishment of central Greek colonies along the coasts had a dramatic impact on their immediate hinterlands in the seventh century, but it was only in the later sixth century that the Balkan orientation of northern Greek material culture changed significantly.

Western Greece is also a loose grouping. From early in the Iron Age, the whole area from Ithaca to Laconia had shared a common ceramic tradition, which paid little attention to the Protogeometric and Geometric styles popular in the Aegean. After 700 Corinthian pottery reached the West in quantity, but the Dark Age tradition had a strong legacy. The second element was the widespread use of *pithos* burial for adults, which was unusual (though not unknown) elsewhere in the Aegean. Third is the structure of the material: we have few traces of burial and settlement, but extensive cult remains, often going back to the tenth century.[14]

Crete, being an island, is the easiest region to define. In some ways it had much in common with the Aegean world, and the scale of changes in the eighth century is undeniable, but its distinctive features (particularly openness to the east and continuities from the Minoan past) are even more striking. The most peculiar feature of Cretan archaeology is the virtually complete disappearance of evidence at the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century. This 'period of silence', as some call it, lasted through the fifth century. It probably has

Return to Table of Contents

enormous historical significance, but has received little sustained analysis.

I begin my review of the evidence from each region with a short discussion of absolute chronology. I opened this chapter by discussing definitions of 'archaeology' and 'history', and before plunging into the data, I also need to comment on what I mean by 'archaic'.[15] Historians normally set the beginning of an archaic period around 700 BC, and end it *c.* 480. But Snodgrass made an unanswerable case in *Archaic Greece* that we can only make sense of the seventh and sixth centuries if we foreground what he called the 'structural revolution' of the late eighth century (1980, 15–84). I suggest in the conclusion to this chapter that archaeology's greatest contribution to archaic history lies in the study of such structural changes.

Central Greece (*Fig.* 2)

Under this heading I group together most of the *poleis* around the shores of the Aegean. I emphasize the variations within this central Greek region on p. 30 below, but nonetheless see underlying similarities across the area. To a considerable extent the colonies established by Greeks all around the Mediterranean in archaic times reproduced central Greek culture, and Malkin (1994a) has made a good case that the act of founding colonies was itself a crucial step in the creation of such a culture. However, constraints of space mean that I can only touch briefly on the colonial *poleis* of Italy and Sicily here, although I say more about the northern Aegean colonies and their interactions with the native populations.[16]

There was until recently general agreement on the absolute dates of central Greek pottery, but this has now been challenged. Francis and Vickers (1985a) and James et al. (1991) would downdate the end of Late Geometric pottery styles from *c.* 700 to the 670s. This is hardly a radical revision, but Francis and Vickers (1981; 1983) also lowered the origins of Red Figure painting at Athens from around 530 to roughly 450 BC. This would mean that what I am calling the third archaic transformation in fact took place some way into the fifth century. There are acute problems with some local pottery sequences, to which I return in my conclusions, but I remain confident that the broad outlines of the conventional relative and absolute chronologies for the eighth and seventh centuries are solid (Morris 1993b; 1996b), and Shear (1993) has convincingly restated the case for the traditional late archaic and early classical dating. I use absolute dates throughout this review to avoid cluttering it with technical jargon and to make cross-referencing

Return to Table of Contents

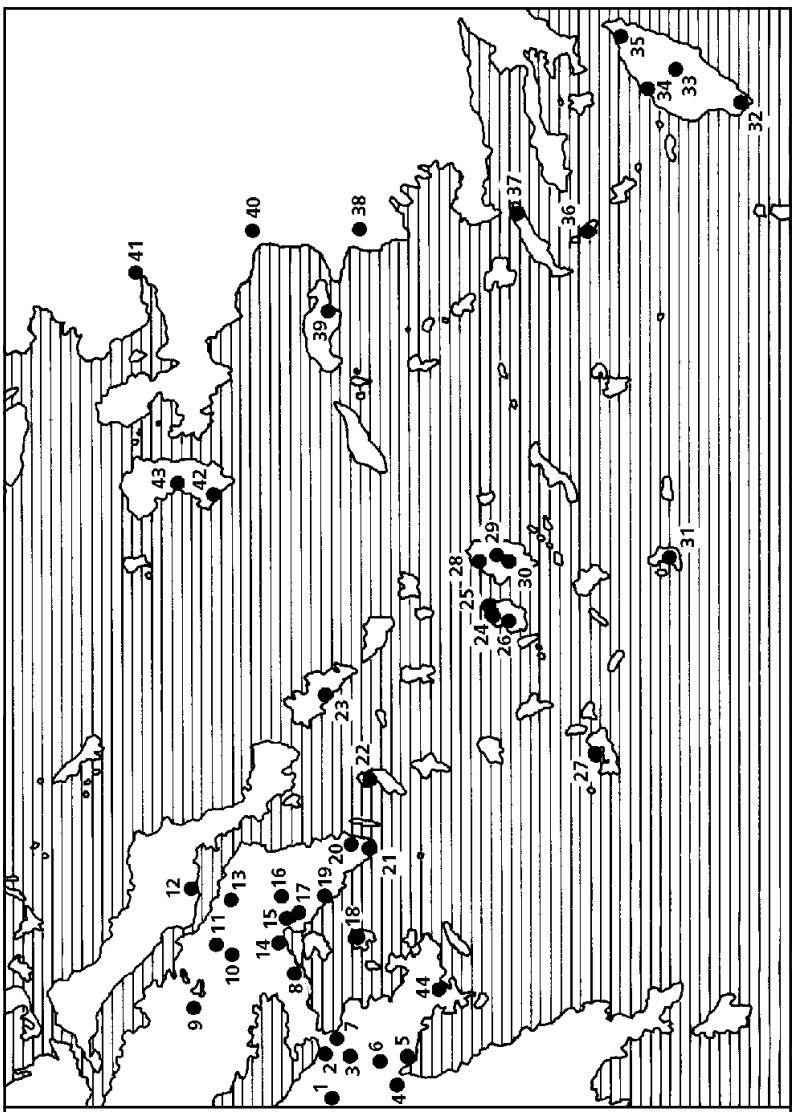

Fig. 2. Sites in central Greece.

Return to Table of Contents

between regions easier, but as Cook (1969) has insisted, by its very nature, archaeological dating always leaves a margin of error of at least ±25 years. All the dates I give are to some extent merely accepted conventions.

I subdivide Snodgrass's structural revolution into two phases. The first falls between 750 and 725, and the second between 725 and 700. As I commented in the last paragraph, we should not put too much confidence in such precise absolute dates, but the relative chronology of the two phases is clear enough. We can raise or lower the beginning and end of these transformations by 25 years or more, but the important points – that there was a period of dizzyingly rapid change, and that we need to divide it into two phases – are beyond dispute. I also see a third major transformation around 550–500. I summarize the evidence under my three headings of burials, sanctuaries, and settlements, and then discuss its implications.

Phase 1, c. 750–725 BC

Burials. Before 750, very few burials are known; after 750, there are many. Throughout the Iron Age, each part of central Greece had its own burial customs. Thus in the early eighth century, Athenians cremated adults and put their ashes in fine clay vessels, while Argives inhumed them in a contracted position in stone cist graves. But within each area, customs were rather homogeneous, and graves were generally poor and simple. This changed after 750. In some regions, new rites appeared (adult inhumation in shaft and pit graves at Athens, and for a few men, cremation in a bronze urn; multiple use of cists and increasing use of giant *pithoi* at Argos), and everywhere variability increased dramatically. In Attica, virtually every village had its own twist on the normative practices, and even within cemeteries it was rare for two graves to be very similar. Some graves were now very rich, like the famous warrior burial (French gr. 45) at Argos, or had monumental markers, like the Dipylon graves at Athens.[17] The explosion in the quantity and variety of evidence is most pronounced in Attica, Corinthia, the Argolid, Megara, Euboea, and the Dodecanese; in the Cyclades burials remain rare until 700, and in Ionia and Boeotia, until 550.[18]

Sanctuaries. Before 750, few sites have clear evidence for sacrifice. Whatever Dark Age Greeks did when they worshipped the gods did not produce substantial deposits. At Isthmia, Asine, Yria on Naxos, and Ephesus, we can perhaps trace cult activity across most of the Dark Age (and at Yria and Ephesus perhaps small cult buildings in the early

Return to Table of Contents

eighth century), and several more sites have evidence of sacrifices beginning around 900.[19] Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian argues that worship was dominated by chiefs within their own dwellings (1985; 1988), which might explain why it has been so difficult to detect. But whether he is right or not, Dark Age cult had little impact on the physical world. That changed after 750. Stone altars appeared at many sites, and clear evidence for repeated animal sacrifice. Large deposits of ash could form, and whereas before 750 only a handful of sherds can be associated with cult, after 750 regular votive offerings of pottery began. Most sites now had discrete cult spots, often marked off by *peribolos* walls, and usually with a temple. Many of these were small (although by the standards of the villages they were in, they were very imposing structures), but others, like the first *hekatompedon* at Eretria, were impressive.[20]

Settlements. Before 750, most houses were single-room, curvilinear structures, apsidal or oval. Sometimes they were built from mud and reeds woven around a structure of posts, and sometimes from mudbricks, with or without a low stone foundation. Beaten earth or clay floors and simple open hearths were normal, and pitched thatched roofs. Most activities – eating, sleeping, cooking, storage, stalling animals – must have gone on in this undivided main room or in the open air. The best examples come from Asine (Wells 1983).

After 750, these simple structures were replaced by rectilinear houses. At first, these were usually also one-room structures, or modest *megaron* houses with a small front porch, like the earliest houses at Zagora (see *Fig.* 11, below). The best examples come from colonial sites on Sicily, such as Naxos, Syracuse, and Megara Hyblaea. Some oval houses were renovated as rectangular ones by just adding corners, as at Pithekoussai on Ischia, or the seventh-century House A at Miletus (*Figs.* 3, 4). At Eretria, we see a clear progression during the eighth century from small one-room oval huts, to larger mudbrick houses, and finally to rectangular stone *megara* (*Fig.* 5). At Smyrna, on the other hand, the excavator identified a more complex sequence, seeing a multi-room rectilinear structure in the ninth century, only for apsidal houses to return around 750, before multi-room rectilinear houses again took over in the seventh century.[21]

Dark Age settlements are rare, small, and often short-lived, but the evidence of excavation and particularly intensive surface survey suggests that the size of settlements increased rapidly after 750 and that there was a rapid infilling of the landscape by new villages.[22]

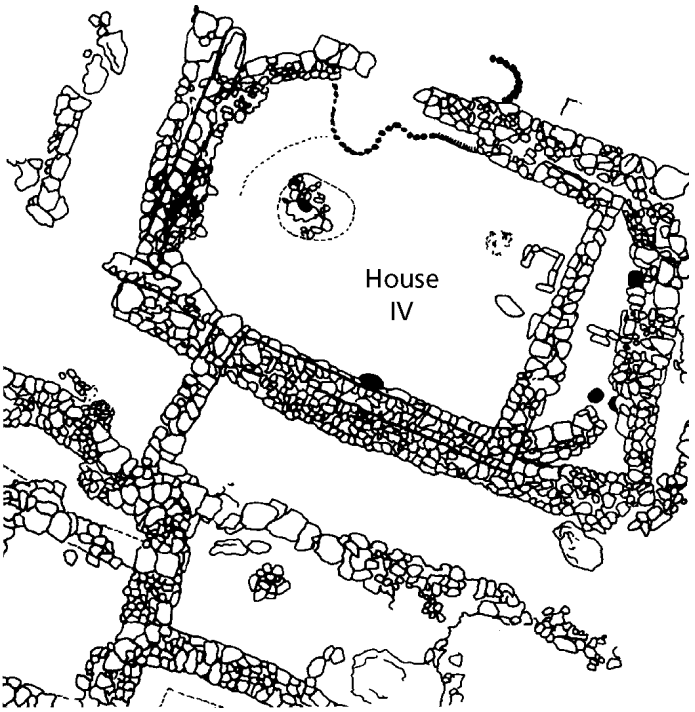

Fig. 3. The rebuilding of House IV, Pithekoussai (Mazzola) (based on plan in *Archaeological Reports* 1970/71, 65).

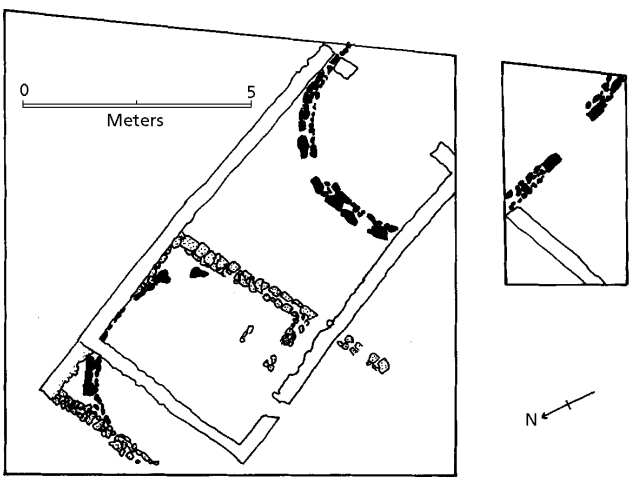

Fig. 4. The rebuilding of Südschnitt House A, Miletus (based on plans in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23/24 (1973/74) 71–3).

Return to Table of Contents

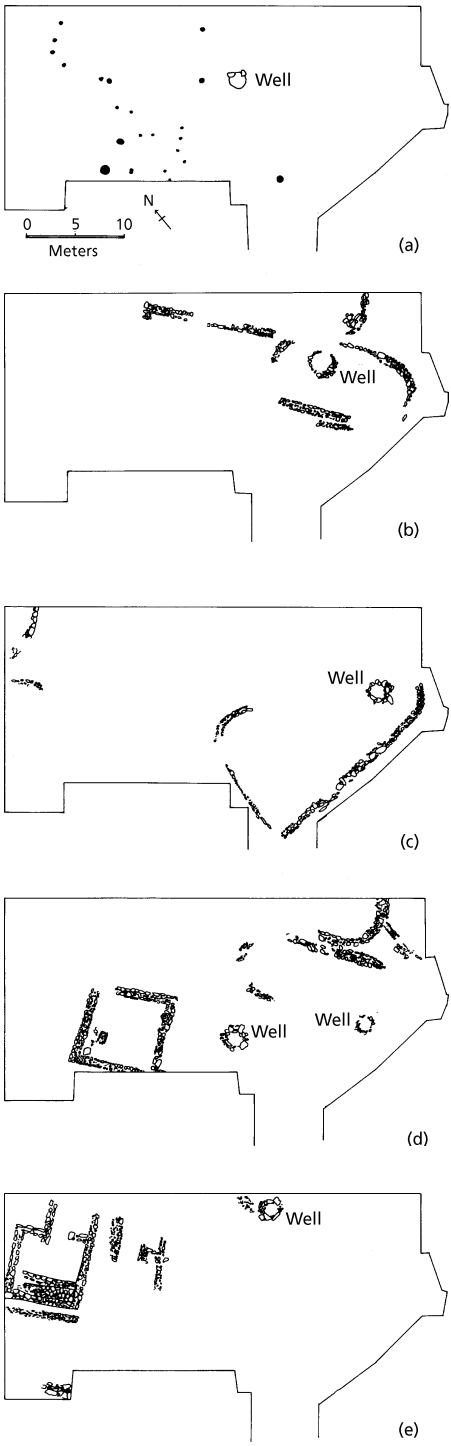

Fig. 5. Building sequence in the Roussou plot, Eretria.
a) Phase 1, probably early eighth century
b) Phase 2, probably mid-eighth century
c) Phase 3, probably late eighth century
d) Phase 4, probably around 700 BC
e) Phase 5, probably early seventh century

Figures a–e are all based on the composite plan in *Antike Kunst* 24 (1981) 85. I have separated the walls into phases on the basis of the elevations published for their lower courses. This is not the ideal method, particularly since the excavated area slopes gently from west to east. Some of the structures will of course have remained in use across several phases, and the doubled walls of some houses suggest re-buildings on almost the same alignment. But until the full publication appears, this is the only way to make sense of the sequence. I am most grateful to Drs Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian and Petros Themelis for suggesting the idea to me in discussions at Eretria in 1984.

Return to Table of Contents

Phase 2, c. 725–600 BC

Burials. Around 700, rich graves, especially warrior graves, disappeared. At Argos and particularly at Eretria, where a series of male cremations in bronze urns has been found, the richest warrior burials date close to 700, perhaps continuing a decade or so into the seventh century, but they had no successors.[23] Mortuary variability declined, and most seventh-century cemeteries are characterized by monotonously normative customs – at Argos, inhumation in cylindrical *pithoi*; at Corinth and Megara, inhumation in simple stone sarcophagi; on Thera, small primary cremations in rock-cut pits.

The age structure changed dramatically in most cemeteries. Before 725 there are few known child graves; after 725, they make up roughly half our sample, which is what we would expect in an ancient agrarian society. Sometimes children were buried with adults, and sometimes they had their own graveyards. Archaeologists often react to child cemeteries by assuming that they must be evidence for plagues, famines, or other crises, but this was just a normal archaic practice. Intramural burial ended virtually everywhere for adults before 700, and even child graves among houses were rare by the sixth century. By 675 or 650, most sites in mainland central Greece and the Cyclades had large, homogeneous cemeteries along the roads away from town, without lavish monuments. Grave goods were very poor; anything more than two or three pots is exciting in archaic funerary archaeology, and metal almost disappears from the record.

Despite their importance, seventh-century cemeteries are badly known, probably because few archaeologists want to excavate them in a systematic way, and fewer still want to publish such material. The Hospital and Gymnasium cemeteries at Argos and the West Cemetery at Eretria seem to be good examples of this pattern; the North Cemetery at Corinth is unique in the care the excavators took to publish every deposit.[24]

Attica is the major exception. Here, although the graves are very homogeneous and grave goods are limited largely to pottery, almost all adult cremations were marked by monuments (mounds, mudbrick tombs, or, in the sixth century, sculpture), and Houby-Nielsen (1992) argues that even the pottery associated with the graves was designed to evoke images of wealthy feasting.[25]

Sanctuaries. There was an explosion of temple-building around 700. By 650, every little village had its own temple, and big sites had monumental stone structures with clay roof tiles, architectural terracottas, and pedimental sculptures. Some builders used huge

Return to Table of Contents

blocks of stone, perhaps as a deliberate statement of the effort felt to be needed to honor the gods. Votive dedications also intensified. Even modest shrines now often had a few metal offerings. Kato Phana on Chios, for example, yielded gold, scarabs, two bronze cauldron attachments, and a miniature silver tripod. Literally tons of pottery accumulated at these sites during the seventh century, only to be swept into vast garbage pits. At Koukounaries on Paros, my initial on-site counts suggested that the quantity of pots dedicated to Athena increased something like one thousand-fold between 750 and 650.[26]

At major temples – of which there were surprisingly many – the level of seventh-century activity was truly breathtaking. At Ephesus, for example, a peripteral apsidal temple was rebuilt in the early seventh century as a bigger rectangular stone temple with a new altar, and rebuilt again in the early sixth century; and another sequence of temples culminated around 550 in a massive stone structure for which king Croesus of Lydia provided columns (Herodotus 1.26). The whole area is strewn with rich offerings, including gold, ivory, electrum, Phoenician imports, and the earliest known Greek coins, probably deposited between 650 and 625. At Samos, the first *hekatompedon* for Hera was probably built around 725; in the seventh century the sanctuary filled up with other buildings, and by 600 a monumental paved Sacred Way linked it with the main town. Two more temples were built in the sixth century, and Herodotus (3.60) says that the final version (109 x 55 m) was the biggest Greek temple he had ever seen. The dedications included magnificent jewelry, a zoo of exotic animals, and at some point in the late seventh century a whole ship.[27] Seventh-century archaeology is primarily the archaeology of sanctuaries.

Once again, Attica is the exception: here there are remarkably few seventh-century temples. The Sacred House at the Academy and 'tholos' at Lathouriza had extremely odd architectural plans, and the sanctuary on Tourkovouni was a very simple structure. Even the richest sanctuary, at Sounion, was poorer than a minor Chian shrine like Kato Phana. It seems that monumental religious architecture only appeared in Attica around 600 BC, with a large stone altar on the acropolis, and the Old Temple of Athena perhaps in the 590s.[28]

Settlements. There was an overall chopping-up of space. The removal of cemeteries and demarcation of sanctuaries meant that domestic space was more sharply defined, a trend which was reinforced by the spread of defensive perimeter walls for villages and cities around 700, and much more complex rectilinear houses. Drerup (1967, 11–12) and Krause (1977) see continuity from the earliest

Return to Table of Contents

rectilinear houses to the fourth-century *pastas*-house as defined at Olynthus by Robinson and Graham (1938), via a common archaic house shape of two rooms opening off a corridor along the front of the house (e.g., Aegina houses 2 and 3, shown in *Fig*. 6). Development was uneven: these simple houses on Aegina continued in use until about 500, while corridor-style House I at Corinth was modified substantially in the sixth century. At Koukounaries and Smyrna, much more complex houses were already the norm by the middle of the seventh century (*Fig*. 7).[29]

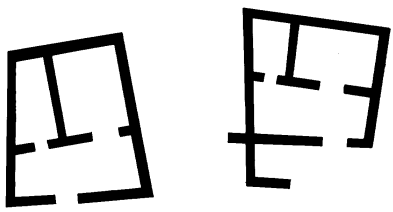

Fig. 6. Archaic houses 2 and 3, Aegina (based on drawings in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1925, 5–6).

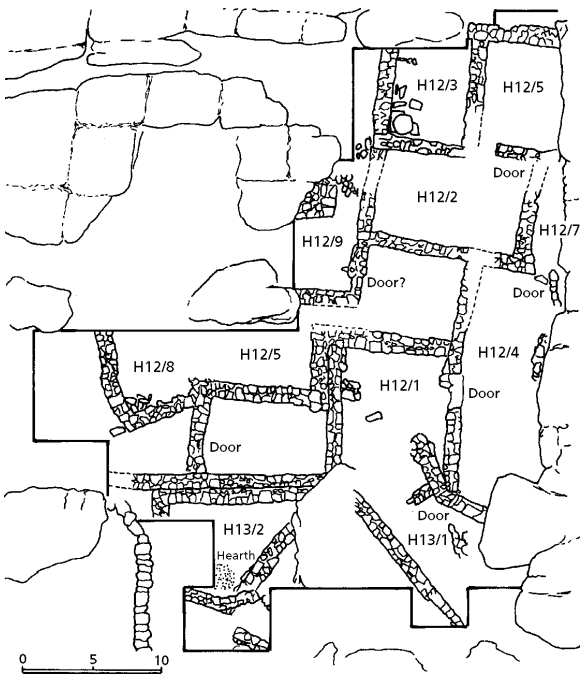

Fig. 7. Seventh-century houses on the Middle Plateau at Koukounaries on Paros (based on plan in *Praktika* 1988, 198).

Return to Table of Contents

At Zagora, developments were even faster. Already by 700 we can identify genuine courtyard houses of just the kind which Nevett (1995) sees as important to classical concepts of space, inward-turned and accessible only via a narrow door on to a street. Houses were being built more sturdily, especially in the Cyclades, where all-stone construction was common. At Zagora, one wall was preserved intact when it fell: the house was a little over 2 m high, with a small triangular window near the top. The same design is attested in all-stone House 1 at fourth-century Ammotopos in Epirus. These stone houses normally had flat roofs, with wooden beams supporting thin slabs of stone, sealed by clay (*Fig.* 8). Hearths were sometimes carefully built, with stone slabs around them, and drains became common. A bathtub built into a fortification wall at Miletus is probably as early as the seventh or even the end of the eighth century.[30]

At most sites, the transition from one-room or *megaron* houses to courtyard houses took longer, and, not surprisingly, we can document old and new designs in use alongside each other. At Miletus, one rectilinear house was built early enough to have been destroyed by fire *c.* 750, and stretches of late eighth-century walls found in the early excavations also seem to belong to rectilinear houses. But oval huts were still being built in the seventh century, and the first indisputable courtyard house here dates after 650, when an early seventh-century multi-room rectilinear house was replanned (*Fig.* 9).[31] On Sicily, the simple rectangular houses of the first settlers at Naxos gave way to

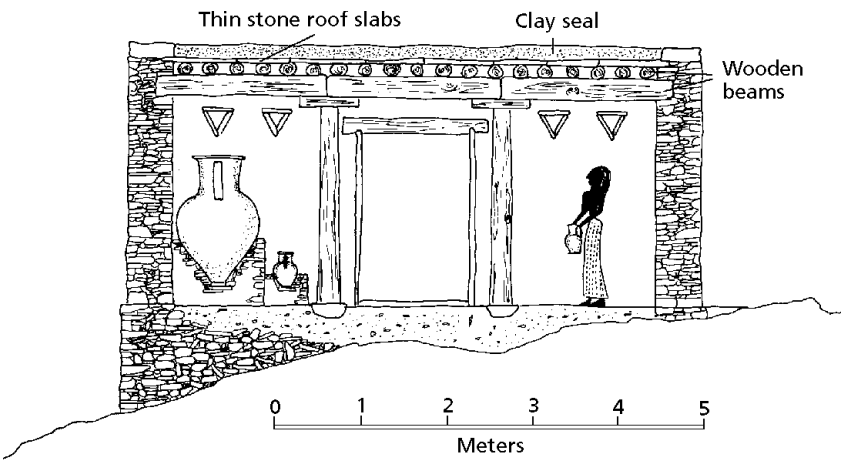

Fig. 8. House construction at Zagora on Andros (based on drawing by J.J. Coulton in Cambitoglou 1981, fig. 8).

Return to Table of Contents

courtyard houses in the seventh century, perhaps even by 700, but at Megara Hyblaea, founded in 728, the conversion of one-room or *megaron* houses into courtyard houses was a very gradual process, proceeding unevenly across the whole seventh century. It was not until after 650 that the area around the *agora* began to look like late eighth-century Zagora, as the original plots of 100–120 m² were filled by courtyard houses.[32] By 600, the courtyard house was normal everywhere.

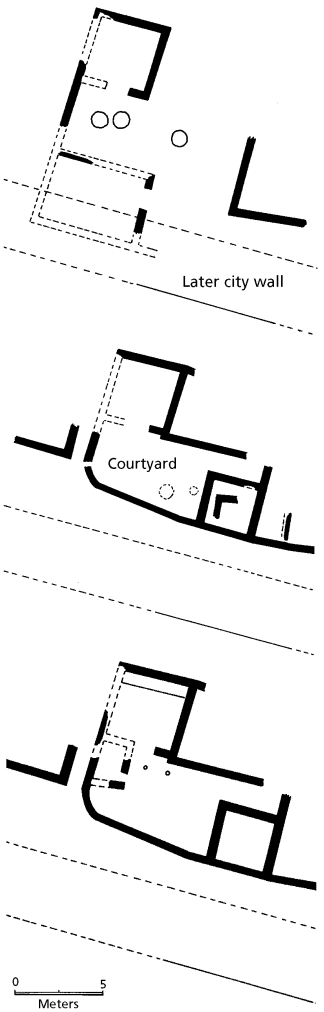

Fig. 9. Building phases of seventh-century courtyard house on Kalabaktepe, Miletus (based on plans in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 40 (1990) 44–7).

Formal agoras probably began to be laid out in this period too. Homer (*Od.* 8.6–7) said that the *agora* at Phaeacia had 'polished stone' seats, and on Ithaca, Odysseus had his own seat (*Od.* 2.14). The clearest central Greek archaeological evidence comes from colonial Megara Hyblaea, which included an open central space in its original plan of 728 BC. Older cities, already built up, may only have made provisions for formal agoras quite late in the sixth century (Snodgrass 1980, 154–8).

Finally, Attica was again an exception. A group of rectilinear rooms dating around 700 has been found at Thorikos, but the most substantial group of early houses, from Lathouriza, combines rectilinear and curvilinear styles in a very unusual way (*Fig.* 10), and a recently reported excavation at Eleusis exposed an early archaic apsidal house. Some of these houses retained old-fashioned pitched thatch roofs. By the early sixth century, though, a group of houses and shops in Athens were typical of the rest of central Greece.[33]

Return to Table of Contents

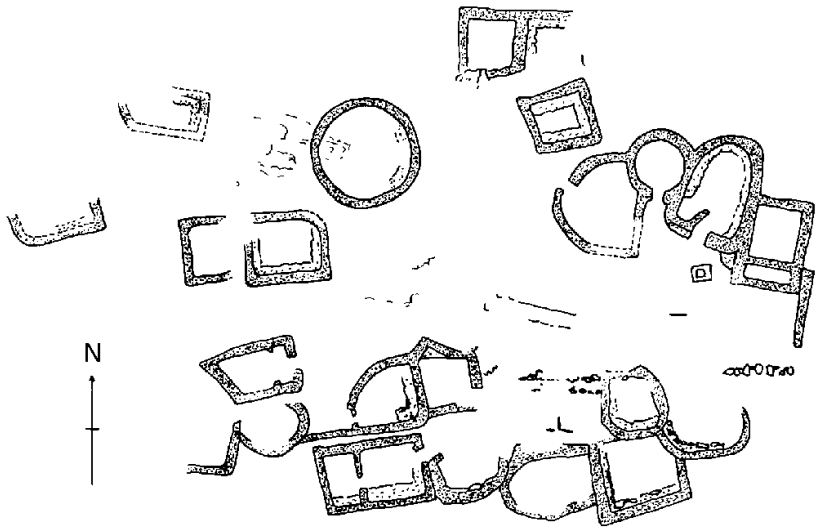

Fig. 10. Seventh-century houses at Lathouriza (based on plans in Mazarakis-Ainian 1994, 1995).

Discussion of phases 1 and 2

These changes created the spatial structures which characterized Greek civilization for the next half-millennium. But after a dizzying, even revolutionary, period between 750 and 700, the rate of change slowed down, and in most parts of central Greece the seventh and early sixth century saw the gradual unfolding of patterns initiated at the end of the eighth. How we interpret the archaeology of the seventh century depends largely on what we make of the events between 750 and 700; and that, in turn, hinges on what vision we have of the Dark Age order which crumbled in these years. The dominant model is that proposed by Snodgrass in the 1970s, of a Dark Age of small, poor, and isolated egalitarian groups, perhaps mobile and partly pastoral. As summed up by Chester Starr, this view holds that 'during the Dark Ages…men struggled to survive and to hold together the tissue of society' (1977, 47). A population explosion in the eighth century, linked to more intensive agriculture, ended this, and led to new wealth, political centralization, increasing hierarchy, and massive cultural changes (Snodgrass 1977; 1980, 15–84; 1987, 170–210; 1993).

I have argued that this model is too positivist, assuming that the data passively mirror prior demographic, economic, and political forces. It seems to me that the homogeneity of Dark Age burials, cult observances, and housing was not a simple reflection of an egalitarian society.

Return to Table of Contents

Rather, I argue, our evidence is heavily skewed toward elite groups, who used material culture as one way to construct an image of themselves as an internally equal class ruling over excluded lower groups (Morris 1987; forthcoming). I interpret the changes I described above as follows:

Burials. Detailed analysis of burials, particularly the well published Athenian Kerameikos cemetery, remains fundamental to our understanding of central Greece. Between 1000 and 725 BC, only about one in ten of the excavated graves in most central Greek cemeteries belongs to a child or infant. In *Burial and Ancient Society*, I argued that this cannot directly reflect the demographic structure of the living populations, but must be a side-effect of ritual distinctions, with most children being buried in ways which have low archaeological visibility.[34] I went on to suggest that a similar phenomenon partly accounts for the tiny numbers of Dark Age adult burials: as well as an age boundary, death-rituals created a class boundary between a high-status group with formal cemeteries, and a low-status group excluded from these rites. Whitley (1991b) and Houby-Nielsen (1992, 1995), authors of the most detailed re-analyses of the Kerameikos evidence since *Burial and Ancient Society*, both accept some version of the exclusion hypothesis which I advanced there.[35]

I suggested that rather than reflecting the rise of the first aristocracies, as in Snodgrass's model, the eighth-century changes were part of the collapse of the old Dark Age hierarchy and the creation of something like the citizen communities we know from later literature. The years between 750 and 700 were a period of chaotic transition, when new ideas about how to order the world were being worked out, in part through the manipulation of material culture in ritual settings. Instead of a funerary community rigidly divided into elite and non-elite, everyone now claimed access to the same kinds of funerals. Some of the rich responded by differentiating themselves in new ways, using lavish grave goods and markers, or complicating the treatment of the dead (Phase 1), but after a generation or so, a more egalitarian ethos won out. Lavish spending was no longer appropriate in burial: families could not get away with representing those they buried as special warriors or great men (or as the dependents of such men). The citizens relocated their cemeteries outside the city and established a new, civic space of the dead (Phase 2). In most *poleis*, there was no significant challenge to this vision of the cemetery until late in the sixth century.

Sanctuaries. The new forms of worship created at the end of the eighth century, like the new funerals, offered an arena where

Return to Table of Contents

competing visions of how mortals should relate to the gods – and thus conflicting views of the nature of humanity itself and the good society – were made explicit. François de Polignac (1995a) argues that the new sanctuaries defined the spatial limits of the citizen state as well as its relationships with the gods. And if Mazarakis-Ainian is right about the form of Dark Age worship, the shift from rituals within a chief's house, which physically restricted involvement to a select group, to open-air sacrifices, also implies a widening membership of the religious corporation paralleling the widening of the 'burying family', to borrow Houby-Nielsen's (1995) useful term.

Snodgrass has called the chronological coincidence between the abandonment of rich grave goods and the appearance of rich votives around 700 'a big social change with the redirection of attention towards the communal sanctuary and away from the individual grave' (1980, 54). This is a compelling argument, but the literary sources suggest that it may only be half the story. Archaic Greek poetry breaks down into two cultural traditions, which I have labeled the 'middling' and the 'elitist'.[36] The former – generally expressed in elegiac and iambic meters by poets like Archilochus, Solon, Phocylides, Xenophanes, and to some extent Theognis, but drawing on ideas going back to Hesiod's hexameters – insisted that the best man was middling (*metrios* or *mesos*), with controlled appetites, neither rich nor poor, tending his farm, standing his place in the hoplite ranks, and fathering sturdy children. Gender distinctions were sharp (most notoriously in Hesiod's myth of Pandora and in Semonides F7 West). The good community was a group of such men, and there could be no source of human authority higher than this group. The *metrios* was pious, but the gods were utterly removed from mankind, and no one in the *polis* could claim privileged access to them.

The elitist poets, mostly working in lyric meters, took an entirely opposed view. The community of middling men was just a rabble of peasants, while the good society was a group of like-minded aristocrats who transcended the boundaries of the individual *polis*. Such creatures lived in a world of luxury, using the same kinds of vessels, clothes, and houses as the gods, heroes, and Lydians, and they claimed to draw authority from their links with these privileged groups. Their special knowledge, beauty, and athletic skills set them above everyone else.

The two traditions explicitly confronted one another. The words that Archilochus put into the mouth of Charon the carpenter – 'I don't care for Gyges the Golden's things, and I've never envied him. I'm not jealous of the works of gods either, and I don't lust after a magnificent

Return to Table of Contents

tyranny. These are beyond my gaze' (F19 West) – are a virtual checklist of elitist culture, at least in the eyes of its critics. They saw elitists as hankering after tyrannical rule like oriental despots such as Gyges of Lydia, impiously setting themselves up as rivals to the very gods. In the end, the differences between the two traditions came down to a single point: the elitists would legitimate their claims to be a special elite by appeals to sources of authority outside the *polis*; and the middling poets absolutely rejected this. The former blurred distinctions between male and female, present and past, mortal and divine, Greek and Lydian, to create a single distinction, between aristocrat and commoner; the latter did precisely the opposite. Each was doubtless guilty of disgusting and polluting behavior in the eyes of the other.

We are dealing with competing constructions of identity, involving radically opposed notions of class, gender, ethnicity, and cosmology. To someone steeped in middling values, the rejection of rich grave goods and monuments around 700 probably did seem like a victory, as Snodgrass suggests. Grave goods brought honor only to an individual family, but a gift to the gods, far removed from the petty struggles of mortals, won favor for the whole *polis*. But to those men and women who felt that they virtually lived, loved, and dined among the gods, matters probably looked very different. Giving a golden cup to Aphrodite was precisely the kind of action which Sappho represented as involving a personal epiphany; and when votives were not only expensive but also evoked the worlds of the East and the heroes, like the bronze tripods which accumulated in large numbers in seventh-century sanctuaries, all sources of external power flowed together in the act of dedication.

The cemetery had been the scene of cultural conflict in the late eighth century; in the early seventh, the action shifted to the sanctuary. Breathtaking wealth was diverted in this direction both by individual nobles, and by *poleis* acting as communities.[37]

Settlements. Changes in eighth- and seventh-century settlements have received much less attention than those in burials and sanctuaries. The conflict of values in archaic poetry was as much about gender as class, and in the reorganization of domestic space around 700, I suggest, we see evidence for profound changes in gender ideology.

The symbolic association of the outer/public/light areas of a house with masculinity and the inner/private/dark areas with femininity, which was so fundamental to classical Athenian thought about gender, appears as early as Hesiod.[38] This linkage only became possible with the emergence of multi-room houses, and particularly with the courtyard

Return to Table of Contents

house, which we first see on Zagora around 700. Before 750, almost all houses were flimsy, one-roomed, and open, with very few physical separators to break up the flow of activity. It is certainly possible for people to develop complex spatial symbolism without solid physical boundaries (the contemporary Brazilian Mehinaku are a famous case in point; Gregor 1977, 48–62), but societies with rigid and hierarchical gender and age structures tend to construct them in part through subdividing domestic space (Lawrence and Low 1990; Kent 1990).

At Zagora, the best published site, older single-room houses or *megara* built between 775 and 725 were broken up into multi-room structures with functionally specific spaces after 725 (Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988). For example, in the third quarter of the eighth century, unit H24/25/32 formed a *megaron* house with a simple porch in front (*Fig.* 11). The sherds from the floor show that cooking, storage, eating, and drinking all went on in the one main room. By 700, though, the people who lived here had broken this one room into three smaller rooms (H24, H25, H32). Judging from the finds in them, all three were used solely for storage. The south wall of the old porch was extended 8 m, and two new rooms, H40 and H41, were

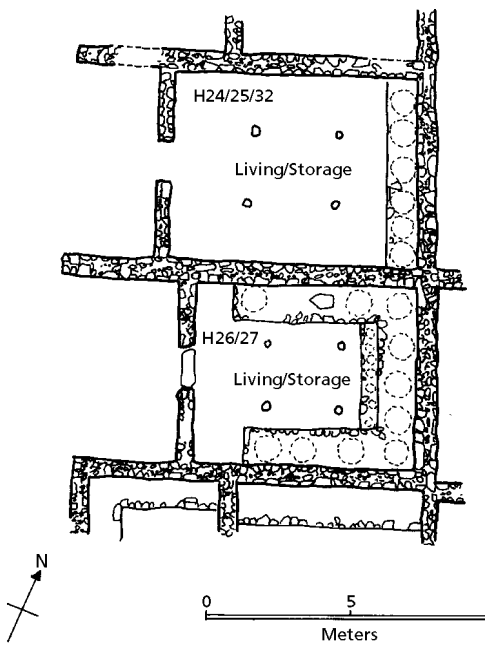

Fig. 11. Units H24/25/32 and H26/27 at Zagora, phase 1, *c.* 750–725 (based on drawing by J.J. Coulton in Cambitoglou 1981, fig. 9).

Return to Table of Contents

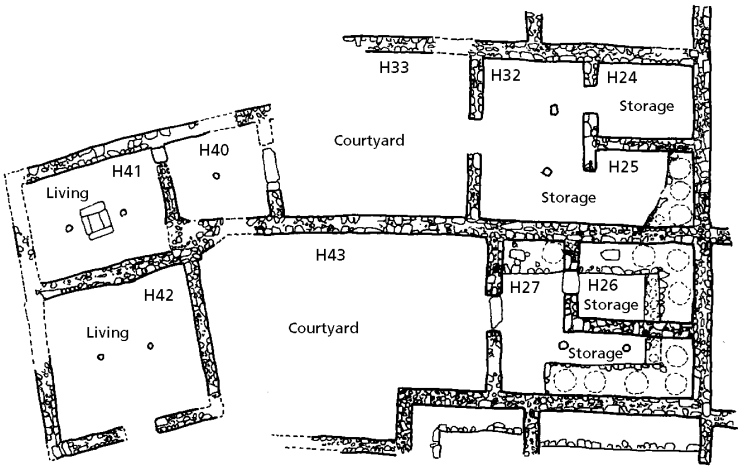

Fig. 12. Units H24/25/32/33/40/41 and H26/27/42/43 at Zagora, phase 2, *c.* 725–700 (based on drawing by J.J. Coulton in Cambitoglou 1981, fig. 9).

built at its end (*Fig.* 12). H40, which had an unusually wide door, was probably an ante-room to H41, with a monumental stone hearth and dense concentrations of sherds from fine cups. The new version of the house was reached from the courtyard now formed by the space between H32 and H40. Turning right, the visitor entered through the wide doorway into the public area of the house for feasting; turning left, into an area of storage at the back of the house. The house immediately to the south went through a very similar transformation at just the same time.

Interpreting these finds, and the replacement of single-roomed by courtyard houses all over central Greece during the seventh century, is no easy matter. Attributing gender to excavated space is almost impossible (Conkey and Gero 1991), but I am not trying to suggest that men or women were restricted to any particular part of the house.[39] No doubt women often went into Zagora H40 and H41, and men into H24, H25, and H32. But what I want to suggest is that the kind of *ideas* about gendered space which we see in Hesiod and classical Athenian literature began to take shape in the late eighth century as part of the formation of the middling ideology.[40] Historians often point out that Homeric notions of gender seem less rigid than those in Hesiod and later authors.[41] The evidence of housing suggests that gender ideologies were changing rapidly in the late eighth and seventh centuries, as part of a general shift toward 'middling' values.

Return to Table of Contents

Regional variation in eighth- and seventh-century central Greece.
So far, I have discussed central Greece in terms of a single general pattern, but no two *poleis* were exactly the same. The model which I have set out so far works best for places like Corinth, Argos, Eretria, Megara, and the Aegean islands, though even within this group there is some variation. For instance, on Thera we have substantial cemeteries of multiple burials from about 775 on, replaced by individual burials after 700, though on Naxos and Paros major cemeteries only begin around 700. On Rhodes, seventh-century burials were definitely poorer than those of the eighth century, but still richer than those on the mainland. The cities of Ionia, including Samos and Chios, are very similar in terms of settlements and sanctuaries, but have produced very few graves at all before 550. Boeotia is rather similar, though we know little as yet about housing there.[42]

Some *poleis* moved further than others toward a 'middling' material culture. I would suggest that Corinth, Argos, and the other cities which I listed above embraced the new ways most enthusiastically; the Ionians and the Boeotians perhaps rather less so; while in Athens, the middle way was rejected altogether in the years around 700. In the middle of the eighth century, the Athenians had been at the forefront of developments, but by 700 they had become exceptions to every generalization. Seventh-century Athenian cemeteries of adult cremations under mounds contain very few graves, and I have argued (Morris 1987; 1993a, 32–7; 1995) that the Athenians returned to a divided ritual world like that of the Dark Age, in a conscious effort by the aristocracy to turn the clock back. They built no great temples until 600, and their votives were very poor. De Polignac (1995a, 81–8) suggests that Athens also ignored the bipolar religious spatial structure which was typical of archaic *poleis*. The early seventh-century houses on Velatouri hill at Thorikos seem to be going in the same direction as other central Greeks, but the larger area of housing at Lathouriza is most peculiar by the standards of contemporary housing in Corinth or the Cyclades. Seventh-century Attica must have looked very old-fashioned to visitors from anywhere else in central Greece.

This variability is important. The world was being turned upside down, and not everyone liked it. We hear stories in Aristotle's *Politics* and other late sources about outbreaks of violence, redistribution of land, and struggles over the formalization of law. In some places, a new civic ideology was very successful; in others, moderately so. In Athens, it was halted, then reversed, around 700. Solon's reforms in 594 destroyed the economic basis for this reactionary society, and in

Return to Table of Contents

the second half of the sixth century Athens fell back in line with the rest of central Greece.

Phase 3, c. 550–500 BC

In most central Greek *poleis* the upheavals between about 750 and 675 set the pattern for some hundred and fifty years. This is again a point that Snodgrass has made, identifying renewed structural changes in the late sixth century (1980, 201–18). As with the earlier changes, I begin with a brief description of my three categories of evidence.

Burials. Outside Attica, there are very few rich graves or striking monuments between 700 and 550.[43] But in the mid and late sixth century, we see a small movement back toward display. At Corinth, for instance, North Cemetery gr. 206 (*c.* 550) held an iron spearhead, and gr. 262 (shortly before 500) some bronze armor. Around 525, gr. 250 contained two gold, two silver, and three bronze ornaments, as well as an iron pin, a necklace of glass beads, and ten pots; and shortly before 500, gr. 257 had a silver ring. The only monument post-dating 750 BC is a small tombstone over gr. 240, around 550 BC. A little way outside the city, a marble sphinx was found at Aetopetra, perhaps set up as early as 575; and the famous 'Tenean Apollo' *kouros* of *c.* 550 found near Athikia was probably also a grave marker. These graves are not impressive for such a rich city, but they are more lavish than anything from the previous hundred years. On Samos, there are also some post-550 burials with interesting grave goods, but Boehlau (1898, 22) explicitly noted the contrast between the poverty of the cemetery and the famous wealth of the Polycratean *polis*.[44]

The same trend toward slightly richer grave goods and occasional use of funerary sculpture after 550 can be seen elsewhere. In the cemeteries of Naxos, for example, only one statue can be dated between 600 and 550, but at least five between 550 and 500. On Thera, one statue of about 600 BC may have come from a grave, but three more found *in situ* date to the second half of the century. A few Theran tombs have faïence ornaments, gilt bronze vessels, and even gold and silver trinkets in the late sixth century. On Paros, an unusual chamber tomb containing 50 cremations was marked by a tall stele around 700 BC, and another stele of the same date was found in the early 1960s; but then no more markers are known until two late sixth-century *kouroi* from Naoussa and Protoryia.[45]

For most of the archaic period, Attica was a marked exception to the central Greek pattern. Nearly all known adult burials can be associated with a monument. In the seventh century this usually meant a mound,

Return to Table of Contents

but by 600 it could also be a mudbrick tomb, often decorated with painted plaques, or a stone sculpture. The monuments got bigger and bigger in the early sixth century, culminating in the huge Mound G and South Mound in the Kerameikos, dating between 560 and 520 BC. Houby-Nielsen (1995, 142, 166–9) also draws attention to the use of Lydian vessel types in these two mounds, and their remarkable Lydian-style wooden biers decorated with ivory panels. She sees this as a flirtation with eastern luxury and a partial redefinition of gender roles. There was also a minor revival of the late eighth-century heroizing vogue for cremations in bronze urns in the mid and late sixth century. Attic buriers after 550 paralleled the increase in spending which we see in the rest of central Greece, but having started off from a much higher level in the early sixth century, its late sixth-century monuments were particularly spectacular.[46]

But around 500, there was an abrupt collapse in funerary display all over central Greece. The situation at Athens has been much discussed: grave monuments almost completely disappeared around 500, only to return after 425 in very different forms. No rich grave goods have been reported from this seventy-five year period. What is less commonly recognized, however, is that this fifth-century austerity affected the *whole* Greek world. Defining the scale of this transformation radically changes the nature of the problem to be explained: Athenocentric explanations, focusing on the goals of this or that lawgiver or the contingencies of Athenian public building programs, cannot account for the pattern as a whole (Morris 1992, 108–55; 1997d).[47]

Sanctuaries. At most sites the number and wealth of excavated votives decline steadily across the sixth century, reaching quite low levels in the fifth (Snodgrass 1989/90). The main exceptions are small shrines of non-Olympian deities. However, inscribed inventories from the Parthenon, Erechtheion, and Asklepieion in Athens, and several other sanctuaries, along with descriptions of elaborate athletic victory monuments in the literary sources, show that magnificent objects were dedicated in the fifth and particularly the fourth century. As Snodgrass observes, contrary to what the archaeological record by itself reveals, the grandest offerings of the sixth and fifth centuries were probably much more expensive than those of the eighth and seventh centuries. These spectacular dedications have all but disappeared. It may be that by the time looting sanctuaries became a real problem, in the fourth century, archaic bronzes were too old to be worth much, and are thus over-represented relative to classical offerings. But on the other hand, Diodorus (16.56.6) explicitly mentions gold and silver

Return to Table of Contents