

SYNOIKISM

People, power and poleis.

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Synoikism: people, power and poleis, submitted by T.E.Rihll for the degree of Ph.D. in November 1986. Abstract.

The thesis is an investigation into the transformation of Greek societies from the Dark Age to the Archaic Period. That transformation included large-scale expansion overseas; the institutionalisation of slavery; population rise; the advent of literacy and literature, of laws and lawcodes; the development of trade, markets and coinage, of public spaces and public buildings; urbanisation; the emergence of the state. All are essentially interdisciplinary topics, coming within the ambit of several disciplines: anthropology, archaeology, geography, history and sociology in particular. Therefore the thesis aims at synthesis as well as analysis; synoikism is intended to refer to the union of disciplinary perspectives as well as the union of communities which gave rise to the poleis.

From this synthesis several hypotheses emerge, of which the three principal are: (i) Greek societies in the Dark Age were essentially egalitarian. One implication of this hypothesis is the argument that there was no 'aristocratic stage' in early Greek history. (ii) The role of violence (particularly acquisition by violence) in early Greek history (especially the 'colonising' process) was considerable. War and plunder are argued to have been the most important sources of income. (iii) The consequences of the expansion and intensification of slavery were qualitatively far greater than commonly allowed. Historical literature usually fails to take proper cognizance of the fact of Greek slavery, and in particular that most slaves were foreigners, whilst sociological and anthropological literature on exogenous influences and their consequences rarely considers genuine slave societies, yet they are those in which such influences were particularly acute.

This framework is explicated through a thematic history of early Greece, covering all the aspects noted above.

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ABBREVIATIONS

For full details see bibliography. It is hoped that the extensive use of abbreviations with author and year of publication, rather than op.cit., art.cit., and ibid., will save the reader's time and temper.

A&A	R.A.Tomlinson <u>Argos and the Argolid</u> 1972
AAG	S.C.Humphreys <u>Anthropology and the Greeks</u> 1983
ABP	J.S.Boersma <u>Athenian Building Policy</u> 1970
AE	M.I.Finley <u>The Ancient Economy</u> 2nd.ed.1985
AG	L.H.Jeffery <u>Archaic Greece: the city states 700-500 BC</u> 1976
AG:AE	A.M.Snodgrass <u>Archaic Greece: the Age of Experiment</u> 1980
AH	M.I.Finley <u>Ancient History</u> 1985
AI	W.Donlan <u>The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece</u> 1980
AIS	<u>Archaeology and Italian Society</u> BAR Inter.Ser.102 1981
ALG	E.Diehl (ed.) <u>Anthologia Lyrica Graeca</u>
AM	<u>Athenische Abteilung Mitteilungen</u>
AnSt	<u>Anatolian Studies</u>
AofA	M.I.Finley <u>Aspects of Antiquity</u> 1977
AP	J.K.Galbraith <u>The Anatomy of Power</u> 1984
AReps	<u>Archaeological Reports</u>
ARGS	A.M.Snodgrass <u>Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek State</u> (Inaugural lecture) 1977
AS	M.I.Finley <u>Ancient Sicily</u> 1968
ASMI	_____, <u>Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology</u> 1983
BCH	<u>Bulletin Correspondance Hellenique</u>
BSA	<u>The Annual of the British School at Athens</u>
CC	A.Giddens <u>A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism</u> 1981
CDA	P.Grierson 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: a critique of the evidence' <u>Trans.Royal Historical Society</u> 9(1959)123-140
Comm.	A.W.Gomme <u>A Historical Commentary on Thucydides</u> 1959
Comm.	G.S.Kirk <u>The Iliad: a commentary</u> (vol.1, books 1-4) 1985
Comm.	P.J.Rhodes <u>A Commentary on the Athenaion Politeia</u> 1981
CP	<u>Classical Philology</u>

- CP A.Giddens Central Problems in Social Theory 1979
- CQ Classical Quarterly
- CS A.Giddens The Constitution of Society 1984
- CSSH Comparative Studies in Society and History
- CW Classical World
- DAA A.E.Raubitschek Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis
- DAG A.M.Snodgrass Dark Age Greece 1971
- DEAHL M.Gagarin Drakon and Early Athenian Homicide Law 1981
- Demes D.Whitehead The Demes of Attika 1986
- EG O.Murray Early Greece 1980
- EGAW A.M.Snodgrass Early Greek Armour and Weapons 1971
- EG:BA M.I.Finley Early Greece: the Bronze and Archaic Ages 2nd.ed. 1981
- EGPP H.Frankel Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy 1975
- E&S M.I.Finley Economy and Society in Ancient Greece 1983
- ESHAG M.M.Austin & P.Vidal-Naquet Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece 2nd.ed. 1977
- GG J.N.Coldstream Geometric Greece 1977
- GGP _____., Greek Geometric Pottery 1968
- GHI M.N.Tod Greek Historical Inscriptions 1933
- GMP W.K.Pritchett Ancient Greek Military Practice (= The Greek State at War (I)) 1971
- GSW _____., The Greek State at War (III and IV) 1979 and 1985
- GO J.A.Boardman The Greeks Overseas 2nd.ed.1980
- GR The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century BC: Tradition and Innovation ed.R.Hagg 1983
- GRBS Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
- G&R Greece and Rome
- GVO W.D.Rouse Greek Votive Offerings 1902
- Hesp Hesperia
- HS R.Hope-Simpson Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites 1965
- HSCP Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
- JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies

- LCM Liverpool Classical Monthly
- LM K.Polanyi The Livelihood of Man 1977
- NS&V A.Giddens The Nation-State and Violence 1985
- OJA Oxford Journal of Archaeology
- PAW H.A.Ormerod Piracy in the Ancient World 1978
- PCA Proceedings of the Classical Association
- PCPS Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
- PECS Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites 1977
- PIA1 Papers in Italian Archaeology I Recent research in prehistoric classical and mediaeval archaeology BAR Inter.Ser.41 1978
- PIA4 Papers in Italian Archaeology IV(iii) Patterns in Protohistory BAR Inter.Ser.245 1985
- PLF Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta edd.E.Lobel & D.Page 1955
- PMG Poetae Melici Graeci ed.D.Page 1962
- PolAW M.I.Finley Politics in the Ancient World 1983
- RA Revue Archaeologique
- SANE M-C de Graeve The Ships of the Ancient Near East (c.2000-500 BC) 1981
- SGV G.S.Kirk 'Ships on Geometric Vases' BSA 44(1949)93-153
- SSD O.Patterson Slavery and Social Death 1982
- TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association
- TLA A.R.W.Harrison The Law of Athens 1971
- TPS K.Andrews Trade, plunder and settlement 1984
- UAH M.I.Finley The Use and Abuse of History corr.ed.1986
- UIE N.Hartman 'The Use of Iron in 9th and 8th Century Etruria' PIA4 1985:285-294
- War Y.Garlan War in the Ancient World 1975

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Chapter 1: Introduction

...history's only distinctive possession is a heterogeneous collection of chronological codes.

C.Levi-Strauss

...so my method has been, while keeping as closely as possible to the general sense of the words that were actually used, to make the speakers say what, in my opinion, was called for by each occasion.

Thukydidēs

...like Thucydides, we can formulate sociological theories, and unlike him, we can write art history (largely restricted to pure externals). But we, too, cannot write a history of early Greece.

M.I.Finley

Had he asked himself the obvious question: why did that particular apple choose that unrepeatable moment to fall on that unique head, he might have written the history of an apple. Instead of which he asked himself why apples fell and produced the theory of gravitation. The decision was not the apple's, but Newton's.

M.Postan

1.1 Introduction

In the course of approximately one hundred and fifty years, from c.750 to c.600 BC, the foundations of that amorphous concept 'the Western Tradition' were laid in Ancient Greece. Greece was transformed from being one of the more poverty-stricken and backward areas of early Iron Age Europe into a dazzling arena of material wealth and cultural activity.

This transformation seems a remarkable revolution indeed(1), so much so that existing explanations for it seem, to me, somehow inadequate. These explanations portray a world in which needs and desires were simply gratified. The Greeks started manufacturing and trading, and lo, there were imports and exports; the Greeks sent out colonies to increase trade and/or to decrease overcrowding at home, and lo, they prospered and lived happily ever after; the Greeks suddenly became a particularly gifted intellectual race and lo, there were philosophers and literary geniuses; the Greeks became very gregarious and (probably because they were so intellectual) very conscious of their gregariousness, and lo, there were politics; the Greeks had particularly good taste, and lo, (as soon as they could afford the materials) they set the standard for Western art and architecture for, roughly, 2000 years...

There are many more or less all-embracing explanations. Those of the form 'Zeitgeist' have long been considered insufficient, and theories of racial superiority have deservedly been rejected likewise. Explanations emphasising the role of trade are more limited in scope, and trade arguably provided some of the material prosperity required for the transformation. But these explanations generally present the poleis as crude prototypes of the North Italian city-states of the Renaissance. This particular analogy has been under serious if

1 For consider how difficult it is proving to be to 'develop' the third world.

sporadic - but now fairly concerted - attack since 1893, and is at the centre of what is known as the Bucher-Meyer controversy(2). The controversy is not yet ended, because the tactic of the 'defence' (the modernists, who now tend to use the analogy implicitly rather than explicitly) is like that of English law: the burden of proof rests with the prosecution (the 'primitivists', who reject the analogy) and the hypothesis is viable until proven false. The modernists' position is not so much defended these days as merely stated, giving no hint that it is, in fact, challenged. However, a long continuing controversy is the symptom of a serious problem in a mature discipline(3). The trade hypothesis will not (and should not) be given up simply on the grounds that it is considered inadequate: it should be given up if it is considered inadequate and a new hypothesis which has greater explanatory power for the relevant evidence is offered in its stead.

In this thesis I attempt to develop such a hypothesis. It has a scaffold of three principal (ie. load-bearing) sub-hypotheses, between which subsidiary arguments are constructed. I have endeavored to build them in such a way that a compromise is reached between a desire to include as many of the materials (evidence) as possible, and a desire to produce as solid and stable a building (hypothesis) as possible, giving rather more emphasis to the blueprint than to the building materials(4). How successfully I have done so is for the reader to decide.

2 On which see the articles in Finley (ed.) The Bucher-Meyer Controversy 1980. For a brief discussion, see Finley E&S 1983:11-13.

3 Contrast the easy relinquishment of one hypothesis in favour of another, which situation seems currently to plague 'new' archaeology. It has been wittily characterised by one (exasperated) archaeologist as "a string of sordid little affairs with every hustling paradigm in sight, a very library of one-book stands", J.Lewthwaite 'Archaeology in Academe: an institutional confinement?' in Archaeology at the Interface BAR IS 300, 1986:52.

4 This emphasis is dictated by the facts that, as a rule, a single blueprint can be realized with a variety of materials, and that any particular building material can be used in new ways and new places if a different blueprint is followed.

1.2 The argument

The three principal hypotheses which support each other but are not reducible to each other are as follows. 1. Greek societies in the Dark Age were essentially egalitarian 2. The role of violence in Greek society was considerable and 3. The development of slavery was central to the development of ancient Greece. Let me discuss these hypotheses in more detail.

The first is that Greek societies in the Dark Age were essentially egalitarian. There is no evidence, archaeological or literary, to suggest otherwise, and there are no theoretical reasons why it should have been otherwise. The idea that they were not egalitarian, which is the current consensus, is an assumption of early historians (from the sixteenth century) that has never been seriously questioned, but has been inherited as 'received wisdom', or a 'basic fact'. It has, however, been modified since the nineteenth century by some historians influenced by the new discipline of anthropology, who began to consider early Greek society in terms of chiefdoms and suchlike. These speculations were and still are generally confined to Greek society prior to the truly historical period⁵ because where literary evidence exists, we seem to be dealing with societies very different from those on which anthropological studies concentrate. This influence has, on the whole, been an unhelpful and misleading one in the political sphere (at least) since it makes theoretical demands that have not and, I suspect, cannot be met in order to account for the transition from the picture of pre-historic Greek society, which is derived from anthropological studies and is wholly hypothetical, to the picture of historic Greek society, which is derived from historical sources. Wherever one chooses to draw the analytical line

5 That is, prior to the period from which literary evidence becomes available, roughly (and arguably) about the end of the eighth century.

between pre-historic and historic Greek society, and however 'thick' one chooses to draw it, the two pictures appear fundamentally different, and no satisfactory hypothesis exists to explain either the form or the content of the (considerable) social change which must be posited in order to conjoin the two.

However, if the assumption that Greek societies in the Dark Age were stratified is shown to be unfounded, and an hypothesis that they were essentially egalitarian is substituted as the 'starting point' from which historical Greek society developed, then this process can be grasped by an explanation in which one small 'step' follows or accompanies another in a relatively easy progression or association. The argument against stratification and the hypothesis of egalitarianism in Greek societies in the late Dark Age are presented in chapter three. The egalitarian hypothesis underpins many other arguments in the thesis, which cannot be isolated from it. In turn, if these secondary arguments are accepted, then they corroborate the main hypothesis from which they are derived.

Why and how the process began is treated beforehand in chapter two. This involves an examination of conditions external to the group, conditions which are summed up in the phrase 'the colonising process'. External conditions and internal social structure are unnaturally separated by treatment in two chapters, one devoted to each, but the material must be ordered somehow, and I believe that the stimulus to change came first through interaction with other groups. Since external conditions take chronological priority (however slight) over internal structure, they are treated in an earlier chapter. Once started, the process of stimulus and response formed a positive feedback loop which could be visualised as a rising double helix.

The second major hypothesis is that the role of violence in Greek society was considerable, especially during this episode of transformation. The Greeks fought their way out of the Dark Age, with their spears. It is in the context of this hypothesis, different aspects of

which are developed in chapters two and four, that I draw a firm distinction between the activities of production and trade as conceived nowadays, which assumes - above all else - production and exchange in a peaceful context, and the same activities as conceived by the ancient Greeks, which involved no such assumption, but assumed, rather, the opposite. Taking something from someone else through the use or threat of violence was a normal, legitimate, and very 'profitable' mode of production for those capable and desirous of undertaking it, both in the sense of the aorist tense(6), and in the sense of the imperfect tense(7).

These actions provoked reactions: group defence was steadily (but no doubt discontinuously) improved through increased organisation. That is the (necessary) common element behind apparently dissimilar group reactions (eg. evacuation, armed resistance, fortification). As a generalisation, we could say that unsuccessful defenders did not live to defend themselves again (because they were either killed or enslaved) or lived and preserved their freedom but had less to defend thereafter. In short, unsuccessful defenders were 'weeded out'. As time went on and the activities continued, would-be aggressors had to improve their own organisation to suit, even if they preferred to try to attack people who were less organised and less able to defend their lives and their property successfully. For this option meant that the would-be aggressors had continually to push further from previous 'hunting grounds', where surviving inhabitants were almost by definition successful defenders(8). But this too demanded increased organisation, because expeditions were perforce longer, their destinations increasingly unknown, and what they might find and have to deal with -

6 That is, a single action or event such as a raid or a war.

7 That is, an ongoing process such as slave-holding.

8 Successful defence can take several forms, for example diplomacy, 'buying off' aggressors, having safe 'hideaways' and so on, as well as literally fighting back. That is, by 'successful defenders' I mean any people who manage to avoid overt violence with aggressors.

both natural and human - ever more unexpected.

The need to increase organisation, either for attack or defence but probably, for most groups, for both purposes at different times, provided the context and the stimulus for the development of governmental roles. There were two major facets to this: first, an increase in group size (largely unintentionally) through influx, and/or (more intentionally) through group amalgamation. This created a need for the development of methods by which larger groups of hitherto independent (and certainly unrelated) people might be organised to act, when necessary, in unison. Second, in order to try to preserve a basically voluntary, and probably at first highly fissile union, sanctions against acquisition by violence or threat of violence by some members of the group from other members of the group had to be cultivated and strengthened. In consequence, increasingly organised bellicose activity as a mode of production by private individuals was gradually divested of positive moral sanctions(9), and the range of legitimate victims was continually reduced (largely unintentionally, because of the growth of group size and structuration of the group). Both processes furthered the growth of 'niches' of peace(10), whilst the 'natural environment' of 'Warre' (Hobbes' sense) was increasingly made subject to human control (or more precisely, to human attempts to control). Legitimation of production and 'exchange' through the employment of violence gradually became reserved for intergroup contexts in the geographical domain, and for master-slave contexts in the social domain.

The creation of larger social units and the development of sanctions to condition social relations within the unit, circumscribing the sphere in which 'might is right' was considered a legitimate prin-

9 That is, it was no longer thought honourable, virtuous, praiseworthy and so on.

10 By 'niches' I mean the social and geographical 'spaces', or the vertical and horizontal 'pockets' in which peaceful relations were supposed to prevail.

ciple, was a necessary condition without which and before which social stratification could not develop into a firm structural property of Greek society. Thus this principal hypothesis (different aspects of which are explicated in chapters two through five) and the first hypothesis are consistent and mutually supportive.

The third principal hypothesis is that the development of slavery was central to the development of ancient Greece. Too long ignored or glossed over in the literature, too often conceived as abstract 'labour' when considered, slavery was a tool with which Greek society - in the fullest sense of the word - was built. From this hypothesis (which, like the two other major hypotheses, guides the thesis) relatively simple solutions (at a high level of generality) to many current problems can be found(11). Moreover, because slavery penetrated so deeply into Greek society, associations and interrelationships between phenomena suggest themselves easily, and often fruitfully. Processes and problems are more quickly seen to be embedded in a matrix of different dimensions of human life, which perception better approximates the complexity of a living society than does a collection of subsystems or a series of themes whose only common denominator appears to be sharing the same spatio-temporal location. That is, slavery was such a deeply pervasive fact of Greek life that it provides an excellent foundation for a study of that society. Let me then expand this third leading hypothesis.

There had probably been a low level of slavery throughout the Dark Age, and an enormous variety of ways in which people could become slaves: for example, through capture in raids; through birth; through capture isolated from kith and kin, especially if travelling abroad; through kidnapping; through punishment for crime(12). Slaves were

11 From, for example, the Tegeans' pledge not to khrestous poiein the Messenians, to the eighth century 'population boom'.

12 Each of these routes to slavery is exemplified in the Homeric poems and/or the Lyric poets (see especially chapters 2 and 5).

absolutely dependent upon their masters, for the master had complete authority over the slave and could do anything to him or her (including murder) with legal and moral impunity. The master might be a five-year old boy, the slave a forty-year woman, and yet the woman had to do whatever the boy told her to do. A moment's consideration of the modern playground(13) will sensitize any scholar to the degradation slavery involved, and another moment's consideration of the typical modern 'spoilt brat' will awaken him or her likewise to the kind of adult likely to emerge from socialisation in such a milieu. Remember that, for example, Odysseus took his old nanny Eurykleia by the throat and threatened to kill her; that that old woman could easily imagine the mistress Penelope ordering her killed because she obeyed an order given to her by the son Telemakhos, but which the mistress, on learning of it, did not like; that that son (aided by two loyal male slaves) hung twelve female household slaves and cut off every convenient anatomical part of another male slave, who was presumably left to bleed to death; and that that male slave had previously threatened a stranger with the fate later inflicted upon himself.

Slavery is intensely brutal; Greek life was brutal; and growing up in ancient Greece must have been a socialisation process pervaded by brutality. If the Greeks' sensitivity to the aesthetic, the delicate, the intellectual and the sensuous soared, it was because they constructed such fragile perceptions to lift them above the brutish, the coarse, the violent and the ugly world which their forefathers had helped to make, and they helped to reproduce.

Turning then from the physical, the material side of Greek slavery to the psychological, the non-material side, we see how this principal hypothesis - that the development of slavery was central to the development of ancient Greece - is consistent also with the first principal

13 Or William Golding's Lord of the Flies.

hypothesis, that Greek society in the Dark Age was essentially egalitarian and gradually became stratified. For the person who becomes a slave-holder is a person who becomes accustomed to authority; not simply to telling other people what to do and causing things to be done, but to decision-making; to responsibility; to being obeyed - that is, to expecting compliance, to not being opposed, to not having to persuade. In psychoanalytic theory,

decision making is not just an ego function; on the contrary, it is the function that creates the ego and, once created, keeps it going and growing(14).

Now, once this dimension is acknowledged, a host of Greek social phenomena crowd into the mind's eye; for instance, the remarkable anthropocentricity and anthropomorphism (ie. generalised egotism) of Greek religion and Greek philosophy; the remarkable independence and autonomy the Greek man demanded from and of his state, which gave rise to politics and polities; the importance of persuasion and the abhorrence of command amongst a free community - both of which are symptoms of well developed egos; and Aristotle's conviction that some people were slaves by nature(15). Indeed, full appreciation of the consequences of slavery in ancient Greece seems unattainable at present. A great deal more research into slavery, in the particular form it assumed in ancient Greece, is required. Where a reasonable case can be made for a significant role in development to be attributed in some

14 B.Bettelheim The Informed Heart: a study of the psychological consequences of living under extreme fear and terror 1986:70. On the other side of the coin, if the decision making faculty is not exercised in what are perceived to be important areas, it (and ego), like muscles and nerves, atrophies.

15 This belief of Aristotle's has too long been denigrated, excused, or presented as if it was a necessary lemma (in which he did not really believe but which he had to maintain for the sake of logical consistency) for other of his arguments. Psychology is a discipline in its infancy, but can already account for some of what seem to the untrained observer to be 'natural traits' - ie. by nature determined, in terms of environment and socialisation. See Bettelheim op.cit. for consideration of what is 'extreme' in the twentieth century AD, but what was in the past distressingly 'normal', and was the source of the Greeks' "bottomless, relativistic insecurity", on which see Finley AofA 1977:11-15 (the phrase is J.Jones').

way to slavery, I have indicated it. Of relevance here, for example, is the stratification of Athenian society, raised in chapter two in connection with the 'population boom' and the new Attik cemeteries, and in chapter five in connection with hektemorage and Solon's reforms.

In chapter six several leading ideas are welded together through high level abstractions and spatial analysis of Geometric period settlements. This work was carried out in the 1984/5 session in collaboration with Alan Wilson, Professor of Urban and Regional Geography at the University of Leeds. Historians traditionally deal in particulars, not abstractions, and some abstract concepts I have used throughout the thesis require elucidation.

1.3 Conceptual tools employed in the thesis

The first of these is resources. Power theorists seem to have been the first to use this term in a technical sense to refer to non-material, as well as material, assets which a person might draw upon in social action (about thirty years ago(16)). It is a natural term for such assets. In order to distinguish between material and non-material resources, A.Giddens conjoined the adjective allocative to refer to the former (since material resources are mobilized principally through allocation) and authoritative to refer to the latter (since non-material resources are mobilized principally through authorisation)(17). Allocative resources is a concept easy to understand; what it signifies are concrete, visible, quantifiable things like land, tractors and money. Moreover, social theory has, until very recently, been prone to concentrate almost exclusively on material things, perhaps because they are easier to grasp physically.

 16 See R.Dahl 'The concept of power' Behavioural Science 2(1957)201-218.

17 Cf. esp. CP 1979:91f, 100f; CC 1981:4f, 51f; CS 1984:258-262, 373 (glossary).

Consequently, conceptual tools have been developed to facilitate their capture by the mind - conceptual tools we now take for granted, such as 'capital' and 'labour'. Authoritative resources is a concept easy to grasp in principle but, because what it signifies are abstract, invisible, qualitative things like authority, responsibility and status, and because adequate conceptual tools through which these phenomena might be grasped more firmly have not yet been developed, it is in practice a 'soft' concept which 'oils' sticky problems, so to speak, rather than cuts through them. The concept is, nevertheless, a useful one with enormous potential. I believe, with Giddens, that authoritative resources are more important than allocative resources in pre-capitalist societies, and at least as important even in a modern capitalist state(18). I also think that the development of sharper concepts to better grasp and understand, and of theories to better explain, this dimension of human society will come to the fore in the next few decades, complementing the previous advances in understanding the material dimension achieved over the last century. But that development will proceed by making use of crude conceptual tools to fashion and suggest less crude concepts; therefore I make no apology for employing this rather vague but intuitively helpful concept of authoritative resources.

The notion of power can, however, be made more sharp than Giddens prefers to make it without, I think, loss of theoretical insight into the relationship between resources and the reproduction of social life. I have found Galbraith's typology, advanced in The Anatomy of Power, extremely useful, and have drawn upon his concepts of condign, compensatory and conditioned power throughout the thesis. These concepts refer to the three reasonably obvious ways in which power may be exercised; by threat or use of force, by promise of reward, and by conditioning, respectively. He writes

Condign power wins submission by the ability to impose an alternative to the preferences of the individual or group that is sufficiently unpleasant or painful so that those preferences are abandoned. There is an overtone of punishment in the term(19).

The galley slave's fear of the whip (or worse) and a speaker's fear of rebuke are cited as examples, and we may think of condign power in terms of a 'stick behind' (bearing in mind that the stick may be verbal - English idiom possesses the very same word and sense) as a shorthand.

Compensatory power, in contrast, wins submission by the offer of affirmative reward - by the giving of something of value to the individual so submitting...and as personal or public rebuke is a form of condign power, so praise is a form of compensatory power(20).

As a shorthand, we could think of compensatory power as a 'carrot in front'. In both cases, the person submitting is usually aware of his or her submission, inspired by the fear of punishment or the promise of reward. Giddens' insistence on the two 'faces of power' (not three(21)) is not at issue here: condign and compensatory power are both facets of the conscious, 'decision-making', face.

Conditioned power, in contrast, is exercised by changing belief. Persuasion, education, or the social commitment to what seems natural, proper or right causes the individual to submit to the will of another or of others. The submission reflects the preferred course; the fact of submission is not recognized(22).

Conditioned power is the 'non-decision-making' face of power, and Galbraith, like Giddens, stresses that actors exercising conditioned power may well (and often) do so unknowingly and unintentionally. Galbraith also avoids treating power itself as a resource, but rather identifies three sources of power, each of which has a primary association with one of the three instruments through which power is exercised: personality, property, and organisation respectively. In modern times, personality has a primary association with conditioned power, and (possibly because) the exercise of condign power by indi-

19 AP 1984:4.

20 AP 1984:5.

21 Cf. CP 1979:88-93 and CS 1984:15, 93.

22 Galbraith AP 1984:5f.

viduals, from the slave-holder through the wife-beater to the school bully (even the private vigilante acting in the 'public good'), is considered legally and morally wrong. The exercise of condign power is now considered a prerogative of agencies of the state(23), ie. organisations, broadly divisible into the military, for dealings with people who are not members of the state, and the civil(24), for dealings with people who are. 'Taking the law into one's own hands' is itself an infringement of the law in some contemporary societies, including our own. But the historian must beware anachronism, and the contrast with ancient Greece in this respect could hardly be greater. As Andrew Lintott has shown recently, in a valuable and lucid study of a very neglected area (violence in the ancient city),

In general, in Greek and Roman society a man was expected to execute through private means many acts which are now done for him by the state. As we have seen, he had to defend himself, with the aid of his neighbours, against those who violated his household. If a man wished to bring his adversary before some judge or arbitrator, it was up to him to get his opponent there, however serious the offence...private force was also required to execute a judgement or to assert other rights. A person alleged to be a fugitive slave in both Greek and Roman society was arrested with little ceremony, and release from this arrest, at least for the time being, depended on rescue from a passer-by who was prepared to act as prostates or vindex...thus rescue from slavery required the physical intervention of an outsider who by himself laying hold of the alleged slave challenged the current possessor's right to this person...there is no doubt that rights ultimately depended for protection on the strength of the group to which the person belonged...much of the physical force was used in pursuit of what were believed to be rights. This violence was thus viewed by its users not as a negation of law and order but its reinforcement(25).

Galbraith is thus correct when he says that personality "has an original and long-standing association with condign power"(26). And here I must draw attention to a distinction between Galbraith's typology and that of Giddens' colleague, the sociologist W.G.Runciman, who has

 23 Or would-be state organisations, who may claim the right to exercise condign power over their members, and sometimes over non-members, for example the PLO.

24 For example, the police force, judiciary and prison service.

25 Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City 750-330 BC 1982:26-28.

26 AP 1984:39.

recently written specifically on the subject of ancient Greece(27).

Runciman's three types of power correspond approximately to Galbraith's but with one important difference. Galbraith's compensatory power and its primary association with property corresponds to Runciman's type 1(28). But whilst Galbraith's condign power corresponds to Runciman's type 3(29), and his conditioned power corresponds to Runciman's type 2(30), the corresponding primary associations, personality and organisation respectively (according to Galbraith's typology) are reversed in Runciman's. Galbraith's has been preferred because it has been constructed with greater awareness of the differences between the past and the modern nation-state, and in consequence he has avoided building in elements peculiar to the modern nation-state, which could be a source of anachronism if the typology is applied to other times and places, as it is here(31).

Consistent with Giddens' argument that authoritative resources are generally more important than allocative, is Galbraith's that conditioned power is the most important type of power (indeed, he argues that it is indispensable in some degree or other(32)), for authorita-

27 'Origins of States: the Case of Ancient Greece' CSSH 24(1982)351-377.

28 "Possession of or control over the sources and distribution of wealth and therewith the ability to offer or withhold the means of subsistence", ibid. 1982:361.

29 "Command of the technical and organisational means of physical coercion" idem.

30 Basically, 'ideological'. As Galbraith prefaced his definitions, "it is a measure of how slightly the subject of power has been analyzed that the three reasonably obvious instruments of its exercise do not have generally accepted names: these must be provided" (AP 1984:4). I have to refer to Runciman's 'types' because he fails to attach names to them.

31 Runciman's typology, on the other hand, runs into difficulties when, for example, the "organisational means of physical coercion", (ie. the civil and military agencies concerned with enforcement or enactment of decisions) is not a standing army, every member of which has sworn allegiance to something or someone and is subject to the strictest discipline our society recognises; but instead is composed of every male adult citizen, who could participate - and was expected to participate (if only through his vote) - in any decision about war and peace, whose highest officers were ten, strictly equal men, who 'took turns' as 'chairman', were elected annually, and so on.

32 Cf. AP 1984:54-59. So Russell (Power: a new social analysis

tive resources derive from the capability to organise the activities of other people. The 'raw material' of authoritative resources is people, and organisation represents the harnessing of that power source. Like all sources of power in the natural world, it needs to be garnered and concentrated; it needs to be accumulated in order to constitute a power source. But here the analogy stops: the great difference between people and, say, sunbeams, is that the rules which govern human behaviour are self-made and constantly remade - every time a person follows (or 'breaks') the rule. Rules which govern human behaviour are more like paths than physical laws or mathematical algorithms because, more like paths, they are made by the feet which have trodden this way before. Like paths, some may be broad and some may be narrow; some may be fenced and some may not (some thus permitting deviations from the established direction more easily than others); some may be well-worn, some barely marked, others may be overgrown and neglected.

Another concept frequently employed is locale. This concept is intended to refer not merely to the space in which human activities take place, but also to the setting in which they occur. A church, for example, is a particular kind of building in which a specific type of activity occurs. It also has a particular kind of 'atmosphere', not all of which can be accounted for by reference to the monuments, memorials, trophies, tombs, cult ephemera and so on which may reside there. These things help to store the traditions of the Church, of this particular church, of past members of this particular parish, of rites of passage celebrated at this place, and so on. But the actual 'acting out' of the various rituals, and the individual's memory of rituals experienced, and secular, non-ritual activities which are

1938:163), "power is dependent upon organisation in the main", and (although I have not yet had chance to digest his argument properly) this would seem to be even more strongly emphasized by Mann in The Sources of Social Power 1986.

somehow associated with rituals celebrated in a church - these too contribute to the setting of the place. The feeling that thousands of people have passed through a place is a very profound one for the historically sensitive. The feeling that God is present at a place is a very profound one for the spiritually sensitive, as well as the devout believer. A locale somehow associated with organisation, with concentration of human activity (or energy), whether direct(33) or indirect(34), such as a church, may be usefully considered in terms of a 'container'. Human energy is accumulated and stored there. These concepts, briefly sketched, will, I hope, assume clearer form and colour through use in the text.

The next matter to be addressed is the use of Homer as an historical source.

1.4 On Homer and history

Scholars differ widely in their attitudes to Homer as a source of history. At one extreme are those who do not recognise a reference to the poems as a reference at all; at the other are those who treat the poems with the same deference accorded them by the Classical Greeks. The major issues involved have been discussed recently with some sophistication by Ian Morris(35). He argues - convincingly in my opinion - that the poems were constantly recreated until fossilized in writing, and offers a perceptive and thorough critique of the 'two stages' idea that the poems were composed in one generation and then transmitted orally, almost verbatim, for several or even many generations until fixed in writing. If Homer was the poet of the Iliad and the Odyssey essentially as we have them, then he lived at the time when they were fixed in writing. If he lived in an earlier genera-

33 That is, the activity organised there occurs there.

34 That is, the activity organised there actually occurs elsewhere.

35 I.Morris 'The Use and Abuse of Homer' Classical Antiquity 5(1986)81-138.

tion, then the poems we have are not Homer's but those of some other poet(s). Since 'Homer' is usually considered to be no more than a label for the poet of the poems - whoever he (or she) was - this is of rather obtuse relevance. The important point is that the society the poet implicitly portrays is that of the latter half of the eighth century. The many arguments Morris brings to bear to support this hypothesis are cogent and consistent with those of scholars of oral poetry and oral societies, and include a more forceful restatement of some of the arguments of Parry and Lord which have been misunderstood or underappreciated by Homeric scholars and ancient historians.

Morris gets to the crux of the Homeric problem, I think, when he refers to scholars' intuitive feelings about what eighth century society must have been like - which is not the society revealed in the poems - as the mainspring of the argument which seeks to push Homer and the society depicted by him back into the safe murk of the Dark Age. He points out that such scholars have rather vague ideas about what they think eighth century society was like; they seem to be sure only that it cannot have been what we see in the poems. The argument that we are guilty of circular reasoning if we use the Homeric poems as contemporary sources on eighth century society is two-edged. For this argument rests upon almost complete ignorance of what eighth century society was 'really like', therefore the same argument can be turned against those who propose that it cannot have been akin to the society of the poems.

The intuitive feeling that, whatever Greek society in the eighth century was like, it cannot have been like that of the poems, is clearly teleological. It is based not on secure knowledge of Greek society in the eighth century, but upon an image of 'glorious Greece' which is still tremendously idealized, generally inflationary in scale, and hampered by inadequate models of social change. The Homeric world is basic, very violent, and almost anarchic; the 'heroes' are extremely egotistical, emotional and childish; and the gods

are all too human in their petty spitefulness and callous interference in others' affairs. It seems to be a world apart from the calm dignity and self-assured pose of the Classical statue; from the harmonious proportions and grandeur of the Classical temple; from the soaring metaphysics of Plato and the sublime tragedy of Aischylos. In short, the Homeric world seems a world apart from the glory that was Greece.

Since both worlds belong to the same historical trajectory, the history of Greece, the change must be related to time. Now, there is a strong tendency to equate change with time in equal units (ie. change occurs at a regular rate, therefore a small change may happen in a short time but a major change takes a long time; major changes are thus usually explained in terms of 'build up', 'approaching crisis', 'revolution' and 'settling in (or down)'). Since the two pictures are so different, and since the Classical ('glorious') world is fairly firmly anchored around 400 BC, the Homeric world must, on this sort of reasoning, belong to a much earlier period. 'Much' is, of course, a relative term. There are few scholars (if any) who would date the society depicted in the Homeric epics after 700; the Homeric world is generally believed to have existed at least 300 years before the Classical period. Now 300 years is a long time: 300 years forward from the mid-classical period takes us straight to Marius' sixth consulship and the birth of Julius Caesar. Three hundred years is the difference between now and 1686, which was a mere twenty years after the Great Plague and fire of London, eleven years after The Pilgrim's Progress was published, and two years after Wren completed Trinity College library. 1686 is two years before William III landed in England (the 'Glorious Revolution') and Newton published his Philosophiae Naturalia Principia Mathematica, and nineteen years before the English and Scottish Parliaments were united(36).

36 It was also twenty-six years before the slave revolt in New York

Therefore, if the idea that change is continuous and occurs at a steady rate is found difficult to overcome, there is still 'plenty of time' available to accommodate the transformation from Homeric society to Classical society.

The next point to address is, in what sense can the Homeric poems be used as sources of history? Morris approaches the question by asking cui bono?, following Finley's recommendation(37) and, like Finley (and others), finds the elite at the bottom of the problem. One again gets the impression that this solution is in some sense the default option, the 'answer' which is assumed in the absence of a user-defined alternative. For Finley, the survival of the oral traditions from which and of which Homer spun his tale

must be credited largely to the noble families...(for) they alone, in most circumstances at least, had both the interest to 'remember' events and incidents which mattered to them (for whatever reason), and the status to impress that memory, whether true or false, so as to convert it into a public tradition...the objective was an immediate and practical one, whether it was fully conscious or not, and that was the enhancement of prestige or the warranty of power or the justification of an institution(38).

Methodological objections aside(39), I personally find this impossible

and the last execution of a 'witch' in England, 45 years before John Hadley invented the navigational sextant, 51 years before the Medici rule ended in Tuscany, 73 years before the first canal was opened in England, and 100 years before Cook sailed on his first voyage of discovery to the Antipodes (one year after Bougainville had circumnavigated the world).

37 UAH 1986:28.

38 Idem.

39 For example, this contradicts what he had stated (correctly) one page earlier that, "wherever tradition can be studied among living people, the evidence is not only that it does not exist apart from a connection with a practice or belief, but also that other kinds of memory, irrelevant memories, so to speak, are short lived, going back to the third generation, to the grandfather's generation, and, with the rarest of exceptions, no further. This is true even of genealogies, unless they are recorded in writing; it may be taken as a rule that orally transmitted genealogies, unless some very powerful interest intervenes (such as charismatic kingship), are often distorted, disputed or wholly fictitious beyond the fourth generation, and often even beyond the third. There is a nice Greek illustration: the Homeric heroes recite their genealogies frequently and in detail, and without exception a few steps take them from human ancestors to gods and goddesses" (my emphases). The Homeric heroes, whose genealogies are based on the traditions supposedly 'remembered' by the noble families because they alone had the interest to keep such memories 'relevant', have the short-

to reconcile with the Greeks' attitude to poetry(40), viz., that it dealt in universals, in generalities, not in particularities of the kind with which history traditionally deals. One could say, as Morris might, that this just demonstrates how successful the poems were as ideological tools for shaping attitudes and beliefs. But if, as Finley and Morris believe, the Homeric poems served the interests of an elite under attack - and an elite which was, in the not too distant future, to be ousted by 'popular' acclaim if not popular uprising - how do we explain the poems' undiminished popularity, even in the heyday of radical democracy? In what sense could they have been perceived by the Greeks to serve class interests? If the elite heard "what they wanted to hear" in the Homeric poems (Morris), why did those who were discontented with and would overthrow this supposed elite not hear it also, and reject the poems when they rejected the elite?

The question cui bono? is one an historian addresses to historical documents in the proper sense, and presumes that the poems can be used as historical documents of this genre. But the Iliad and the Odyssey are works of fiction, not governmental papers deliberately released. It is not that the question cui bono? is not an interesting one to ask and one which might prove illuminating as an approach to the texts. But it is a question more appropriate to, say, Thukydides' Peloponnesian War. Let me clarify this: Finley astutely compares Thukydides' War with Tolstoy's War and Peace(41), and points out that what we are pleased to call his 'history' is largely, in fact, a

lived three generation memory bank common to contemporary 'traditional' societies, that is, to those societies uncharitably called 'primitive' or 'simple'. Therefore, according to the rule, there were no interests powerful enough in Dark Age Greece to make genealogies relevant. Therefore there was nothing exceptional about the way the traditions communicated to Homer were communicated to him, and thus there is no need to posit exceptional agents in the process of communication such as nobles and priests.

40 And the Homeric poems do not merely belong to this category, they dominate it.

41 UAH 1986:31-33.

'record' of contemporary events, where 'record' includes a large amount of authorial creativity in the sense of production (eg. the speeches) as well as selection of material, in a sequential narrative of actual events. So, I mean that the question cui bono? is more appropriate to what is still more a piece of literature by an historically-minded artist, than a historical document in the sense that a decree is (for the analysis of which cui bono? is essential). Now the poems are not historically-conscious in the way that Thukydides' War is. They are located in time, of course; time past. But so is Euripides' Trojan Women. Their plots unfold through time, of course, but they unfold through dramatic time - neither time past nor time present, but a floating 'poem time' in which all points are relative to others in the drama: there is no absolute chronology. It is a poetic relative chronology, in which each 'fixed' point is 'fixed' as 'three days after' another time, which may have been 'the night before' another point, which may have been 'in the ninth year after the start of the war', which is a point undated except by reference to 'after this happened', and so on.

Similarly, the 'events' are dramatic events, not real events. Even if a 'Trojan War' took place as a real event sometime in the past, it is essentially irrelevant. If it actually did happen, we will never know if we know anything about it. We cannot identify genuine 'memories' from embroideries on genuine memories, transpositions of genuine memories from a 'real' reference to another 'real' reference(42), the same of each but where the 'genuine' memory - although genuine - was incorporated into the 'Ur-' songs at a later time, where 'later time' means every occasion on which the songs were sung from the original creation of each constituent 'tradition' to the time at which the epics were ossified in writing. Thus, even if there are 'grains of

42 For example, suppose that the war known as the Trojan War was actually fought, but it was fought over Iasos not Ilion.

truth' in the silo of the poems, we have no way of identifying them, and therefore, to all intents and purposes, they might as well not exist.

If by 'history' we mean a narrative account of real events told in chronological sequence, the Homeric poems are unusable as sources from which to construct such a history, either of the dramatic time to which they purport to refer, or of the real time in which they were fixed in writing. If, on the other hand, by 'history' we mean a narrative reconstruction of what society was like, in terms of the actions, attitudes, values and beliefs held by people living in the past, then the Homeric poems are important sources from which to build a history of the time in which they were fixed in writing - but not of any time prior to that. For we cannot identify 'traditional' behaviour patterns, attitudes, values and beliefs from those recently established, in precisely the same ways and for precisely the same reasons that we cannot identify 'genuine memories' and 'grains of truth'. We may, however, be able to distinguish those which are in flux: behaviour patterns, attitudes, values and beliefs which are undergoing major transformations may be contended and contested, as the new struggles to replace the old.

From the actions, attitudes, values and beliefs expressed or assumed in the poems, we can make *deductions about social structure* in the times in which the poems were written down. On this approach, references to the epics assume the status either of 'problem to be solved', when the hexameters in question seem to assume the existence of something not accommodated in current interpretations or inconsistent with the consensus model on the matter, or of 'example' of action, attitudes and suchlike which are consistent with a social structure deduced from a set of hexameters of similar content and/or from other deduced structures.

Chapter 2: The Expansion of the Greek World (I) External

This 'structural revolution' took place not merely within the Archaic period but at its beginning. It established the economic basis of Greek society, as well as the main outlines of its social framework.

A.M.Snodgrass

Archaic Greece: the Age of Experiment

1980:13.

2.1 Introduction

The eighth century BC was a mercurial time during which Greek society was transformed: the preceding four centuries are characterised by a material poverty and documentary silence which has spawned the label 'the Dark Age'; the succeeding three centuries are characterised by a wealth of material and literary evidence which is associated with the label 'Ancient Greece'. This transformation was a structural revolution touching every aspect of Greek life. An integral part of this structural revolution was an expansion overseas, which began in earnest in the eighth century. This expansion brought about a massive increase in allocative and authoritative resources, and was at the centre of the structural revolution.

There are currently two major hypotheses which attempt to explain the expansion abroad. According to one, which may be called 'the land hypothesis', the migration may be visualised as being 'pushed from behind' by inadequate resources, especially land, at home; according to the other, which may be called 'the trade hypothesis', it may be visualised as being 'pulled from in front' by the lure of resources abroad. Neither are entirely satisfactory explanations, although each has its merits and its proponents. However, a number of scholars have recently begun to argue that war and plunder were major sources of income in antiquity(1), and by developing such arguments I will advance a new hypothesis in this chapter, which may be called the

1 E.g.M.I.Finley AH 1985 chap.5, A.M.Snodgrass AG:AE 1980 chap.4, S.Humphreys AAG 1978 chap.7, Cartledge 'Trade and Politics Revisited: Archaic Greece' in Trade in the Ancient Economy edd.P.Garnsey, K.Hopkins & C.W.Whittaker, 1983. These all derive from a general agreement with the view of ancient society advanced by Hasebroek Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece 1933 (orig.publ.in German Staat und Handel im alten Griechenland 1928). The importance of war and plunder as a major source of income was not lost on earlier generations of scholars, eg. Coleridge: "To early Rome, war and conquest were the substitutes for trade and commerce. War was their trade." On the Constitution of the Church and State 2nd.ed.1830, 1972 repr.ed.J.Barrell, Dent p.17. W.K.Pritchett GMP 1971 chap.3 has made a significant inroad into this area.

acquisition hypothesis. I will try to show that this hypothesis provides a better explanation for the earliest stages of the expansion overseas, and in particular that it relates that expansion both to the institutionalisation of slavery, and to the wider structural transformation.

2.2 The Eighth Century Revolution: summary of innovations

During the eighth century foreign influences began to penetrate Greece on a scale hitherto unknown. Contact with the east was probably never completely broken during the Dark Age (most going via Kypros and Rhodes it seems). But during the period c.750 - 650 that contact was different in kind, and not merely degree(2). For example, the domestic chicken (known as 'the Persian bird', although in fact from India) was introduced(3); the orientalisng phase in art began(4); the alphabet was adapted from the Phoenician script and fairly widespread literacy was quick to follow(5); the Homeric epics, which show some (albeit few) oriental influences(6), spread from Ionia to the mainland and became widely known; Hesiod's Theogony and Works and Days were composed, influenced by Near Eastern cosmologies and wisdom literature(7); technical skills, such as the lost wax process of bronze

2 All dates given in this thesis are conventional chronology, currently being challenged (see further below).

3 Kratinos (fl.450 BC) apud Athenaios 9.374; Menodotos apud ibid. 14.655a says it came via his home state of Samos. Cf. Murray, EG 1980:80.

4 Cf. Coldstream, in GR 1983:210.

5 A. Johnston 'The extent and use of literacy; the archaeological evidence' GR 1983:63-68. Coldstream GG 1977:295-302. J. Bouzek suggested the Greek script began by at least 800 BC, review of GR, Gnomon 1985:154-158. On the consequences, cf. J. Goody & I. Watt 'The consequences of literacy' Literacy in Traditional Societies ed. J. Goody 1968:27-68. For alternative view Finley, PolAW 1983:29-31. Lloyd's distinction between writing per se and an alphabetic system of writing is important, as is his resistance to monocausal explanations, Magic, Reason & Experience 1979:239f.

6 W. Burkert 'Oriental myth and literature in the Iliad' GR 1983:51-56. Cf. also his general study on interrelations between the Near East and Greece, Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual 1979.

7 See the commentaries of M. L. West, Theogony 1966 and Works 1978, and Verdenius A Commentary on Hesiod Works and Days vv.1-382 1985.

casting, were transferred to Greece(8); and there was a definite upsurge in population(9). Clearly interaction between the societies around the Mediterranean intensified, the chief travellers appearing to be Greeks and Phoenicians. Isolated finds testify to Greek presence or influence by the early eighth century in Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt. Italy, Sicily, France, Spain and the Black Sea region have joined the list by the seventh. Phoenician influence is seen in the same areas (except the Black Sea) and in Greece.

The word 'influence' is used because material evidence for this inter-societal contact is almost nil; the nature of the exchange remains elusive. Generally speaking, Greek 'imports' and 'exports' are invisible. Invisible in the archaeological record and invisible in the literary sources: reading Herodotos one could be forgiven for thinking that money grew on trees, so to speak, particularly in Italy, Sicily and Thrace(10). Other authors from Thukydides to Aristotle are little more informative - people and states just seem to 'acquire things'(11), and archaeology, to borrow a witticism from Alfred North

- P.Walcot Hesiod and the Near East 1966. Murray EG 1980:86-91.
 P.Millet 'Hesiod and his World' PCPS 210(1984)84-115.
- 8 Murray EG 1980:81. Cf.Lloyd MR&E 1979:236 for a note of caution on later technical changes. G.Davenport ('The House that Jack Built' in The Geography of the Imagination 1984:59) connects the legend of Daedalos' golden honeycomb (made for the temple of Artemis at Eryx) with the lost-wax process, but the legend probably refers to its introduction into Greece rather than its invention. Note that the location is Eryx, an Elymite Sicilian community.
- 9 Coldstream GGP 1968:360f; ibid. GG 1977:109, 135(Attika), 152(Argolid), 221-3 and index. Melos, C.Renfrew & M.Wagstaff (edd.) An Island Polity 1982. The chief advocate and quantifier is A.M. Snodgrass; DAG 1971:337-339 and fig.105 p.338; ARGS 1977; AG:AE 1980, and 'Two demographic notes' in GR 1983 (with discussion same vol. 210-212). J. Bouzek Homerisches Griechenland 1969:59 fig.21 and R.Hagg Die Graber der Argolis 1974 tabs.1 and 19 for tabulation showing the small size of late Dark Age settlements as indicated by cemeteries. For an alternative interpretation J.McK.Camp 'A Drought in the eighth century BC' Hesp. 48(1979)398-411, partially ceded in GR 211. For the problems reconciling population estimates with the amount of land available, J.Bintliff & A.M.Snodgrass 'The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotia Expedition: the First Four Years' Journal of Field Archaeology 12(1985)123-161, esp. An Excursus on Population Density.
- 10 Cf. also eg.Theognis 179-80 (Loeb ed.)
- 11 The Greek word for money is khremata: besides coinage it also means goods, property, chattels; in the singular khrema something

Whitehead, "leaves the darkness of the subject unobscured"(12).

Consequently, trade goods are assumed to have been perishables, such as foodstuffs, textiles, hides, and slaves. Oriental imports are similarly conspicuous by their absence, yet indigenous products clearly show eastern 'influence' or technical skill. Since these 'influences' and skills could only be learnt by personal contact, it is thought that Greeks must have lived and worked in those countries imbibing ideas, styles and skills, adapting them to their own cultural inheritance on return. (The same situation prevails in other European Iron Age cultures(13).)

That these cross-cultural influences resulted from exchange by fair trading is, however, an assumption of some magnitude. The Greek god of the market, Hermes, was also the patron deity of thieves(14).

that one uses or needs, impers. khre meaning fated, necessary. The association between these ideas and slavery is close in the elements of compulsion, of fate, and of possession. This perhaps elucidates some of the obscurities surrounding the Tegeans' pledge to the Spartans not to khrestous poiein the Messenians (cf.F.Jacoby 'KHRESTOUS POIEIN' CQ 38(1944)15-16, also P.Cartledge SL 1979:138f). Namely, rather than pledging not to make them politically useful ie. citizens, they pledged not to make them practically useful ie. slaves.

- 12 Quoted (without reference) by M.Gardiner The Whys of a Philosophical Scrivener 1983:381 n.2. The ubiquitous pot is unsatisfactory evidence, since it indicates neither the origin (Aigina providing Occam's Razor) nor the profession of its last and careless owner (the point is not invalidated by the discovery at Olbia of what is almost certainly Aiginetan pottery, cf.I.B.Brashinskii Archaeologia 19(1969)45-59 (in Russian; I wish to thank Prof.Mattingly for providing me with a translation)). Cf.D.Ridgeway 'Composition and Provenance of Western Geometric Pottery: A Prospectus' PIA1 1978:121-129.
- 13 As they become better known it may transpire that there were more, and more diverse foreign influences in early Greek culture than hitherto supposed; cf.eg.J.Boardman 'A Southern View of Situla Art' The European Community in Later Prehistory 1971:123-140, and P.Courbin 'Obeloi d'Argolide et d'ailleurs' GR 1983:149-156. J.Bouzek art.cit. 1984 draws attention to the European tradition in architecture and temene structure, cult idols (xoana) and dedicatory objects.
- 14 Hdt.5.6.7 says the Thracian basilees pay particular reverence to Hermes; qua Greek god of thieves and the market it is interesting that the most reputable sources of income in Thracian thinking, which surely are those of their basilees, are war and plunder. Cf.also Odyssey 19.395-7, "This was his mother's glorious father, who surpassed all men | in thievery and the art of the oath, and the god Hermes | himself had endowed him..."

Grierson complained in 1959 that in most discussions of trade in the medieval period there was a

failure to distinguish between three different types of evidence; (i) evidence of the existence of traders, ie. of persons making a living by commerce; (ii) evidence of trade, in the narrow sense of the sale of specialised or surplus goods directly by producer to consumer without the intervention of any third party; and (iii) evidence for the distribution by unspecified means of goods, particularly luxury goods, and money(15).

Conditions at the end of the Dark Age, when Greeks like Odysseus came into contact with other Mediterranean peoples - and each other - suggest, as they do for the Medieval Dark Ages, "that the alternatives to trade were more important than trade itself: the onus probandi rests on those who believe the contrary to have been the case"(16). Since those who believe the contrary to have been the case have failed to take up the gauntlet, simply ignored it or perhaps have not even noticed it was ever thrown down, the onus of proof, as with the Bucher-Meyer controversy, seems to rest instead with the 'primitivists'. Let us then begin with these foreign influences.

Influences are psychological phenomena, borne in mens' heads rather than through their products(17). There is in the list of possible Greek trade items only one which possesses a psyche, the slave. An Athenian potter called Amasis (a good Egyptian name) showing Egyptian influence in his work was, in all likelihood, an Egyptian. That is the simplest and most obvious explanation. He may have been a metic (resident alien) but that should not be assumed(18). According to Aristotle (Pol. 1278a6-8) "there were some states in ancient times

15 CDA 1959:124.

16 Idem. 1959:140.

17 This is not to deny the communicative aspect of goods; it is merely to emphasize that people communicate better than objects.

18 On immigrant craftsmen and influences in archaeological material cf. Boardman GO 1980 passim esp.56-84, although he fails to consider the possibility that some of these workmen may have travelled on compulsion not curiosity. Likewise Bazant, 'On 'Export Models' in Athenian vase painting' Dacia 26(1982)145-152, whose argument is strengthened by the removal of this unfounded assumption. On metics per se cf. Whitehead The Ideology of the Athenian Metic (henceforth IAM) 1977.

where mechanics(19) were all slaves and foreigners and this is why most still are."

Even where slaves were not a dominant part of the economy, the skills they introduced could have major implications for the particular culture. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, as an example, many new technologies were introduced to Europe via Italy by Asian slaves, including the vertical-axle windmill, the hot-air turbine, and a new type of governor(20).

The 'orientalising phase' began c.750 in Greece(21) and shortly afterwards in Etruria(22), where Villanovan culture gives way to Etruscan without violence or change of settlement(23). The 'orientalising phase' in pot-painting began in Korinth when "a few bold pioneers suddenly abandoned Geometric principles altogether in favour of exotic

19 Mechanics are those occupied in the various arts and crafts Pol. 1291a1-4. Cf. O. Gigon 'Die Sklaverei bei Aristoteles' Fondation Hardt XI 1964:245-276 and discussion 277-283. For example, most of the (43) artists whose signatures can be made out on C.6 & C.5 inscriptions from the Athenian akropolis were non-Athenians, Raubitschek DAA 1949:473, 478. Modern difficulties with the various servile statuses perhaps result from over-rigid application of a definition of 'slave' which came into existence only in 1925, when the League of Nations, attempting to abolish the institution, needed an unambiguous definition of 'slave'. After prolonged debate the plenipotentiaries decided that (Article 1) "For the purpose of the present convention, the following definitions are agreed on: 1. Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised." (Cited from K. Simon Slavery 1930 Appendix 1.) This tends to lead to an overemphasis (even to the exclusion of all else) of the economic aspect, for which Finley's ASMI may be criticised; cf. the review by A.W. Saxonhouse in Political Theory 9(1981)577-579. O. Patterson SSD 1982:18-27 is an essential corrective.

20 O. Patterson SSD 1982:180.

21 Coldstream in GR 1983:210, "As a man who studies pots, I can say that almost every other form of art shows traces of Oriental influence from 750 onwards. But it is the labelling of pottery which gives us the term Orientalising for the seventh century. This is a verbal problem and no more."

22 The Etruscan 'Orientalising period' starts c.725-710, depending on the area, Hartman 'The Use of Iron in 9th and 8th Century Etruria' (henceforth UIE) PIA4 1985:285. One legend said the Etruscans came from Lydia (cf. Murray EG 1980:75); those who introduced the changes which mark the transition from Villanovan to Etruscan perhaps really did.

23 Collis EIA 1984:65. "We are not looking at a process which was ethnically determined, rather at a socio-economic acculturation which could cross linguistic boundaries" (p.66), cf. also pp.58-61. See also the summary of T.W. Potter 'Population Hiatus and Continuity: The case of the S.Etruria survey' PIA1 1978:99-116, esp. 105f.

plant ornament derived from the Near East"(24). Were not the 'few bold pioneers' pioneers only insofar as they were the first eastern slave pot-painters? I am unaware of any artistic movement in history where a major development is endogenous and sudden, especially in the matter of principles. Perhaps the vital transitional proto-ProtoKorinthian pots have not been recovered, but I suspect they never existed(25). It is perhaps not irrelevant that many 'pathbreaking' developments are on pots found in 'Greek' contexts outside 'mainland' Greece. For example, the 'tree of life' motif: 5 out of 12 vases ascribed to the artist who introduced this eastern motif (Cesnola Painter, or his 'colleagues') were found in Kypros or Al-Mina(26).

An immigrant population could hardly fail to affect the absorbing culture, especially when that population was usually employed in what the Greeks and others considered menial tasks, such as smelting and working metals, or making and decorating crockery. A slave loses his or her freedom, but does not lose his or her mind, cultural heritage, language, beliefs, habits and so on. They change during enslavement as he or she is assimilated into the new condition and circumstance. It is noticeable that it is especially in the areas of material culture - areas in which slaves were put to work - that semitic words are introduced into Greek at this time, for instance shapes of pottery vessels, words for articles of clothing, and fishing or sailing

24 J.N.Coldstream GG 1977:167.

25 The same can be seen in Argos, where a "riot" of new "jazzy" designs appear suddenly in the late C.8, Tomlinson A&A 1972:70.

26 Coldstream GG 1977:199. Of the eleven pots from the 'Cesnola collection' in the Institute of Archaeology in London, all those of known provenance came from Kypros, J.Matters et.al. (ref. in n.225 below) 1983:371. See also eg.H.A.Shapiro 'Amazons, Thracians, Scythians' GRBS 24(1983)112 n.45, "It is interesting that the earliest Attic fragments (at Berezan and Theodosia) are by the two black-figure painters who first depicted foreign archers". As Finley pointed out (E&S 1983:271 n.8) those Athenian C.5 and C.4 vase-painters who signed themselves 'Kοκκῆϊαν' or 'the Skythian' were "surely slaves".

terms(27). Similarly, Greek tradition was unanimous in believing that Phoenicians introduced the alphabet into Greece; the hypothesis that the alphabet was invented by Greeks living in Phoenicia or a mixed community in Kypros is unnecessary, expressly contrary to the traditional explanation, and clearly ethnocentric. Why is it not possible to accept that Phoenicians were in Greece (and Etruria)? Recent work has established that the alphabet derives from the N.Syrian script, "specifically the cursive writing used in business activity"(28). That Al-Mina was the point of contact and diffusion is only a guess, but it is a very plausible one(29). The wide dissemination, local variation, lack of standardisation (especially in the adapted signs phi and khi)(30), and the fact that literacy was never confined to a particular class or group in Greece may be more easily explained if, as Murray suggests(31), it "was the result of the unskilled initiative of local merchants" - or rather, of merchandise. Many of these cross-cultural influences might, then, have been brought into the societies

27 Murray EG 1980:80, one of which may well be trireme. Hipponax, who uses other unGreek words (Frankel EGPP 1975:150 n.46), is the first author to use trieres, Kirk 'Ships on Geometric Vases' BSA 44(1949)141 (henceforth SGV). Bergonzi 'Southern Italy and the Aegean during the late Bronze Age: economic strategies and specialised craft production' PIA4 1985:368 argued that cultural intrusions and mixtures around the Mediterranean - both 'advanced' in barbaroi contexts and barbaroi in 'advanced' - is best explained by small numbers of isolated but highly mobile craftsmen living and working in alien cultures. He, like Boardman, fails to consider that this movement could be compulsory. L.Pauli does not: "Central Europe could not offer much else (besides slaves) in exchange...the contacts were not limited to the exchange of goods; there must also have been an active exchange of people. Such exchanges did not only bring technical know-how, but also beliefs and ideas in the realms of art, religion and politics", 'Early Celtic Society: two centuries of wealth and turmoil in Central Europe' Settlement and Society edd.T.C.Champion and J.V.S.Megaw (henceforth SS) 1985:33f.

28 Finley EG:BA 1981:84.

29 Cf. Finley idem. See further below, sect.5.

30 Cf. fig.94 in Coldstream's GG 1977:297, and his discussion pp.295-302 of the variants. A fuller table of variants can be found in Snodgrass AG:AE 1980:80. Similarly, Greek letters were later used to express other languages; cf. Whitehouse & Wilkin's criticisms regarding Sicilian inscriptions in various (and dubious) languages - all written in Greek letterforms, 'Magna Graecia before the Greeks: towards a reconciliation of the evidence' PIA4 1985:89-109 esp.90-95.

31 EG 1980:95.

which exhibit them in the heads of foreigners. How, why and from where did they come into Greece?

2.3 Colonisation

About the middle of this century the process known as 'the colonising movement' began. This term is doubly misleading, since it suggests that the settlements which were founded were analogous to 'colonies' in the modern colonial sense, and that the process by which they were founded was more organised than was in fact the case(32). Two hypotheses are commonly adduced to explain this expansion. One, which may be called the land hypothesis, is based on the idea that this 'movement' was 'pushed from behind' by "population pressure", the chief object being the acquisition of land. However, it has long been recognised that the earliest settlements do not occupy the best, or even good, agricultural land, and are (rather mysteriously) the most distant from the homelands. Consequently a second hypothesis, which may be called the trade hypothesis, was advanced based on the idea that this 'movement' was 'pulled from in front', the chief object being the pursuit of trade, especially trade for metals.

The land hypothesis: a critique: The land hypothesis, quite apart from its weakness in explaining the early settlements, is rather simplistic: colonies have land, therefore land was the object. "Population pressure" is treated as an independent variable, and there is rarely any attempt to distinguish between pressure caused by population growth, by famine, drought, or other natural phenomenon, each of which could give rise to a situation of too many mouths for the available resources, or by some social constraint such as the system of land tenure(33). Korinth, an early and relatively prodigious

32 Cf. Finley 'Colonies - an Attempt at a Typology' Trans. Royal Hist. Soc. 26(1976)167-188.

33 There is a useful discussion of the anthropological implications of population growth in Population Growth ed. B. Spooner 1972, espe-

'colonising' state, has been excavated almost down to native rock: there is no sign that this state was "overpopulated in the sense that available land was overbuilt"(34), nor did it become so: "much land in the city must have remained uninhabited throughout the life of Classical and Hellenistic Corinth"(35).

The instance most commonly cited in support of the land hypothesis is that of Kyrene(36). What most discussions fail to mention is that the original 'colonists' went in two boats, at most two hundred men (no women), that the occasion was a famine caused by prolonged drought (not too little land), and that there were continual injunctions from the god Apollo to go to Libya. 'Land shortage' was not amongst the stated 'causes' then, nor should it be now. Moreover, the fact that colonies made provision for land holdings explains nothing:

A moment's reflection will show that the philosophical ideal of economic self-sufficiency (autarky) only has meaning if the town and its surrounding territory are taken together as a unit. (In this connection we may note that the division of the land is a fundamental aspect of the founding of a colony..)(37).

Modern methods of food production and processing have allowed the dissociation of the urban from the rural environment; until very recently every settlement had to have sufficient land to produce the bulk of its foodstuffs(38). This was true also of the emporia, often

cially D.E.Dumond's paper 'Population Growth and Political Evolution'. F.Gearing 'Sovereignties and Jural Communities in Political Evolution' Essays on the Problem of Tribe ed.Helm 1967:111-119 suggests that the "merest" population rise can stimulate the emergence of legal/constitutional notions and laws. For recent material on demographic change and stability in developing countries see Reproductive Change in Developing Countries: insights from the World Fertility Survey edd.J.Cleland and J.Hobcraft 1985, with many of the salient findings presented in tables.

- 34 C.Roebuck 'Some Aspects of Urbanisation at Corinth' Hesp. 41(1972)104.
- 35 C.K.Williams II 'The City of Corinth and its Domestic Religion' Hesp 50(1981)409. Cf.also Finley EG:BA 1981:96f.
- 36 Herodotos 4.150.3-151.3, 153, 155.3-158.
- 37 T.J.Cowell 'The Foundation of Rome in the Ancient Literary Tradition' PIA1 1978:131-140, quotation p.133.
- 38 The Athenian and Roman corn supplies being the exception which proves the rule. The debate on the regularity, importance and quantity of intra- and inter-regional trade in necessities (read 'grain') is well represented in Trade and Famine in Classical Antiquity Cambridge Philological Society Supp.8, 1983 edd.P.Garnsey

misleadingly translated 'ports-of-trade'(39).

An examination of the evidence does not shed light on the distinction, made since antiquity, between the 'colonie de peuplement' and the emporion: since no important settlement could exist without commercial exchange or land resources, such an established classification is at times difficult(40).

It is precisely during the earliest stages of the expansion that a 'population explosion' seems to have begun in Attika and the Argolid at least, these being the only areas at present for which there is a sufficient body of archaeological evidence, and which have been examined from a demographic perspective(41). These are two areas which traditionally did not join in the expansion and settlement abroad, which is as puzzling as Korinth's contrary pattern if 'population pressure' was the 'prime mover' behind the 'colonising movement'. Moreover, the apparent "meteoric"(42) rate of growth in Attika (4% per annum) is broaching the theoretical maximum(43). Snodgrass, the leading advocate and quantifier of this 'boom', makes two important assumptions (idem(44)): (i) the rate of burials equals the rate of birth, and (ii) Attika had a closed population at the time. However, Manville points out that the variety of burial practices in the MG and

and C.R. Whittaker, of which there is an informed review by H.W.Pleket in Gnomon 1984:148-154.

39 Cf. J. Velissaropoulos 'Le monde de l'emporion' Dialogues d'histoire ancienne 3(1977)61-85.

40 J. de la Geniere 'La colonisation grecque en Italie meridionale et en Sicile et l'acculturation des non-grecs' RA 1978:266.

41 Refs. above n.9.

42 Snodgrass ARGS 1977:13.

43 It "has only been known to take place in unrestricted circumstances, such as newly-colonised territory" (that is, hitherto unoccupied) "or at least after the discovery of some revolutionary advance in production which enables the same territory to support a much larger population" Snodgrass ARGS 1977:13f. Matters demographic have to be seen in historical perspective: the earth's population has recently topped 5 billion; it will double before the end of the next century. However, there are more than four times as many people alive now than the sum total of all people who ever lived from the year dot to 1830. Population in some countries now grows at a rate of 3 to 5% a year, but until about 1500 AD population was growing (on average) at a rate of 2 to 5% a century. Cf. R.J. Barnett The Lean Years: Politics in the Age of Scarcity 1980:163-165.

44 Noticed also by P.B. Manville 'Geometric Graves and the Eighth Century 'Population Boom' in Attica' AJA 86(1982)275-6.

LG periods might reflect immigrants' native customs, and that there is literary and artistic evidence to suggest that there were immigrants coming into Attika in the LG period(45). He also observed that the number of graves containing children "must temper the implicit belief in a steadily growing adult population"(46). The subject was raised (and left) as a puzzle in a discussion at a recent conference on the Greek Renaissance:

R.Hagg mentioned population growth as one of the major factors in the Renaissance. Most of us are ready to accept that there was a steep rise in population, but how and why did it occur?(47).

In Attica, the number of graves from 750-700 outnumbers the graves from the seventh century, 700-650, by 4/5:1. I am perfectly willing to accept an increase in population in the eighth century, but then a mortality does set in. Why else was the growth not sustained in the seventh century?(48).

The answer lies, I think, at least partly in slavery; "never an entirely comfortable subject for the admirer of ancient Greek civilisation" as one such admirer put it(49). This is a subject over which ancient historians have been castigated recently by Paul Cartledge: "(the persistent tendency) to portray Classical Greek slavery - with the exception of mine-slavery - as peculiarly and inexplicably mild" is, he correctly says, "indefensible"(50).

It is generally agreed that the transition to a 'genuine slave society' occurred around the eighth/seventh century(51). This implies

45 Idem.

46 Idem.

47 J.N.Coldstream, comment in R.Hagg (ed) GR 1983:211.

48 J.McK.Camp in idem.

49 A.Andrewes Greek Society 1971:146.

50 'Rebels and Sambos' in Crux edd.P.Cartledge and D.Harvey 1985:19 n.13, cf.also p.30.

51 E.g. Finley E&S 1983:169, M.M.Austin & P.Vidal-Naquet ESHAG 1973 (2nd ed.) 53, V.Ehrenberg The Greek State 1974:34, S.C.Humphreys AAG 1978:162 and n.2 p.299. In ASMI 1983:87 Finley argues that the rise of slavery coincided with Solon's seisachtheia which, by making servile labour unavailable within the state, forced those who would 'employ' them to look outside, thereby creating the "vital negative condition". This has several weaknesses, not least its failure to account for the large slave populations in Korinth, Aigina, Khios and Samos at the very least. I do not agree with his assertion that slavery as "the form of labour" (emphasis in original p.88) was a "radically new idea", which makes the transition to a genuine slave society sound like a planned project, nor with

an increase in the numbers of slaves, an increase which had largely been reached by the end of the seventh century. Such an increase almost certainly began gradually and gained momentum until the new slave per capita level (whatever that may have been in each society) was reached, towards which point the increase would slow and then stabilise at the new higher level. Such an increase plotted against time would assume a lazy S-shaped curve, not dissimilar to those plotted from grave numbers in Attika and the Argolid in the LG period. In short, I suggest that the eighth century 'population boom' and subsequent higher equilibrium was due not to a rapid increase in the birth rate followed by an equally sudden mortality, but at least in part to a rapid influx of population qua slaves, the numbers of which were then approximately sustained at the new higher level. The new Attik cemeteries inaugurated c.775-700 (current chronology) indicate the relevant dates: that these cemeteries are on the whole extremely poor comes as no surprise if the occupants are slaves, nor that the new cemetery at Phaleron, on which shore most no doubt were landed, is so poor that 'Phaleron ware' is synonymous for poverty(52).

This perhaps also suggests an explanation for the wide dissemination abroad of Attik MGII - LGI (c.800-735) and the sharp decline of

the implicit assumption that slaves were demanded merely for their labour, a common belief refuted by Patterson SSD 1982 passim: ("I have repeatedly stressed that most slaves in most precapitalist societies were not enslaved in order to be made over into workers; they may even have been economic burdens on their masters" (p.99)). The relations of slavery are far more complex than mere economic conditions, although I am not for a moment denying that slaves in ancient Greece could be and usually were 'profitable' for their masters, and especially so for their 'producers', ie. the people who made them into slaves and sold them.

52 Cf. Coldstream GG 1977:117; Coldstream suggests it is "a symptom of widening social distinctions" - wider perhaps than he thinks. This argument is affected only in terms of the absolute chronology assigned to Attik MG and LG by the growing controversy over chronology: Francis and Vickers are producing a considerable body of complex literature of wide compass and wider implications which cannot (and should not) be ignored by classical archaeologists and ancient historians (cf. refs. in bibliography). Such thoroughgoing challenges are ultimately good for the subject, whichever way consensus ultimately decides.

LGII and ProtoAttik (c.735-625), which precedes the increase of burials by about a generation: we should expect perhaps two thirds of the incumbents of the graves to have died about a generation after their arrival, and some proportion - especially the children - to have died on arrival or within a short time of arrival.

The land hypothesis is, then, theoretically weak, treating population pressure as an unexamined explanation whereas it is in fact an explanandum. If not refuted it is at least severely^e qualified by the very thorough archaeological knowledge of a major early 'colonising' state, Korinth, and of two states which theoretically should have colonised and didn't. If the last argument is accepted, it would seem instead that, rather than relieve pressure on the land, at least in Athens' and Argos' cases, the expansion increased it - but also increased the capacity to exploit that land.

The trade hypothesis: a critique: Trade too is usually assumed to be self-explanatory, whereas in fact it requires an explanation. The trade hypothesis neglects the fact that this expansion 'trailblazed', that the vast majority of early travellers were pioneers, and that neither Greeks nor the peoples with whom they came into contact had market economies at this time. Pretrade forms of acquisition are

the hunt, the expedition and the raid...Catching, quarrying, felling, robbing, or any other way of getting hold of the goods forms one part of the action; carrying, hauling or otherwise transporting the acquisition, the other(53).

Polanyi correctly stresses the distinction between "goods that can move, like slaves and cattle, and goods that cannot, like stones and timber" and that shepherding the former is one thing, carrying the latter something quite different. If this distinction is not made, the early history of trade becomes "unintelligible"(54). He also

53 K.Polanyi The Livelihood of Man (henceforth LM) 1977:93f.

54 LM 1977:91. Note also Braudel's observation that the most distant suppliers of early cities brought livestock on the hoof, The Wheels of Commerce 1983:40, which conforms to Von Thunen's Agricultural Land Use model (advanced in The Isolated State orig.pub.1826). It

notes that the late differentiation of merchant ship from man'o'war, of merchant crew from warboat crew, is another pointer for the history of trade(55).

Of another period of expansion Hakluyt wrote "So sondrie men entering into these discoveries propose unto themselves severall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and unlawful meanes"(56). For Kenneth Andrews, commenting on this period,

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the more or less crude pursuit of riches which was obviously the main if not the sole motive of most of the ventures in expeditions of trade or plunder, in many colonising projects and even in some exploring voyages, nor on that insatiable thirst for fame and honour which undoubtedly drove Gilbert, Raleigh, Cavendish and some less renowned gentlemen...to undertake actions they deemed noble, however sordid their conduct...may appear in the eyes of a different generation(57).

For ancient Greek historians, however, there is 'the search for metals' to consider in support of the trade hypothesis.

An excursus on metals: The search for metals is often associated with early Greek and Phoenician expansion and, unlike perishable goods, they are archaeologically identifiable. Increasingly sophisticated analyses of metal-finds allow possible sources to be eliminated if not pin-pointed(58), and consideration of what may be called 'first prin-

is worth noting that "many of the spatial models of geography draw upon assumptions about the nature of economies which better match societies characterised by redistribution or early market exchange than by those of late market exchange to which they have been applied by geographers" Robson 'Towns and Typologies: Forms and Processes' Space, Hierarchy and Society edd.B.C.Burnham & J.Kingsbury BAR Inter.Ser.59 1979:190.

55 LM 1977:91-93, cf.also pp.85ff.

56 The Principall Navigations Glasgow 1903-5:VIII,443 (orig.pub.1589) cited in K.Andrews TPS 1984:30f.

57 TPS 1984:31.

58 Iron ores differ; the main classifications are sedimentary, magmatic, contact metamorphic, hydrothermal and residuary ores. Each of the different types assumes its own characteristic association of trace elements from its environment at the time of formation. Analysis of those trace elements in ancient artifacts, slags or blooms may establish the type of ore used, which limits the possible provenances: S.C.Bakhuizen Mededelingen van het Nederlands

ciples' - how common and how easily exploited were the metals in question - have exposed widely-held assumptions on the subject(59). The extraction of metals brought the Neolithic period to an end, and the particular metals exploited give their names to the next two great eras; the Bronze and Iron Ages(60). The availability of ore and fuel determined the location of metallurgical centres: iron ores are widely

Institut te Rome 37(1975)26 n.34. Cf.in general J.F.Healey Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World 1978 ch.9. Relevant analyses; eg. Z.A.Stos-Gale, N.H.Gale, & G.R.Gilmore 'Early Bronze Age Trojan metal sources and Anatolians in the Cyclades' OJA 3(1984)23-43; A.A.M. Bryer, 'The Question of Byzantine Mines in the Pontus: Chalybian Iron, Chaldian Silver, Koloneian Alum and the mummy of Cheriana' AnSt 32(1982)133-150; Scientific Studies in early Mining and Extractive Metallurgy ed.P.T.Craddock 1980 (some papers on mining, some on extraction, including a paper by Gale et.al. on Siphnos ores). For the very interested, there is a periodical devoted to this subject: Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society ed.R.Tylecote. The same approach (different techniques) can be applied to pottery (the first comprehensive survey of such will be R.E.Jones Greek and Cypriot Pottery (which should have been published by the BSA sometime in 1985 (non vidi)), marble, eg. S.Walker 'Marble origins by isotopic analysis' World Archaeology 16(1984)204-221; ivory, eg.G.V.Robins et.al. 'A Spectroscopic Study of the Nimrud Ivories' Jour.Arch.Sci. 10(1983)385-395; obsidian, eg.J.W.Michels 'Bulk Element Composition Versus Trace Element Composition in the Reconstruction of an Obsidian Source System' Journ.Arch.Sci. 9(1982)113-123; and glass, eg.D.C.W.Sanderson et.al. 'Energy Dispersive X-Ray Florescence Analysis of 1st Millenium AD Glass from Britain' Journ.Arch.Sci. 11(1984)53-69.

59 Cf.eg. A.J.Graham 'Patterns in Early Greek Colonisation' JHS 91(1971)44f, who nevertheless concludes that Pithekousai (Ischia) must have been settled with a view to iron acquisition, other explanations being absent (but so, as he acknowledges, is iron on Ischia!) - see further below. R.Drews 'The Earliest Greek Settlements on the Black Sea' JHS 96(1976)18-31 draws attention to the Coruh river region as an area of dense metal deposits, referring to Xenophon's march through the territory. Drews makes much of the attractiveness of the metal deposits; Xenophon and company make much of the opportunities to plunder (Xen. Anab. bk.5 passim, 6.3.1-3). The locals may have worked the deposits (not necessarily 'mined' - the 'Black Sands' or surface deposits were more probably tapped, cf.Tylecote 'Iron Sands from the Black Sea' AnSt 31(1981)137-139) but archaeology has failed to provide any conclusive evidence for it. Drews is aware of this (cf.n.77) but continues his argument as if he wasn't. Contra Drews, on the geographic reality of Chalybia, see Bryer art.cit. (last note).

60 The 'ages' are analytical tools not exclusive categories. The word metal comes from the Greek metallao, which in Homer means 'to search for', 'inquire after' something; a closely related word, metallasso, used by Classical authors means 'to exchange'. This shift nicely reflects Polanyi's comments on changing modes of acquisition as the market system developed.

distributed and readily available(61). The quantity and dispersion of iron-ore deposits in Europe were such that no one centre dominated, and that iron-working except in Noricum (mod.Austria) "never assumed more than local significance before about 300 BC"(62). The only fuels of practical value were wood and charcoal: extensive deforestation since antiquity has changed the landscape dramatically, and it is difficult to reconstruct with any certainty the Mediterranean environment during the first millen[^]ium BC(63). The technology of iron-working was discovered slowly and not without difficulty: to the first half of the third millenium belong the (very rare) earliest pieces of man-made iron, in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and possibly Egypt(64). It is not until between 1200 and 900 BC that native iron-working begins to be found from England to Iran, yet "from the eleventh century BC to the Middle Ages the production of iron remained something of a hit-or-miss affair"(65). Iron is not an innately superior metal: the techniques required to produce iron which is stronger than bronze (carbonising, quenching and tempering) are not particularly difficult to apply in principle, but Forbes reminds us that 'primitive' smelters did not possess good tongs to handle the heavy bloom at red-heat and the reduction process requires a lot of trained intelligence(66).

Moreover, the techniques are different from those of bronze-working and are not likely to be discovered by accident(67). Lack of control

61 Forbes A History of Technology (henceforth HT) 1954:592. Graham art.cit. 1971:44. P.S.de Jesus The development of prehistoric mining and metallurgy in Anatolia BAR Inter.Ser.74,1980:9.

62 Forbes HT 1954:597f. On iron ore deposits in the eastern Aegean J.C.Waldbaum From Bronze to Iron (henceforth FBI) 1978; in Greece and Italy Healey op.cit. with distribution maps.

63 Cf.eg. Meiggs Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean 1984 ch.13; G.H.Willcox 'A history of deforestation as indicated by charcoal analysis of four sites in eastern Anatolia' AnSt 24(1974)117-134. More general environmental, eg.N.Panin 'Black Sea coast line changes in the last 10,000 years' Dacia 27(1983)175-184.

64 Forbes HT 1954:592-597. This readable account of wide compass is rather dated, see now Waldbaum, esp.on Egypt (p.69).

65 Waldbaum FBI 1978:69.

66 Metallurgy in Antiquity (henceforth MinA) 1950:396. Cf. Od. 14.324, "difficultly wrought iron".

67 de Jesus, however, notes that copper working is similar and that

over temperature in particular resulted in iron's potential superiority being "only occasionally realised"(68). Iron's 'worth' should be considered less in economic terms and more in utilitarian - and until the Middle Ages that utility was not guaranteed. Indeed, the argument should perhaps be reversed: the economic aspect, ie. cheap and readily available, occasioned its widespread use despite its utilitarian shortcomings(69).

Iron did not replace bronze except for the major production of "the more mundane requirements of existence" which usually make the switch soon after the requisite knowledge is acquired, whilst cultural products continue to be made in bronze or other metals(70). There is also a distinction to be made between iron smelting and iron working: some iron-working peoples have imported bought or captured iron. Assyrian records c.700 BC speak of 4000+ kg being bought or captured in raids(71), and the iron industry of Kypros imported at least some of the metal from Anatolia. The reason may be partly prosaic: in 1856 the Chalybians were observed to be still smelting iron as described by Apollonios of Rhodes and Strabo: "405lb of the rude material, heated by 675lb of charcoal, yielded only 13.5lb of iron". In Chaldia

it took, very roughly, 260 tons of timber to produce about 65 tons of charcoal to roast about 1.8 tons of argentiferous (galena) lead to yield 34lb of silver and, on the seventh day of poisonous firing, one pound of Chaldian gold. At 0.84% of silver the ore was exceptionally rich(72).

"the origin of iron metallurgy is inextricably linked to the early copper industry" op.cit. 1980:9f. Cf.also R.F.Tylecote 'Smelting copper ore from Rudna Glava, Yugoslavia' Proc.Prehistoric Soc. 48(1982)459-465.

68 Waldbaum FBI 1978:69f. On Kypros' supposed role "as the source of all metallurgical blessings" see Waldbaum p.71f.

69 Forbes points out that "the ancient metallurgist must often have been baffled by the result of the smelting operation and only long experience could guide him towards the correct smelting and the kind and amount of fluxes necessary to obtain a good product" MinA 1950:399. He too says that "wrought iron objects (were) generally inferior to bronze" (p.411). This is probably why we find more iron weapons than bronze in the archaeological record of the 10th - 8th centuries.

70 Waldbaum FBI 1978:67. Cf.also p.58 and fig.IV.8 p.49.

71 See Forbes MinA 1950:447f.

72 Bryer art.cit. 1982:137f.

Another point of importance is that wood, clay, terracotta, mudbrick, stone, faience, vegetable products such as flax, hemp, rope, and animal products such as bone, gut, hide, and leather, serve^e for many items which may today be made of metal(73).

In Patroklos' funeral games Akhilleus offers amongst many other things "gloomy iron" - and no-one would suggest that Akhilleus was a metal prospector or trader. The passage most often cited to support the idea that there was a 'demand for iron' (which is perfectly reasonable) which could not be satisfied at home and thus the Greeks had to go abroad in search of the precious stuff (which is an inference plausible in the abstract, but is built upon this passage and others similar to it) should be quoted in full:

Now the son of Peleus set in place a lump of pig-iron,
which had once been the throwing weight of Eetion in his great
strength;
but now swift-footed brilliant Akhilleus had slain him and taken
the weight away in the ships along with the other possessions.
He stood upright and spoke his word out among the Argives:
'Rise up, you who would endeavour to win this prize also.
For although the rich fields of him who wins it lie far off
indeed, yet for the succession of five years he will have it
to use; for his shepherd for want of iron will not have to go in
to the city for it, nor his ploughman either. This will supply
them'(74).

There are several things worthy of note here. First, while it is assumed that iron is needed in agriculture and that this lump of iron could be so used, it has hitherto been used for nothing more useful than a heroic-size weight, and does indeed so serve in this contest for which it is one of the prizes. Second, the assumed user is not the hero who wins it, but his shepherd or ploughman. Third, however big this lump of iron is supposed to be (and we have to allow a fair amount for heroic exaggeration), the 'demand for iron' cannot have been so very great if this one lump alone will suffice for five

73 See Waldbaum's breakdowns for proportional representation of types of metal objects amongst finds from the eastern Mediterranean dated 1200-900 (to spring 1975) ch.4, summarised in tables IV.13,14, and 15.

74 Iliad XXIII.826-835 (trans.Lattimore, slightly modified).

years of agricultural need. We cannot of course take the Homeric poems literally, but this is suggestive (if anything, a gross over-estimation) of the metallic realities in Homer's day, usually located around 750-700 BC(75). Fourth, whilst iron is assumed to be available in the city, which is the point stressed by the modernists, Akhilleus acquired it by taking it, not mining it or exchanging for it, and this fact should not be so consistently ignored.

The discovery that iron-smelting occurred at Ischia was taken to confirm the hypothesis that the Greeks settled there because of Etruscan metal(76). That the iron was found to have come from Elba (250 miles away by sea(77)) seemed odd, but not sufficient to dislodge the idea that the Khalkidians settled there with a view to trading with the Etruscans for the metal, and despite Thukydides' (and Pausanias'?) identification of the settlers with pirates(78). The fact that the Etruscans didn't exploit local iron resources until after the

75 Cf. also XXIII.261, 850 (the iron here is clearly already wrought into axes). The shift from booty to prize, conflict to contest, is seen in the word for prize, aethlion, epic for athlon, whence modern athlete. The sense of struggle and strife is retained in the metaphorical use of the noun, adjective and adverb by the Attic dramatists, athlon, athlios meaning conflict, struggling, miserable, wretched. And agon has more in common with the English word derived from it, agony, than with the English notion of 'gentlemanly' sport.

76 G Buchner, 'Recent Work at Pithekousai (Ischia) 1965-1971' AReps 1970/71:63-67.

77 Snodgrass DAG 1971:335.

78 Thuk.6.4-5; cf. Pausanias 4.23.7. These settlers ^{at Kymae} were later dispossessed (by other Greeks) and moved on to resettle at Zankle (where they were later joined by Khalkidians from Khalkis): Sicily has no metals and Zankle is not in fertile territory (Finley AS 1968:17, M. Guido Sicily 1977:33), therefore there is no reason to reject Thukydides' and Pausanias' statements. So Y. Garlan 'Signification historique de la piraterie grecque' dialogue d'histoire ancienne 4(1978)10, and Jeffery AG 1976:55, "Zankle, for example, seems to have begun as a pirates' nest, regularised later by an official contingent of settlers sent out by Chalkis". Kallimakhos Aitia I, frg.43, 81-83, seems not to know who the original oikist was, or he did not believe the legends perhaps. Nevertheless, this was apparently a desirable spot; the Khalkidians were later driven out by Samians and other Ionians in the wake of the Persian reduction of Ionia. They moved on to settle Himera, "a curious site to choose, for, though well protected against attack and useful as an anchorage for ships, it has little else in its favour" (Finley AS 1968:22, cf. also 49f) where they were joined by some Syrakusan exiles. It would seem that they did not change profession.

Greeks arrived(79) ought to be a problem; without the know-how to extract the metal from the ore and to produce from it satisfactory and reliable objects it is useless rock. It is perhaps for this reason that 'Xenophon'(80) argued for the building of a third fort in Laurion so that, in case of an attack on the mines, the slave gangs could be collected quickly and placed in safety; consequently, he said, the silver ore would be as useless to the enemy as stones - and silver was far more valuable than iron. This may be due to an assumption that the enemy, free farmer-soldier-citizens of another state, will not know how to smelt ore, and/or that they will lack the manpower to exploit the mines. Another implicit assumption is that there will be insufficient ore at the mine-head to bother shipping it out.

To return to Etruria: the Elbans could not process the iron ore even in the third century, and shipped it across to Populonia which, along with Agylla (Caere) and Vetulonia, has so far yielded "almost no iron artifacts at all" of Villanovan date (950-710)(81): sixty-odd years after the traditional date of the Greeks' arrival at Ischia and supposed 'trading' with Etruscans or peaceful prospecting for Elban iron. Therefore we may be fairly confident that the Etruscans would not have had stockpiles of ore to trade. Hartman notes the significant fact that recovered concentrations of iron objects in Tuscany occur in areas that are relatively remote from known sources of iron

79 Not only iron: Etruscan bronze technology was slow to develop and the metal little used. In late BA Latium there is a general scarcity of bronze objects, and although they are present in most early Iron Age graves, it is still in very small quantities. In one of the most representative cemeteries of Iron Age Lazio, Osteria dell'Osa, most male inhumation graves contain only a fibula, whilst women's graves contain one to five, usually one or two. Some cremation graves, which practice was restricted to males and total only 18 graves (out of some 350), included a fibula, a spear or spear-head, sometimes a razor, and three contained miniature swords. A few contained a shield or knife. Bietti Sestieri ESI 1981:136-142, see also idem 'The Iron Age cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa, Rome; evidence of social change in Lazio in the 8th century BC' PIA4 1985:111-144.

80 Poroi 4.

81 Hartman UIE 1985:288.

ore, whilst sites near such deposits have yielded little or no iron material from the C.9 or C.8 (p.289). The earliest metalworkings in the area are at Campigliese towards Ischia, of the late eighth century(82). Moreover, the Khalkidians' reputation at this time was 'far-famed lords of war' not 'far-famed smithies'(83).

Finally, as in Attika during the 'population boom', the number of child burials at Ischia - which has the largest concentration of graves known from the eighth century, and only a fraction has yet been excavated - is notable(84). The most plausible explanation for this largely uncultivable and metal-less island's very crowded cemeteries, with a high proportion of child deaths, is that the incumbents were mostly natives taken captive and died awaiting shipping to the slave-holding societies around the Mediterranean, especially Greece.

The metals hypothesis also fails to explain the settlement of Sicily, which has no metals(85). Scholars frequently comment on Sicily's poverty and lack of attraction for Greek 'colonisers'(86), yet some of the colonies established there grew to be amongst the most powerful and wealthy in the Greek world, not least Syrakuse. The richest man in Sokrates' day, according to the dialogue called Eryxias (392-393), was a Syrakusan, whose vast wealth was reckoned in land,

82 Scullard The Etruscan Cities and Rome 1967:145, 71. Hartman seems to be unaware that analysis of the iron found at Ischia indicates its provenance to be Elba - which makes the absence of iron products at Populonia even more inexplicable on the trade hypothesis, UIE 1985:292-294. Campigliese is en route to Ischia and probably indicates the direction of the diffusion of iron technology, and of the intersocietal contact which that presupposes. The Greeks introduced more than just metal technology into Etruria: wheel-made pottery and storage techniques also follow upon the Greeks' arrival, G.Bergonzi art.cit. 1985:365-370 and cf.fig.19.7, and bread wheat is consistently absent from Roman contexts until the C.7 and C.6, Bietti Sestieri ESI 1981:135.

83 Arkhilokhos ALG 3. Similarly the Thasians; Arkhilokhos was neither miner nor metal prospector. The locals may have mined (with or without being compelled to do so) but the Parian settlers didn't. On Thasian metals A.Muller 'La Mine de l'acropole de Thasos' Thasiaca BCH Supp.V.1979:315-344.

84 Coldstream GG 1977:226f. The same is true of Lefkandi, Euboia M.R.Popham & L.H.Sackett (edd) Lefkandi 1980(I)203-205.

85 Finley AS 1968:17.

86 Eg.Murray EG 1980:105.

and "an unlimited quantity of those other possessions which go to make up wealth; slaves, horses, gold and silver"(87). He was also considered the most evil man in Sicily: the connection is probably not coincidental, and suggests on what basis Sicily's wealth was founded and distributed. The usual interpretation, of which 'early' Finley may be taken as representative is that Sicily paid with "wheat, olives, wine, timber, fruit, nuts and vegetables"(88). Recent scholarship has shown conclusively that Athens, the doyenne of grain importers in the world according to the modernists "was less dependent on foreign grain, and in particular on distant sources of grain, than is generally assumed", and that "Athens became dependent on grain from foreign sources later than is generally assumed"(89), ie. until well into the post-Persian War period. Grain is the cornerstone of the 'international trade' hypothesis, and therefore if Garnsey's conclusions are accepted, there is no need to consider the other products suggested as Sicilian 'exports'(90). The answer, perhaps, lies rather in Finley's previous observation: "Inter-local trade within Sicily seems largely to have been restricted to traffic from Greek communities to the natives in the interior, rather than between the Greek cities" (idem).

We have records of such 'inter-local "trade"'. For example, Herodotos tells how Zankle fell to the Samians and Rhegians whilst "Skythes, the ruler of Zankle, was attempting, with all his men, to capture by siege a native Sicel town" (6.23). Scholars seem to have overlooked the connection between the fact that slaves imported into the metropoleis came from "backward societies" and the fact that the

87 This echoes Homer: "and I had serving men by thousands and many another good thing by which men live well and are called prosperous", Odyssey 17.422f. Cf. also eg. 19.78f.

88 AS 1968:34.

89 P. Garnsey 'Grain for Athens' Crux 1985:74f.

90 We should note a geographic fact however: market gardening occurs closest to the areas of consumption. Fruit & vegetables cannot have been easily exported any distance: until relatively modern preservation, storage and containerisation techniques were developed, this is a non-starter.

new settlements were "on the margins" of the Greek world. According to Diodorus Siculus (5.6) the native Sicani "originally lived in villages, building them upon the strongest hills because of the pirates". Zankle was settled by the pirates who were ejected from Kyme (91). The sequel to the Zankle story is also illuminating: the dispossessed Zankleans appealed to Hippokrates, tyrant of Gela, for assistance. On arrival he betrayed them and enslaved them, and managed to establish friendly relations with the new occupants of Zankle whilst profiting to the tune of "half of all the moveable property and slaves in the town, and all of them in the open country". And finally, Snodgrass' examination of heavy freight in Archaic Greece(92), has "adequately undermined any notion of organised commercial enterprise in the freight of heavy materials such as marble and iron ore"(93).

Turning briefly to the Greeks' supposed 'competitors' in the expansion abroad, the Phoenicians' alleged interest in the Tartessos region for metalliferous reasons is not borne out in the archaeological record. Toscanos and the nearby site of Trayamar are amongst the few sites which can be "convincingly dated to the latter half of the eighth century", yet "of metal smelting there is not a direct trace", and Whittaker rightly stresses the hypothetical status of suppliers

91 Cf.n.78 above. The unusual phenomenon of slave revolts in Sicily, as in Messenia and Thessaly, is probably partly, if not substantially, due to the fact that these were slave-producing areas and that many of the slaves there were 'home-grown' although not bred in slavery. There is also a tendency to overplay the ethnic differences. The consensus view that Greeks and Phoenicians in Sicily were competing, mutually hostile groups is made questionable by eg. Thukydides' account of Athenian involvement prior to and leading to their disastrous expedition. The Egestans, who were Elymi (6.2.3), were able to borrow gold and silver vessels from both Hellenic and Phoenician neighbours (6.46.3).

92 'Heavy Freight in Archaic Greece' in Trade in the Ancient Economy edd.Garnsey, Hopkins and Whittaker 1983:16-26.

93 Cartledge art.cit. 1983:12. Cf.also A.M.Burford 'The Economics of Greek Temple Building' (henceforth EGTB) PCPS ns.11(1965)21-34. It hardly needs saying that I do not find Bakhuizen's thesis Chalcis-in-Euboeia: Iron and Chalcidians Abroad 1976 persuasive.

from the interior(94). Thus, the conclusion of this excursus on metals is that the evidence does not support the metal-pro prospector or trader hypothesis. Neither trade in general or metals in particular were particularly important stimuli in initiating the colonising process.

The 'colonising movement' involved the settling and resettling of hundreds of sites all around the Mediterranean and Black Seas through several centuries; it is misguided, I think, to seek a single 'prime mover' in this process. The unintentional facet of long-term change should also be recognised in a long and complex process such as this: it was not a planned project. Individual voyages and settlements may have been more or less planned, but each was planned by different people in different places at different times(95). So too the matter of means as well as motives: Thukydides expressly links the development of Greek societies with improved communications, particularly by sea(96).

As communication by sea became easier, so piracy became a common profession amongst both the Greeks and the barbaroi who lived in the islands...as seafaring became more general and material wealth arose, new walled cities were built actually on the coasts...Piracy was just as prevalent in the islands among the Karians and Phoenicians, who in fact colonised most of them(97).

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- 94 'The Western Phoenicians' (henceforth WPh) PCPS ns.20(1974)59f. F.Braudel likewise cautions against attributing the European extraction of metals from the Americas too early: "The New World did not deliver any considerable quantity of precious metal before 1550...it was necessary to build America". 'The Expansion of Europe and the "Longue Duree"' Expansion and Reaction ed.H.L.Wesseling 1978:18, cf.also p.19.
- 95 There is much truth in Giddens' observation that "most history is made 'unintentionally', even though all of it is done 'intentionally'", D.Gregory 'Space, time, and politics in social theory: an interview with Anthony Giddens' Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 2(1984)129.
- 96 1.3.4-1.6.2; 1.7-1.8; 1.9.3-4; 1.13; 1.15-16. See D.R.Headrick's attempt to steer a careful course between the Scylla of psychological determinism (where there's a will there's a way) and the Charybdis of technological determinism (what can be done will be done) The Tools of Empire 1981.
- 97 Thuk.1.5.1, 1.7.1 and 1.8.1. Compare Cornwall in the seventeenth century: after mentioning (with something less than discretion) that Cornish folk did not much engage in trade, despite their favourable geographic situation for such, but preferred to "hunt after a more easie then commendable profit, with little hazard, and

This is, in fact, based on a mistaken identification of Greek geometric pottery as Karian(98). Thukydides links economic development, urbanisation and 'colonisation' first and foremost not with land, nor with 'trade', but with seafaring, and particularly with piracy and plundering: the one aspect persistently overlooked or denigrated in the secondary literature, and one which requires closer examination.

2.4 The acquisition hypothesis

Before proceeding, it is necessary to clarify what the Greeks considered to be legitimate occupations. In an illuminating passage on this matter, Aristotle says:

There are others who live by hunting; and of these there are different kinds, according to their different modes of hunting. Some live by plundering; some, who live near lakes and marshes and rivers, or by a sea which is suitable for the purpose, gain a livelihood by fishing; others live by hunting birds or wild animals. These then are the main ways of living by natural productive labour - ways which do not depend for a food supply on exchange or trade (kapeleias); the nomadic, the agricultural, the piratical, the fishing, and the hunting(99).

Besides plundering, war too is considered a form of hunting, "a natural mode of acquisition" (Pol. 1256b23-26), as is slave-raiding (1255b37-39).

(I would I could not say) with less conscience", Richard Carew observed that "within late yeeres memorie, the sea-coast townes begin to proclaime their bettering in wealth, by costly encrease of buildings, but those of the inland, for the most part, vouch their ruined houses, and abandoned streets, as too true an evidence, that they are admitted no partners in this amendment. If I mistake not the cause, I may with charitie inough wish them still the same fortune: for as is elsewhere touched, I conceyve their former large peopling, to have bin an effect of the countries impoverishing, while the invasion of forraine enemies drave the sea-coast inhabitants to seeke a more safe, then commodious abode in these inland parts" The Survey of Cornwall 1759:65f, cited in The Urban Experience 1983:15-17. The Cornish were, of course, engaged primarily in wrecking and smuggling rather than piracy, though they were subject to piratical raids from forrainers.

98 R.M.Cook 'Thukydides as archaeologist' BSA 50(1955)266-270.

99 Pol. 1256a35-1256b2 (trans.Barker, slightly modified). On attitudes to nomadism cf.B.D.Shaw "Eaters of flesh, drinkers of milk": the ancient Mediterranean ideology of the pastoral nomad' Ancient Society 13(1982)5-31. He might have cited Herodotos' 4.2.2 "The reason why they blind their slaves is connected with the fact that the Skythians are not an agricultural people, but nomadic".

Products have two uses: their 'natural' one, and exchange. For example, the natural use of wheat is consumption, but it may be exchanged for wine. If the exchange is direct and is for the procurement of necessary goods, Aristotle considers this a normal and necessary correlate of production (Pol. 1257a5-30). The production of wheat by toil of the plough, of the plough by toil of the anvil, and of oxen or ploughmen by toil of the spear were, therefore, in an important sense equivalent. A farmer exchanged what he wrested from the earth, a smith what he wrested from the fire, and a plunderer what he wrested from others. Buying and selling as separate activities were considered legitimate types of exchange - Aristotle's criticism is reserved for those who buy and sell, who produce nothing; they merely profit by charging more for an item than they paid to acquire it(100). Prior to the introduction of money and markets, this practice, if it existed at all, was of negligible import and may be ignored. 'Trade' in our period concerns the exchange of goods produced by personal efforts.

The acquisition of goods: What could be acquired through toil of the spear depended largely on the scale, organisation and target of the operation. Items tended to be of a limited number of generic categories: livestock, including the 'two-footed' variety; other foodstuffs; and moveable property(101). Variation occurred in the quantity and

100 He does acknowledge the necessity of traders, particularly long-distance; his criticism is ethical. Cf.eg. Pol. 1327a11-40, and R.G.Mulgan, Aristotle's Political Theory 1977:47-52. Similarly, Plato's Laws, on which cf. R.F.Stalley An Introduction to Plato's Laws 1983, and E.Barker, Greek Political Theory 1960:373-379.

101 It is a moot point whether cattle constituted a large category. Cattle are prominent in the literary references to raiding, eg. Hymn to Hermes, 330, Plut. Thes. 30, Iliad XI.670-682, but driving stock overland and transporting them overseas are quite different matters. As for raising cattle, the ecology of an area is one controlling factor (especially the availability of fresh water) the husbandry practices of its inhabitants another. Little faunal analysis has been conducted in Greek contexts, but contemporary Italian evidence regularly shows very low percentages of cattle bones, pig and sheep/goat appearing to be the mainstay of animal husbandry, cf.eg. Bietti Sestieri ESI 1981:135. The

particular species or style of product common to the area plundered. In the immediate sense of gaining a livelihood this mode of production as a full-time occupation implies the plundering of food first and foremost: the plunderer must eat and drink. It is only with the existence of organised exchange facilities that he could extend his activities to non-victuals which could then be exchanged for food(102). Consequently most, perhaps all, hunted on a part-time basis(103), the fruits of which supplemented their main occupation, which was farming or other forms of hunter-gathering.

Odysseus' crew were typical long-range hunters. Their preferred prey was people and their possessions; by default they hunted animals (9.155-158). They were also part-time farmers, all having left their lands and families to join the expedition to Troy. In addition, they or other members of their households probably gathered a portion of their requirements, such as wood, berries, herbs, roots (for medicinal or magical purposes), molluscs and acorns (Plato Rep. 372c). Until the eighteenth century (and later) less than twenty per cent of the population have not been directly involved in the food production process, and in most societies that percentage is considerably less, often zero(104). Most men in Aristotle's experience acquired a living by agriculture, and we should remember that our subjects, those engaged part-time in the acquisition and exchange of other men and their goods, formed a small proportion of the community (Pol. 1256a38-40).

War and brigandage are almost indistinguishable in the early

evidence of coinage is equivocal; whilst some states used cows as a symbol (eg. Karystos, Kerkyra and Phokis), this could reflect the exceptional regional speciality, like the silphium of Kyrene. As a standard of value in Homer, cattle may be no more than a convenient unit of accounting, eg. Iliad XXIII.704f, as in other societies.

102 Cf. Joel 3.3. J. Collis EIA 1984:16-18.

103 So Jeffery AG 1976:168.

104 Cf. Finley, AE 1985:97, ibid. E&S 1983:22 (on Kyzikos). J.M. Frayn 'Subsistence Farming in Italy during the Roman Period: a preliminary discussion of the evidence' G&R 21(1974)11-18.

period(105). The war with Troy was conducted on two levels; foe might meet on the battlefield proper or in the surrounding district, where Akhaians plundering supplies might meet Trojans tending livestock(106). During the nine year siege of the city, Akhilleus had sailed off to sack twelve island cities and a further eleven in the Troad (Iliad IX.328f). Finley has recently berated ancient historians for "(a powerful reluctance) to discuss ancient warfare and its consequences with a steady eye"(107), a reluctance only too apparent in the 'heroic' period. Consider the hero Odysseus. Relating his journey home, Odysseus says

From Iliion the wind took me and drove me ashore at Ismaros
by the Kikonians. I sacked their city and killed their people,
and out of their city taking their wives and many possessions
we shared them out, so that none might go cheated of his proper
portion(108).

For most Homeric scholars, this is merely another episode in poor Odysseus' difficult homecoming, a ten-year struggle against nature and a vindictive deity to reach his dear wife and son hardpressed in Ithaka by overbearing Suitors and indifferent neighbours. If they comment on the passage at all, it is to point out the equity of the division, overlooking the fact that what is divided is spoils.

The people of Ismaros just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time, for which ill-luck their homes were plundered, their city sacked, their menfolk killed - and, it would seem, their children too(109) - and their wives enslaved and distributed (fairly) between

105 The same word (leia) is used by Homer to denote plunder taken by armies in the field, by pirates and by plundering forays, Pritchett GMP 1971:54; see for discussion of the development of the word (and other words for booty) in later authors.

106 Cf. Thukydides' comments on this 1.11. Even in the Classical period armies abroad (ie. beyond their own borders) were expected to survive off the land in which they fought, cf. Pritchett GMP 1971 chap.2.

107 AH 1985:71.

108 Odyssey 9.39-43.

109 Cf. eg. the Greek vase from Mykonos pl.29a in Jeffery AG 1976, K. Schefold Myth and Legend in Greek Art fig.41, pl.58c and pl.61. There is a tendency amongst art-historians to interpret any child killing as 'the death of Astyanax'. If studied, as for example the ship-scenes on Geometric vases (Kirk BSA 1949, see below),

the crew members. And for the poet this is perfectly 'normal': it is stated simply, clearly and without a hint of disapproval.

We live in a world which finds (the use of violence as a 'normal' means of achieving a desired goal) ideologically and even morally objectionable, little though we may do about it in practice. That is fair enough until one blunderingly attributes similar values to Greeks and Romans, among whom they were demonstrably absent(110).

That 'blundering attribution' is normal: a historian spends his or her entire life trying to identify every value, attitude and belief he or she holds about the present world in which they have grown up, which is inconsistent with the thoughts and behaviour of the people of the period they study. As each is identified, they should be shed from the mind the historian takes to the sources. When the value, attitude or belief in question is an important one, its divestment can lead to a revelation: the same sources now say something quite different, and it can appear so obvious that it seems amazing that nobody saw it before (and sometimes cannot see it even when pointed out(111)). But this is the view 'from the other side', and the difficulty of the crossing is easily forgotten once in the new territory, where vast expanses beckon to be explored. Hence Finley's impatience, hence 'blundering'.

So, in his meeting with the Kyklops, Odysseus and his crew could have continued peacefully on their way home: the island on which they landed was uninhabited and well supplied with food and water (Od.9.149-165). But Odysseus wanted to go to the neighbouring island

this would, I suspect, prove to be an unfounded assumption. Andromache says (Iliad 24.734-7) that Astyanax might be slain by "some (one of many, 11.737f) Akhaian...in anger because Hektor once killed his brother, or his father, or his son" (not because he is 'heir' to the 'throne' of Troy). Consequently it is an expected possibility that this treatment might be meted out to any great hero's child in revenge for a kinsman's death at the hands of his father.

110 Finley AH 1985:70.

111 Cf.eg. Galbraith Economics, peace and laughter 1975:50-72, esp.63: "I want to look at the problems of the society which, while excluded from view by the assumption of consumer sovereignty, now come spectacularly into view". My latter point is amply demonstrated by Galbraith's comments in the text and especially in the footnotes of this essay.

which he knew, because he saw the smoke from fires, was inhabited (11.172-175). Having arrived, thirteen men formed the reconnaissance party while the rest remained to guard the ship (11.193-196). They discovered a cave-home, let themselves in, helped themselves to the food they found there, and waited for the owner to return from the fields with his flocks (11.229-233). The owner turned out to be Polyphemos, a Kyklops, whose knowledge of strangers was that they were of two types: those who had some matters to settle, and those who roved recklessly "as pirates do, when they sail on the salt sea and venture their lives as they wander, bringing evil to alien people" (252-255). This is noticeably different to the Greeks' attitude:

(In the early times the profession of piracy), so far from being regarded as disgraceful, was considered quite honourable. It is an attitude that can be illustrated even today, says our fifth century Athenian, by some of the inhabitants of the mainland, among whom successful piracy is regarded as something of which to be proud

(Thuk.1.5.1-2). Odysseus answered indirectly by pointing out that they were the victorious heroes of Troy, stressing their reputation as sackers of cities and killers of men, and that they were now here, in the Kyklops' home. At this point he asked for 'presents' (11.259-271) to which, as strangers and in accordance with 'law', they had a certain right. The Kyklops refused, and proceeded to eat his uninvited and demanding 'guests'. For not respecting the 'rights' of Greek men aided and abetted by Greek gods, he has since had a reputation for lawlessness. Cannibalism and impiety notwithstanding, Polyphemos was Poseidon's son, and was not disappointed in his father's assistance exacting revenge on Odysseus. The Kyklops is of course fictional, and his cannibalism may be dismissed as a literary device to clarify his role as 'baddy'(112). The Greeks' attitude,

112 The literary device may run much deeper in Polyphemos' character, cf. Shaw art.cit. 1982 esp.pp.21-24. Cannibalism was not, however, unknown: there were androphagoi tribes on the Black Sea - eg.Hdt.4.18.3, 100.2, 106, and (for what it is worth) Athenaios records a myth that all men had once been cannibals, 14.660e-661c.

however, particularly the conception of the 'rights' of strangers, cannot be so dismissed.

An excursus on gifts: The Greeks' use of words like "gift", "offer" and "guest" to signify their view of a certain kind of behaviour should not be confused with our own conceptions of such words, or with the institution of gift-giving in the anthropological literature. For example, one of the central themes of the Odyssey is the Suitors' depredations in Odysseus' house. Their violent and indolent behaviour, which extends to the attempted murder of the "host's" son, is tantamount to plundering the house in which they are supposedly "guests"(113). This is a violent society: after killing his "guests", Odysseus plans restitution of his depleted stocks by two methods: "Many I shall restore by raiding, others the Akhaians shall give me, until they have filled up all of my sheepfolds" (Odyssey 23.357f). The difference between the two may have lain only in the exercise of condign power as opposed to its threat(114).

More or less contemporary with the Homeric epics, an anonymous poem dated to the seventh century BC is more personal and more informative. Comparing themselves to swallows, the speakers say

Bring fruit and cake from your rich house and offer it to us, and a cup of wine and a basket of cheese. The swallow does not disdain even wheaten bread or pulse bread. Shall we go, or are we to get something? If you give us something, we will go, but if you don't we shall not let you be; we shall carry away your door or the lintel, or your wife sitting inside. She is small; we shall carry her easily. But if you give us something, let it be something big. Open, open the door to the swallow; for we are not old men, but children(115).

This poem has been considered to be a comic exaggeration of an archaic Greek version of the Yorkshire 'mischief night' (Nov.4th), or similar institutions such as the Welsh 'Mari Lywd', because of the word 'chil-

113 Cf. the comments of J-P Vernant 'City-State Warfare' Myth and Society in Ancient Greece (trans.Lloyd) 1980:20, and D.J. Stewart The Disguised Guest 1976.

114 Similarly, cf.eg. Xenophon Anab. 5.5.2-3 (summarised below).

115 Poetae Melici Graeci ed.D.L.Page 848, trans. C.A.Trypan^{is}, The Penguin Book of Greek Verse 1971:47 (slightly modified).

dren'. However, this would be an extremely odd subject for early lyric poetry, and the 'exaggeration' - if such it is - would appear to be rather normal adult behaviour. It is what Odysseus and crew did at Ismaros. Therefore the poem would seem to derive its comedy merely from the fact that children were attempting to perform adult acts, much as little girls wearing make-up are today thought 'comic'. Consequently, even if we allow this somewhat unlikely and rather too charitable interpretation to stand, we cannot negate the boast to tear down doors and lintels and carry off women by calling it 'metaphoric'. If it was humorous metaphor for children, it was tragically real for adults.

In this type of situation the canvassed stranger gave gifts in exchange for freedom and safety. If he refused 'the hand of friendship', the strangers' 'right' to gifts, he would be branded as savage, unjust, inhospitable, lawless and ungodly (Odyssey 9.175f), and a legitimate natural resource to be plundered at will(116). Things were little different many centuries later, when Xenophon reported that

their towns near the sea are not very strong; these the generals were disposed to attack, so that the army might have some plunder. For this reason they declined the presents which the Tibarenians had sent them as a token of hospitality...they offered sacrifices...all the priests agreed that (the omens suggested that) they should not make war on these people, so they accepted the presents(117).

The literature on gift-exchange and reciprocity is vast and various(118). The bulk, however, concerns exchange relationships between members of the same group; consequently most attention has

116 Cf. Aristotle Pol. 1333b38-1334a2. Finley AE 1985:156f.

117 Anab. 5.5.2-3. This type of behaviour was not reserved for barbaroi: by threat they persuade the Sinopeians to supply them with ships and provide for the troops, after which they consider taking possession of (read 'colonising') their chosen inhabited part of the Euxine littoral, from where, having appropriated the Sinopeians' ships, they may "make unexpected attacks upon any part of the country they liked", which persuades the people of Sinope and Herakleia to pay them to leave the Euxine area, bk.5 passim.

118 For detailed analyses of Homeric society see W.Donlan 'Reciprocities in Homer' CW 75(1981/2)137-175, and B.Øviller 'The Dynamics of Homeric Society' SO 56(1981)109-155.

been paid to peaceful exchange, the categories termed generalised and balanced reciprocity in Sahlins' typology(119). Whilst much of value has been gained from such studies for understanding exchange in pre-capitalist societies, in which 'the economy' as a differentiated concept with all the necessary institutions and structures does not exist, there has, I think, been insufficient attention paid to the category called negative reciprocity.

Sahlins' desire to bring all kinds of transfer under one grand scheme has resulted in cheating, theft, raiding and plundering all being unhappily located in a category the name of which (negative reciprocity) implies some kind of two-way transfer, when in fact it may refer to a situation in which taking, even by violence, prevails to the complete exclusion of giving. These different kinds of reciprocity are determined, in theory, by the span of social distance between the 'exchanging' individuals or groups. That span is determined by the closeness of the relationship, in terms of kinship, spatial proximity and status, of those involved. Whilst this might be applicable to Oceanic islanders and Africans, and even with qualifications to a Classical Greek society, it does not, I think, do justice to the Archaic period. A paradigm of Greek literature is Hesiod's Works and Days: there is no scholarly doubt that Hesiod had been cheated by his brother(120) who, on the death of their father, was probably his nearest living relative, of the same status, and living in close spatial proximity. Theoretically, they should be indulging primarily in generalised reciprocity (the pure gift end of the spectrum) on all three counts. Empirically, they seem to represent the exact opposite. Further, with respect to the model, Bourdieu has pointed out that giving gifts is inherently subjective: the giver

119 Stone Age Economics 1972.

120 Or purported to have been for his didactic purposes. "The poet obviously assumes his audience will be familiar with the situation", Verdenius op.cit. 1985:11.

does not know whether the gift will be accepted, never mind reciprocated, and if so, what the 'return' might be, or when it may be received(121). Treating the process of gift-exchange as a formal structure subject to mechanical rules of reciprocity eliminates the essential features of what a gift is, and combined with 'bracketing' the temporal dimension, the gift becomes indistinguishable from a swap or a loan(122). More broadly, the model seems inappropriate here: what seems to be the overarching parameter in Archaic Greek transfers is strength.

It is a self-evident truth that until a system of mechanisms capable of storing authoritative resources exists, those who would dominate "have to work directly, daily, personally, to produce and reproduce conditions of domination which are even then never entirely trustworthy"(123). Such people

are obliged to resort to the elementary forms of domination, in other words, the direct domination of one person by another, the limiting case of which is appropriation of persons, ie. slavery. They cannot appropriate the labour, services, goods, homage, and respect of men without 'winning' them personally(124).

Most social treatises (including Bourdieu's) concern theory and practice in conditions in which overt violence meets with collective reprobation, when open brutal exploitation is impossible, and recourse has to be made to what is undoubtedly more demanding (in time, effort, commitment and cost for the exploiter): the art of gentle or disguised exploitation(125), of which debt obligations are the most

121 "To stop short at the "objective" truth of the gift, ie. the model...is to ignore the fact that the agents practice as irreversible a sequence of actions that the observer constitutes as reversible...It is therefore practice, in its most specific aspect, which is annihilated when the scheme is identified with the model...All experience of practice...affirms that cycles of reciprocity are not the irresistible gearing of obligatory practices", Outline of a Theory of Practice (henceforth OTP) 1977:5, 9.

122 Cf. also A. Giddens Central Problems in Social Theory (henceforth CP) 1979:26.

123 Bourdieu OTP 1977:190.

124 Idem.

125 Ibid. 1977:191-197.

common, and the most commonly studied, mechanisms in pre-capitalist societies(126). Whilst the necessary condition (social sanctions against overt violent exploitation of one person by another) may have been present in some degree in a Greek society during the archaic period(127), it is demonstrably not present in 'Greek Society' qua the sum of Greek societies. The principal form of domination (quantitatively and qualitatively) in ancient Greece was the limiting one, slavery. And until the slave trade developed, which presupposes (and probably stimulated) the development of organised exchange structures and facilities (see below), persons were "won" and reduced to slavery chiefly by personal toil of the spear(128) (as were, I shall argue, most nonagricultural, non-locally produced goods). That is, the most significant form of domination in 'Greek Society' qua the sum of Greek societies was the most elementary form: overt violence.

The principles of acquisition: The principles of acquisition which were followed by Odysseus and 'the Swallows' involved relatively simple rules to which Greeks and non-Greeks alike adhered. Actors and circumstances determined minor variations and alternative gambits; endeavour and chance determined the outcome. The rules were: establish who is the stronger - the weaker pays(129). Plato, through Kallikles, is speaking:

126 Perfectly understandable: anthropologists have to do fieldwork, and who would choose to do it in a cannibalistic or slave society? The (almost) global cessation of such behaviour (a very recent 'achievement') necessarily means that such studies have to be historical.

127 Which cannot be assumed in the face of archaic literary evidence, eg. the Odyssey, W&D, the lyric poets (incl.Solon) etc.. Murder of fellow community members seems to be covered by negative sanctions, but none appear to exist for less final forms of violence within the community, see chap.3.

128 I do not believe that in pre-Solonic Attika Athenians were reduced to slavery through indebtedness to other individuals, see chapter 5.

129 Cf.Finley AH 1985:73f. Of course, a state which considered itself strong enough to resist could and did do so. Whether it did so with impunity or not depended upon the aggressor's reaction; Aigina v. Argos illustrates the first (Hdt.6.92.2), Mytilene v. Athens the second (Thuk.3.2-6, 27-50).

Nature demonstrates that it is right that the better man should prevail over the worse and the stronger over the weaker. The truth of this can be seen in a variety of examples drawn both from the animal world and from the complex communities and races of human beings; Right consists in the superior ruling over the inferior and having the upper hand(130).

Xenophon is speaking:

My opinion is, since we have neither money to buy what we want, nor can we survive without supplies, we return to the villages, where the inhabitants, being weaker than we are, do not oppose it(131).

And Thukydidides:

For it is a general rule of human nature that people despise those who treat them well and respect (thaumazo) those who make no concessions(132).

The rules did not demand demonstration, inferiority could simply be admitted and payment profered. In some circumstances this was an expediency: so the Byzantine Empire bought off the Huns(133). When an invader (individual or state) arrived on one's territory, the options were resist or pay, war or peace, and both cost: usually the former more in material terms, the latter more in psychological terms. The invaded's strategy depended chiefly upon the interplay of these two aspects. A practical disposition lent toward peace, a proud nature toward autonomy, autarkia (Aristotle Pol 1328a6-7). The choice became more difficult as the material and psychological cost increased; thus a harsh master suffered revolts and secessions, a mild 'protector' ruled easily and peacefully (cf.'Xenophon' Poroi 5). This process operated at individual, state, and empire level.

130 Plato Gorgias 483. See Davies' remarks on this dialogue, Democracy and Classical Greece 1978:120f, "That (these views) made a powerful impression, and reflected a major and influential current of thinking, emerges not only from the ferocious intellectual efforts which Plato repeatedly made to prove him wrong, or from their echo in the oligarchic coups d'etat of 411 and 404, but also from the prominence which mechanisms for the exercise and control of power came to have in contemporary Athenian political life".

131 Xenophon Anab. 7.3.

132 3.39.5. See the refreshingly clear-headed treatment of Thukydidides' attitude to power by P.R.Pouncey The Necessities of War 1980, esp. chap.3 on the archaeology.

133 Grierson CDA 9(1959)132.

For example, Tartessos was probably discovered by the Greeks on a long-distance adventure voyage(134). Kolaios' record-breaking profit on this first discovery would probably not, as Ormerod suggested, "bear too close scrutiny"(135). It seems to have gone unnoticed that the word Herodotos uses for the dedication by Kolaios after the 'discovery' of this emporion (also Herodotos' term) is dekate, the technical term for one tenth of the spoils of war(136): booty, in other words. The other pioneers in this area were the Phokaians(137). The Phokaians 'traded' not in merchant vessels but in fifty-oared galleys, warships "par excellence"(138). They charted unknown waters, opening up the Adriatic, Tyrrhenian, and western Mediterranean Seas and the Atlantic seaboard. Their activities on these voyages may be surmised

134 So Austin & Vidal-Naquet ESHAG 1977:219. According to Herodotos a Samian ship bound for Egypt about 638 BC was blown off course along the length of the Mediterranean, through the pillars of Herakles (Gibraltar) to Tartessos, 4.152. The date is seven years before the foundation of Kyrene (150-158), thought to be c.631. Cf.C.Starr The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece (henceforth ESG) 1977:52 and refs.in n.69. Most scholars find this story unconvincing; cf.Murray's exclamation mark EG 1980:113 (also pp.212,215); Boardman's "blown rather a long way" GO 1980:123; Hawkes "(surely he knew where he was going?)", plus opportunism Pytheas 1975:18f; Ormerod's opinion on the opportunist element is stronger, cf. Piracy in the Ancient World (henceforth PAW) 1978:95. Elsewhere Herodotos says (1.163) that the Phokaians were the first to discover Tartessos: Phokaian interests in the area were considerable, particularly after the establishment of her settlement at Massalia (mod. Marseilles). On the proposed revision of the foundation date and immediate implications cf.the postscript of D.Nash CT 1985:61-63.

135 PAW 1978:101 n.1.

136 Pritchett GMP 1971:93-100.

137 The story in Herodotos (1.162) bears all the hallmarks of Greek myopia, distorting the picture favourably to themselves. On coming to Tartessos they were befriended by a hundred and twenty year old king, we are told (Anakreon said he was 150, ALG 8). This king was apparently so taken with them he asked them to choose a piece of his kingdom and come to settle permanently. Despite the fact that their homes were under threat from the growing power of Persia, they declined, so the king 'gave' them enough money to build a very large and solid wall around their city. By the time the Persians duly arrived we must assume the offer withdrawn: the king of Tartessos was dead, adds Herodotos, offering an explanation he surely felt was required. Justin has equally ethnocentric vision, 43.3. See J-P Morel, 'L'Expansion phocéenne en occident : dix années de recherches' BCH 99(1975)853-896.

138 G.S.Kirk SGV 1949:143.

from their succeeding history: after the Persians conquered Ionia c.545 the Phokaians emigrated en masse and first tried to 'buy' some islands from the Khians (Hdt.1.164-5). Rejected, they went off to join their colony on Corsica.

For five years they lived at Alalia with the former settlers and built temples in the town; but during that period they caused so much annoyance to their neighbours by plunder and pillage that the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) and Karthaginians agreed to attack them with a fleet of sixty ships apiece (Hdt.1.166).

The Phokaians won, albeit a Pyrrhic victory. What is important to note is that in the course of five years they succeeded (by plunder and pillage) in irritating two independent nations sufficiently to unite them (not an easy feat in the Ancient World); they irritated the good people of Agylla (Caere) sufficiently to drive them to stone, rather than ransom or sell, all Phokaians in their possession after the battle; and that they were professional enough to defeat 120 warships, twice their numerical strength(139).

In sixth century Tyre Greek merchandise consisted of slaves and vessels of bronze(140): not agricultural or ceramic products. Recent research on the Phokaians' most famous colony, Massalia(141) has argued that its main trade was slavery. Justin's remark may not be as metaphorical as it is usually taken to be: "It was not Greece which seemed to have immigrated to Gaul, but Gaul that seemed to have been transplanted to Greece" (48.4.1). The battle of Alalia was not a 'commercial war' over the markets of Spain or anywhere else(142). It

139 If the story is true ie.they did win. Cf.J-P Morel art.cit. 1975. D.Nash, CT 1985 on the implications for Alalia if Massalia is downdated (and in which case the story of Arganthonios' 'offer' is even less credible).

140 Ez.27.5-25. Cf.the commentary by H.J. van Dijk Ezekiel's Prophecy on Tyre (Ez.26.1-28.19): A New Approach 1968 ch.2. The relatively large number of Greek bronzes found abroad, many apparently trade items as here, also argues against the notion that metals were scarce in Greece. It is things of which the giver/vendor has a surplus, not things of which he/she has less than required, which become exchange items.

141 D.Nash CT 1985:45-63.

142 Finley AE 1985:158-160. Humphreys, AAG 1983:116-122, 159-174. Graham art.cit. 1971:47. G.E.M.de Ste.Croix The Origins of the Peloponnesian War 1972:214-220. Mancias, P.T., 'War, Stasis and

was more akin to what two 'developed' Western powers did to a 'developing' N.African coastal state (in the spring of 1986) whose irritating activities had irritated them once too often.

Herodotos tells us quite plainly that the cause of the battle - not a war - was the Phokaians' predatory behaviour, and there is no reason to reject the charge(143). Another tale (6.17) is fully consistent: A Phokaian called Dionysios sailed to Phoenicia,

sank a number of cargo vessels and took from them property of considerable value; he then sailed for Sicily, which he made his base for piratical raids against Karthaginian and Tyrrhenian shipping.

Again, on the one hand Herodotos tells how Arion chose to return from Taras, the Spartan apoikia in southern Italy, in a Korinthian ship, "because he had more confidence in the Korinthians than in anyone else" (1.24.2) and continues that "the crew, however, when the ship was at sea, hatched a plot to throw him overboard and steal his money" (1.24.3). He adds that "that was the story as the Korinthians (and Lesbians) told it" (1.24.8). On the other hand, he records Karthaginian methods of silent (and peaceful) barter with the natives of the West Coast of Africa, emphasising the honesty involved (4.196). Strabo records that the Etruscans of Agylla (the same who stoned the Phokaians) enjoyed a high reputation amongst the Greeks for abstaining from piracy despite the fact that they were strong enough to have done so if they wished(144).

One gets the distinct impression from this that buying was resorted

Greek Political Thought' CSSH 24(1982)679. Whittaker WPh 1974:77. "Commercial domination, monopoly, even export drives occur and recur in the literature, not because the evidence suggests these things but simply because we have acquired the unfortunate habit of calling the settlements 'colonies'" Finley art.cit. 1976:174. Cf.also Snodgrass AG:AE 1980:128.

143 See also Justin 43.5.1.

144 5.2.3. The Roman maxim 'Punic faith' did not arise until the second century and is in any case more a reflection of Roman propaganda than Karthaginian realities. The Tyrrhenians in Athenaios' story (15.672b-c) appear to be unnecessary extras in a repeat performance of the Damia/Auxesia tale which, probably not incidentally, also involves Argos, Hdt. 5.82-88.

to by Greeks only when other options were closed.

Warfare and slavery: Greece was one of only five genuine slave societies in human history(145). That is, slavery was fundamental in their socio-economic systems. Greeks are named in Greek and non-Greek sources as slave traders as well as slave owners, and Greeks themselves state naturally, frequently, even arrogantly, that they enslave others. The corpus of their surviving literature is a massive testimony to a kind of behaviour they deemed normal, natural, and altogether fitting for a Greek, a superior type of human as they thought.

The Phokaians and Greeks generally were unwelcome in the Western Mediterranean. The powers of Karthage and Etruria mobilised to clear them not from the markets, but from the waters of the region(146): Wight does not share the "grossly unhistorical sentimentality about all things Greek"(147) to which Classicists are prone, preferring to

145 The others are Classical Rome, the United States of America, the Caribbean and Brazil, Finley ASMI 1983:9. Patterson would perhaps contest the number of societies which should be included, cf. SSD 1982 App.C (p.353-364) on large-scale slave systems.

146 M.Wight Systems of States 1977:95f, "Karthage 'knew the intruders on her ancient home, the young lighthearted masters of the waves' - of whom historians are far more ready to use such words as 'aggressors' and 'pirates' than they were a generation or two ago...(the Greeks) provoked Karthage into defensive alliances and counterattack". On diplomacy, and its virtual nonexistence in Greece, D.Hunt 'Lessons in Diplomacy from Classical Antiquity' PCA 79(1982)7-19.

147 P.Cartledge RS 1985:19 n.11. See also Borza's perceptive paper, 'Sentimental Philhellenism and the Image of Greece' in Classics and the Classical Tradition 1973:5-25. This indulgence towards the Greeks is our discipline's heritage. "Most of those aspects of Greek culture or of modern Greek scholarship that might have challenged dominant Victorian intellectual or moral values were ignored, suppressed, or in some way domesticated...Grote domesticated Athenian politics into a parliamentary framework, and Gladstone attempted to tame the ferocity of the Homeric heroes into Christian gentility. Mythographers excised the unsavory portions of the myths and later transformed them into solar tales. Frazer and Harrison confronted the terror and orgiastic character of chthonic and Dionysiac rites, but they removed much of the fearfulness by relating the rituals to the food supply or by finding positive psychological value in the religious ecstasy of the ancient worshippers. The homosexuality implicit in certain Platonic dialogues was regretted or denied, while the authoritarian politics advocated in other of the dialogues...was transformed into a benevolent paternalism by Jowett", F.M.Turner The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain 1981:449f.

explain this action in terms of competition for land or markets.

Before man can trade he must lay down his spear, said Mauss. Polanyi, whose interest picks up when the spear is put down, nevertheless clearly perceived that in ancient Greece trade was organised and money made

by a clever use of the chances of war and politics, including booty, fines, bribes, confiscations, sequestrations and the rest; the agora was a place for humble hucksters(148).

The only difference between this and the pretrade period is that in the former case the business is more organised. Even in Thukydides' day successful piracy was something of which to be proud amongst certain inhabitants of the mainland, whilst others still carried arms as a matter of course (Thuk.1.5). The difference between these areas, which Thukydides called 'backward' and equated with the condition in which all had lived in the past - and our main interest lies about 300 years earlier, 150 in the case of Alalia - and Thukydides' contemporary 'advanced' societies, can be summed up as 'the state'.

What hitherto is called a 'raid' is henceforth called a 'war'; what hitherto is called 'plunder' is henceforth 'booty' or 'tribute'; what hitherto were small scattered settlements (kata komas) are henceforth one enlarged (often necessarily fortified) community. Scale and organisation transformed bands of marauders and plunderers into armies and navies. An interesting analogy in this respect is provided by the laws of King Ine of Wessex, wherein an attempt is made

to define the various types of forcible attack to which a householder or his property might be subjected: if less than seven men are involved, they are thieves; if between seven and thirty-five, they form a gang; if above thirty-five, they are a military expedition(149).

In ancient Greece as in medieval England, the martial character

148 LM 1977:256. Cf. also Finley E&S 1983:188, and AH 1985:70f, "from the Homeric world to Justinian great wealth was landed wealth, (and) new wealth came from war and politics". See also Pritchett GMP 1970:58-82.

149 Grierson CDA 1959:131. King Ine's reign was also a time of colonisation, Runciman 'Accelerating Social Mobility: the case of Anglo-Saxon England' Past and Present 104(1984)21.

remained. Peace and stability improved as the state was ushered in; within the community laws overarched force in regulating conflict and its reconciliation(150); the individual ceded personal autonomy for group protection; exploitation of the weak (mostly) removed from within the community to without(151); and raids on neighbours were replaced by wars of expansion(152).

We have already made reference to Polanyi's observation on early 'traders' and transport. On Geometric vases one of the favorite motifs is the opposed landing from a ship(153).

Piratical raids are more what the Geometric scenes suggest...they must have been a not uncommon part of the life of any maritime people at this period. In brief, there is nothing in the Geometric ship-scenes to connect them with any specific incident in legend or to show even that they represent any extraordinary event of daily life(154).

Representations of ships on West Greek vases of the eighth and seventh centuries confirm that the ships which visited or sailed from the Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily were of the same type as those portrayed on the vases displaying the warrior exploits of the Athenian elite in the Dipylon cemetery(155).

- 150 That is, conditioned power began to support (not replace) condign, Galbraith AP 1984. These categories correspond approximately to Plato's 'nature' (whence 'natural') and 'convention', which are used by Kallikles in the Gorgias (483) to make the same point. The position Kallikles, and no doubt very many others held, viz. right without might is an idealistic vision which is, in practice, frankly ridiculous (484-487), dictates the word 'support' rather than 'replace' in the first sentence of this note.
- 151 cf. Aristotle Pol. 1253a19-39. Solon ALG 3,5,24.
- 152 Cf. Finley AE 1985:205-207. Garland War in the Ancient World 1975:41.
- 153 Snodgrass EGAW 1964:193. G.S. Kirk SGV 1949:144 and n.61. M-C de Graeve Ships of the Ancient Near East (henceforth SANE) 1981:129 "Throughout history, few merchant-men are depicted in contrast to the number of war galleys". "The central position of the ships in the scenes of land-sea fighting certainly makes the crews (ie. the pirates), not the shore forces, the heroes of the piece" Kirk SGV 1949:145. This may be due to considerations of art, popular motifs and subject matters, but that itself reflects social attitudes. "The social fabric is the condition of value...you cannot have value of any sort or kind, you cannot have traffic or trade or buying or selling, unless a social organism exists. In that sense it is true that all social value is created, and all value is social." H.H. Asquith in Crowned Masterpieces of Eloquence 1914(I)178.
- 154 Emphasis in original, Kirk SGV 1949:151. Compare Diod. Sic. 5.6.
- 155 Humphreys AAG 1983:166. The prime motif of the Dipylon workshop at its zenith (c.760-750) was fighting on land and sea, Coldstream GG 1977:110; cf. also pp.352-356 and figs.112b & c. The differentiation of merchant-ship and war galley was achieved by c.510 (or

It is perhaps not irrelevant that when Alkaios sought a symbol and metaphor for stasis, civil strife, he chose a ship (whence 'ship of state')(156). Literary sources substantiate the mute message of pots. For example, the preceding section of the story of Arion is typical: "till he felt a longing to sail to Italy and Sicily. This he did, and after acquiring a great many things in those countries, he decided to return to Korinth..." (Hdt.1.24). No indication of what 'things' he acquired or how he acquired them. Solon similarly: one roams over the sea risking his life in the hope of bringing home some possessions(157). To Polanyi's observation on early trade may be added Patterson's:

Slaves often constituted the earliest article of trade, especially of external and long-distance trade...it should by now be clear that slavery was intricately tied up with the origins of trade itself(158).

Ancient Greece is an unambiguous case in "a second group in which captivity in warfare was the dominant means of enslavement...during only the formative period of their developing slave sectors"(159). The almost indistinguishable art of kidnapping(160) is also examined by Patterson in his monumental and fundamental book on slavery. "The Greeks were both captors and captives in this nefarious traffic; for they captured fellow Greeks as well as barbarians..."(161). The

later, cf.E.D.Francis and M.Vickers 'Greek Geometric Pottery at Hama' Levant 17(1985)131-138) de Graeve SANE 1981, pl.LIII fig.130.

- 156 PLF frgs.6, 73, 326. Cf. Frankel EGPP 1975:190, whose general treatment of Alkaios is unfogged by romanticism. Theognis also uses the ship as a metaphor for strife, eg. 457-60, 575f, 619f, 667-682 (probably by Euenos), 855f.
- 157 ALG 1.44f. Cf.also Theognis 179f. The hazards of seafaring at this time should not be under-rated: cf.comparative evidence in Andrews TPS 1984:22-29.
- 158 O.Patterson SSD 1982:148f.
- 159 Ibid. 1982:113. Cf.also Garlan War 1975:71. Greece of the Homeric period falls into the first group viz. kin-based or tribal societies SSD 1982:396 n.50. To this group we could add the Skythians; cf.Herodotos 4.2.
- 160 Cf.J-P. Vernant op.cit. 1980:19f (n.13). Ormerod PAW 1978:71 and n.3. Humphreys AAG 1983:169. Mancias,P.T. art.cit. 1982:675.
- 161 "(during the Peloponnesian War) the situation was so bad that even Athenian generals engaged in an early form of the protection racket, guaranteeing the safety of coastal cities against kidnap-

Athenian empire itself might be characterised in such a way: the Athenians' response to the failed revolt of the Poteidaians was to expel the entire population from their city - to what fate? - to that of Mytilene, to kill the male population and enslave the women and children(162). The difference between pirates and the Athenian navy was simply one of scale, organisation, and legitimacy - and the fact that our principal source on the event was an Athenian general.

It is well known that warfare was endemic in Ancient Greece. "War as such was not a variable because it was an omnipresent activity"(163). Empires are by nature exploitive and, as Finley

ping for a heavy price" SSD 1982:115f. Things were little different in expansionist England: "Even lord admirals - from Sir Thomas Seymour in Edward's time to the earl of Nottingham in James's - were not above conniving at acts of piracy and pocketing what amounted to bribes. Indeed the lord admirals and their staffs were less concerned with keeping law and order at sea than with profiting, directly or indirectly, from lawlessness and disorder...As Sir Henry Mainwaring, himself a pirate-turned-admiral, put it: 'the State may hereafter want such men (pirates), who commonly are the most daring and serviceable in war of all those kind of people'. The careers of Drake, Frobisher and many less famous men bear out the truth of his remark". K.Andrews TPS 1984:28. Relevant to the Phokaians' seamanship, and the Aiginetans (see below). Cf.also Burn LAG 1978:47f.

162 Thukydides 2.70 (Poteidaia), 3.36 (Mytilene). The decision on Mytilene was not carried out; the revised (and enacted) decree was moderated to killing 1000+ men thought to be responsible for the revolt, destruction of the fortifications, and confiscation of the land, which was then leased to the Mytilenians and Athenian kleruchs: Thukydides 3.50.

163 M.I.Finley PolAW 1983:106, AH 1985 chap.5. A recent paper has called this belief into question, P.T.Mancias art.cit. 1982. Mancias builds his argument rather heavily (and unjustifiably) on Thukydides' derogation of land warfare: "What wars there were were simply frontier skirmishes...local affairs between neighbours" (1.15) whilst ignoring the thrust of the previous eleven chapters (1.3.4-15.1) to which the land war passage is appended as a contrast: "These Hellenic navies, whether in the remote past or in the later periods...were a great source of strength to the various naval powers. They brought in revenue and they were the foundation of empire. It was by naval action that these powers, and especially those with insufficient land of their own, conquered the islands. There was no warfare on land which resulted in the acquisition of an empire" (1.15). Cf. the evaluation of this passage by A.M.Snodgrass 'Interaction by Design: the Greek city-state' Peer Polity Interaction edd.C.Renfrew & J.F.Cherry, and W.G.Runciman 'Origins of States: the case of Ancient Greece' CSSH 24(1982)356. The same monoscopic view leads Mancias to say that "the polis was 'territorially-inelastic': it could not be expanded beyond certain limits without fundamentally altering its nature. This put definite limits on wars of expansion" (p.678). This is

pointed out

no-one in the city-state world, and certainly no social class, was opposed to war, conquest and empire(164).

There was no neat dichotomy (of wars) into two 'types', one about the ownership of land, the other about hegemony. Such a conception is, in the end, a survival of the once prevailing and still tenacious nonsense that Rome, like Britain, acquired an empire in a fit of absence of mind. Calling an empire a 'hegemony' does not change its nature or its objectives in the slightest(165).

The material benefits of empire are simply the profits of plundering on a larger scale and more regular basis: empire allows the expropriation of immovable (especially land) as well as movable goods. 'Tribute' is none other than regulated booty, 'taxes' theft, legalised and legitimised by the conquering power(166).

I have heard likewise of some leaders so greedy of wealth that they were more (note, more) notoriously criminal in their search for it than private individuals: for though the latter may sometimes steal, break and enter, and sell free persons into slavery in order to support themselves, the former do much worse: they ravage whole countries, put nations to the sword, enslave free states, and all this for the sake of money and to fill the coffers of their treasury(167).

reasonable in a narrow sense, but the settlements consciously and purposefully founded - whether called apoikia, emporion or klerukhy - point in a different direction. Many were fully-fledged poleis to be sure, but that is to miss the point. When one frontier was water, a polis' territory was as elastic as her maritime ability allowed: cf. Hampl, F. 'Poleis ohne Territorium' Klio 32(1939)1-60 who argues that in founding a colony the mother-state retained ownership of the land. The position is rather extreme but it does, I think, point in the right direction. The benefits accruing to the founding city(ies) were, I believe, greater than commonly allowed. Cf. eg. Xenophon Anab. 5.5: Sinope 'gave' Cotyra to the natives from whom she had wrested the country in return for a tax/tribute from them, so also the inhabitants of Kerzant and Trebizond.

164 PolAW 1983:113.

165 AH 1985:79 (the wit is Carr's, What is History? 1964:36). See also Garland War 1975:183.

166 Cf. Pouncey's excellent summary of Thukydides' views: "the practice of exploitation for gain or power is, then, a universal one, involving Greek and non-Greek alike (1.5.1-2); and whether it is practiced by the individual pirate looking after his family, or Minos building a maritime empire, the basic motivation is the same, and the victims, large or small, have learned to live with it, or even embrace it: 'weaker cities in their desire for gain endured subjection to the stronger' (Thuk.1.8.3). Historical change takes place along a continuum of aggression, beginning with the first bandit, and rising to the concerted and organized violence of an empire" The Necessities of War. 1930:49.

167 Xenophon Symp. 5.

It is a potent sign of the success of the propaganda of empire that these forms of expropriation are still considered legitimate sources of income. To quote St. Augustine:

Remove justice, and what are kingdoms but gangs of criminals on a large scale? What are criminal gangs but petty kingdoms? A gang is a group of men under the command of a leader, bound by a compact of association, in which the plunder is divided according to an agreed convention. If this villiany wins so many recruits...that it acquires territory, establishes a base, captures cities and subdues peoples, it then openly arrogates to itself the title of kingdom, which is conferred on it in the eyes of the world, not by renunciation of aggression but by the attainment of impunity...(captured pirate to Alexander the Great, reported by Cicero De Rep. 3,14,24 and quoted by Augustine) 'Because I do it with a tiny craft, I'm called a pirate; because you have a mighty navy, you're called an emperor'...To attack one's neighbours, to pass on to crush and subdue more remote peoples without provocation and solely from a thirst for dominion - what is one to call this but brigandage on the grand scale?(168).

In such circumstances the necessity for raid-proof vaults was critical, and the unstable and insecure communities placed their valuables under the protection of a higher authority, in a sanctuary(169). But even here the inadequacy of conditioned power without condign, of tradition and taboos without the physical might to enforce it, occasioned the first alliances between states surrounding some sanctuaries (amphiktyones) to protect and defend such places with all the combined might at their disposal. Regarding members' interstate relations, however, such a pact often did little more than set limits to the extent to which a war between them would be carried (such as the Delphic Amphiktyony). Other 'allies' promised not to plunder each other - free to plunder anywhere else of course, individually or together(170). The line between war and brigandage was a fine one,

168 City of God 4.4, 6, trans.H.Bettenson, Penguin 1972 ed.. S.Daniel (1562-1619) must have been thinking of this when he wrote "Great pirate Pompey lesser pirates quails: Justice, he sees (as if seduced), still conspires with power, whose cause must not be ill" Epistle to the Lady Margaret. (It is not explicit, but the 'he' of the poem appears to be 'the historian'.)

169 See chapter 4.

170 eg. Argos,Knossos and Tylissos; Tod,M. GHI 1933:59-63 (no.33). Graham Colony and Mother City (henceforth CMC) 1983:235-244. Jeffery, LSAG 1961:165. Fornara C.W. Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War 1977:87-88 (no.89). Oianthea and Khaleon;

and, by analogy, we may reasonably suppose that

the line between trade and plunder was often difficult to trace. Corsairs themselves were accustomed to trade with the colonists, not only by way of ransom but also by bartering plunder for victuals. Traders for their part were inclined to resort to force to get victuals or whatever else they strongly wanted(171).

The passage refers to early European expansion, but is quite comparable: control by the various interested states was poor, organisation lacking, policing effectively nil, risks high, prospects lucrative, merchant marine and Royal Navy barely differentiated (only in name it would appear), and where the cargo under discussion was considered by a near contemporary(172) in terms of hunting, namely 'praye' - slaves.

Arkhilokhos (fl.650) was an early 'colonist'(173). "His fragments leave us in no doubt that (he) was turbulent and fierce"(174). His father or grandfather had led a Parian expedition to the island of Thasos off the coast of Thrace, whence forays into the mainland continued into and beyond Arkhilokhos' lifetime. The famous shield song(175), despite what philhellenes are wont to imagine, clearly does

Tod 1933:63-66 (no.34). Jeffery 1961:106. Fornara 1977:84-85 (no.87). Teos and Abdera; Meiggs & Lewis no.30. Ak[~]arnania, Ambrakia and Amphilokhos; Thukydides 3.114 implies such an arrangement. But it needn't be formalised: the 'treat friends well and hurt enemies' ideology provided guidelines for interaction, cf.eg. Xenophon Anab. 5.5. Cf. Finley AH 1985:77 "more and more epigraphical texts refer to treaties setting out in advance how the anticipated spoils should be divided among allies. All this seems to drop from sight, or to be denigrated."

171 K.Andrews TPS 1984:120. Cf. Xenophon Anab. 6.5, and Aristotle Ethics 1160a. Cf. also Pritchett's comments GMP 1970:58.

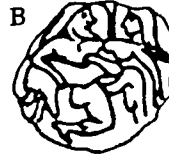
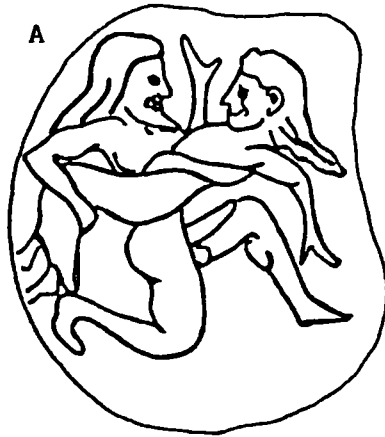
172 Hakluyt, 20 years later, cited by K.Andrews TPS 1984:121.

173 A recent discussion of Arkhilokhos aptly exemplifies the unjustified and unjustifiable leap which connects 'colonisation' with 'over-population': "(Critias) reported that Archilochus 'left Paros because of poverty and need, and went to Thasos'...It was the lure of wealth or, put in other terms, the pressure of crowding and overpopulation at home, that drew the Parians northward..." Podlecki The Early Greek Poets and Their Times 1984:32 (my emphasis). 'The pressure of crowding and overpopulation' has a different semantic content from 'the lure of wealth'; 'put in other terms' is not a function of equivalence, of the type $x=y$, but of the type 'replace x with y'.

174 Rankin Archilochus of Paros 1977:1. Note also his observation p.22 that "Archilochus had a connoisseur's interest in warfare".

175 ALG 6 (= Lattimore 3).

not refer to defending his country, and we do not have to look far to find the object of the raids(176): the resource whose principal mode



- A. From ?Memphis hoard, reported & illustrated in Price-Waggoner, p.126.
- B. Kraay ACGC 1976:519, c.500 stater.

Figure 2.1

of acquisition was by the spear, the slave(177).

Arkhilokhos' mother was a Thracian slave, of whom there might have been as many as a thousand on Thasos(178). Fragment 2 strongly suggests he had a Thracian slave-woman attendant and, no doubt, bed-fellow(179), acquired, like everything else he owned, by the spear:

176 See Rankin's unsentimental treatment of this fragment op.cit. 1977:42 (despite the vestiges of the 'just war' idea): "which clearly involved landing from the sea for a raid on one of the Thracian tribes that were a constant source of trouble to the inhabitants of Thasos" (my emphasis). They were, rather, the fountainhead of their wealth.

177 One can literally look, at Thasian coinage (see fig.2.1). The description of the scene as "the forcible rape of the nymph by a bestial satyr" (C.M.Kraay Archaic and Classical Greek Coinage (henceforth ACGC) 1972:150) precisely captures the image, but do not satyrs have tails? And what distinguishes a 'nymph' from a mortal woman? See also Boardman art.cit. 1971:139 n.33 on Etruscan situla c.600 BC which depict bound captives, "which is more an oriental than a Greek or Etruscan theme...however, (the precise manner in which they are depicted viz. bound hands not collared necks) can be illustrated in Archaic Greece, if only with Heracles and satyrs" (my emphasis). It is all very cosy to interpret such scenes mythologically, but is it correct? Although I have been unable to see any tails on the Thasian coins illustrated in Kraay, Professor Mattingly assures me that tails and ears are found on coins before 461, but not thereafter: the scene is identical and unequivocally human.

178 Cf. Rankin op.cit. 1977:15 and Frankel EGPP 1975:136 n.11.

179 Patterson SSD 1982:173, "I know of no slave-holding 'society in which a master, when so inclined, could not exact sexual services

By spear is kneaded the bread I eat, by spear my Ismaric wine is won, which I drink, leaning on my spear(180).

Did the Greeks start venturing their lives on the wine-dark sea in order to exchange with alien people? My answer is an unequivocal 'No'.

The Mediterranean, central to the development of human civilisation and lovingly celebrated in Euro-American historiography, from the viewpoint of human oppression has been a veritable vortex of horror for all mankind, especially for the Slavic and African peoples. The relationship was in no way accidental(181).

The Greeks' 'influences' on the indigenous peoples of Europe were many and various, but (even if one prefers to interpret it as an etymological coincidence) the Ligurians caught the spirit of it as experienced by many:

"The word 'Sigynna' is used by the Ligurians above Massalia for 'trader'" Herodotos tells us. "In Kypros it means 'spear'" he adds(182).

2.5 Emporos and emporia

Given the structural importance of the slave trade in Ancient Greece, it is inconceivable that there should have been no standard term for slave trader. Members of a genuine slave society in which external trade performed a crucial role must have been able to signify such a structurally imperative person as a slave trader (however euphemistically they chose to do it). And since the slave trade is by nature international, one term probably came to be generally accepted, at least among the Greek-speaking societies, as doulos came to be the standard word for 'slave'. Thus of two things we can be fairly

from his female slaves". Professor Mattingly informs me that Marcus Aurelius claimed in his Confessions never to have abused sexually any male or female slave of his. We may take it that this was something unusual, of which the good Stoic was proud.

180 ALG 2 (trans.Lattimore Greek Lyrics 2) Note that Ismaros is a target for Arkhilokhos as it was for Odysseus.

181 Patterson SSD 1982:171.

182 5.9.3. The first phase of urban settlement at Genoa (Ligurian port) is C.5; the earliest traces of local agriculture in the vicinity date to the first century BC, T.Mannoni 'The Archaeological Evidence for Commerce: A Ligurian case study' AIS 1981:127 .

certain. First, that slave traders existed. In the early days, no doubt, transporters and sellers (auctioneers by and large) were one and the same person. Concomitant with the intensification of the slave trade the two major parts of the occupation would have become differentiated, involving two or more persons. The second thing of which we may be certain is that there was a term or terms to signify slave traders. The 'silence of the sources' on slavery and the slave trade is inherently related to what we understand by the the words used by those sources. The continued existence of philologists alone demonstrates that such understanding is mutable.

In the first century AD we find a completely unambiguous word for slave trader in somatemporos (lit. body-trader). In the second we have the earliest recorded use of andrapodokapelos, equally explicit (lit. man-footed(stock)-dealer). The two principal words for 'trader' in classical sources, emporos and kapelos, are here, about six hundred years later, prefixed by words which signify that they trade in people. About six hundred years ago 'hierarchy' referred to angels. If we wished to refer to a hierarchy of angels now, we are required to add 'of angels'(183). I am going to argue that (i) emporos originally meant slave trader; specifically, when the functions of transporting the slaves to market and selling them at market were differentiated and carried out by different people, the person who transported them to market; (ii) the slave trade was quantitatively and qualitatively so much the trade that emporos was synonymous with 'trader'. Only if the trade items were not slaves, and it was felt necessary or desirable to specify the fact, were other items so specified (eg. siton, grain); (iii) the primary association with the slave trade lasted until it became necessary to distinguish the fact that the trade was

183 Roget's thesaurus lists under 'angel' 'heavenly hierarchy'. It is not the hypothetical sense we were seeking, but it amply demonstrates that 'hierarchy' is now dissociated from angels and requires 'heavenly'.

in slaves by so specifying it with an appropriate term, eg. soma or andrapoda. Essentially the same is suggested of kapelos, except that this term signified the differentiated individual role of selling (or more usually auctioning) the slaves at market. The most obvious analogy to illustrate the difference between emporos and kapelos - so long as modern economic theory is not transposed in the process - is that between 'wholesaler' and 'retailer'.

Let us briefly reiterate the general scene before getting embroiled in the minutiae of philology. Classical Greece was one of only five 'genuine slave societies' in human history. It became one during the period of expansion. And slave societies demand a slave trade(184).

The Black Sea and Mediterranean slave trade was (one) of the oldest and most important in the history of slave acquisition. Despite its importance for the ancient economies, we know very little about it other than it rose to prominence toward the end of the seventh century BC. Before our era the southern regions of the Black Sea and Asia constituted the single most important source of slaves, although significant numbers also came from the north(185).

Now, emporos is derived from the verb perao, of which there are two meanings. One means 'to pass' (over, across or through a space), and leads to the translation of emporos as 'traveller', especially 'passenger on a ship'. In this it is like English 'merchant' and 'trader' in referring originally to movement(186). The other, more specific meaning of perao, which is usually completely ignored by modern scholars although it is documented from Homeric (that is, earliest) times, is 'to carry beyond the sea for the purpose of selling, to sell men as slaves'(187). The apparent neglect of the slave supply in the ancient sources, particularly by the political philosophers, may, then, only be apparent.

184 Patterson SSD 1982:148, external trade always played a major role in the indirect acquisition of slaves.

185 Patterson SSD 1982:150-152. On the Black Sea slave trade, see Finley's essay repr. in E&S 1983:167-175.

186 OF.marchand; MidLowGerm.trade (=track, OSax.trada, OHighGerm.trata), related to 'tread'. 'Trade wind' originally meant any wind that blew in a constant direction.

187 Liddell and Scott s.v. perao (b).

Consider the hypothesis that emporion began as collection and shipping points developed as part of a general intensification of the institution of slavery(188). This is not to suggest that emporion dealt solely in slaves; far from it. Greek trade, especially archaic Greek trade, cannot be so neatly pigeon-holed. As Humphreys suggested, putting the emphasis in the right place,

archaic Greek trade should be seen as part of a much wider context of exchanges between the Aegean and the world beyond, in which the import and export of manpower were of greater moment than the exchange of goods, and upon which a rigid distinction between 'trade' and the transfer of goods through war, raiding, hospitality and gift-exchange cannot be imposed(189).

My argument, in brief, is that the trading system of the Classical period developed during the Archaic period - it did not emerge fully-formed, as many discussions seem implicitly to assume; that the single most important item traded (qualitatively and quantitatively) was slaves, and that the emporion were founded - in, near or away from poleis - originally to deal with that trade, and always retained that association. The great 'traders' in Ancient Greece, Korinth, Aigina, and Khios, are also the great slavers, and all are known to have had emporion quarters(190). Let us then examine them in more detail.

188 This possibility is not excluded by the eleven characteristics of emporion identified by J.F.G.Hind on examination and synthesis of the ancient testimonia, cf. The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area in the Archaic and Classical Periods Diss.Camb.1969, vol 2, App.III:12-17. Indeed, it accords particularly well with his @10, in which he suggests that in many cases small groups of settlers preceded traders.

189 AAG 1978:169. Various views have been put forward on emporion and the people who frequented them, eg.B.Bravo 'Une lettre sur plomb de Beresan: colonisation et modes de contact dans le Pont' Dialogues d'histoire ancienne 1(1974)111-87 and 'Le commerce maritime et la noblesse dans la Grece, archaïque' Dialogues d'histoire ancienne 3(1977)1-59; Velissaropoulos art.cit. 1977, Finley (alias Finkelstein) 'Emporos, Naukleros and Kapelos' CPh 30(1935)320-336. Cartledge art.cit. 1983 has a good critique of Bravo and Mele. On the whole I am in agreement with the views of Humphreys.

190 Khalkis (early 'colonizer') and Athens (great slaver) in addition are known to have had emporion quarters, and the same may be inferred of Byzantion, Delos, Ephesos, Kyrene, Kyzikos, Massalia, Miletos, Sinope, Syracuse, Taras, Thasos and, interestingly (but not surprisingly (since we know that Greeks were bringing in slaves)) Tyre; cf.Hind op.cit. App.III. Byzantion is named by Polybios (4.38.4; 50.2-4) as a slave centre; Delos is well known;

The great trading states: Korinth, Aigina and Khios: R.M.Cook pointed out many years ago that the industrial importance of pottery appears great only because pottery is virtually indestructable(191), and its importance is continually being eroded by modern scholarship. Finley demanded

more specification, more qualification, where possible quantification, of such otherwise misleading vague phrases as 'intensive exchange', 'exceedingly active', 'examples have been dug up'(192)

and the response has begun. For example, Korinthian amphoras Type A:

catalogued exports of the sixth century now total over two hundred. Among the sites with three or more examples...(193);

Type A', 'exportation' starting c.450:

The largest number abroad found within a single region total about a dozen...(194);

Type A' was widely used at home as well as for export. About one hundred Type A' jars are represented by fragments in the Punic Amphora Building (where) they constitute by far the greatest proportion of local amphoras, co-existing with Types A and B in a ratio of ten A' to one A and to five B amphoras(195),

viz. 10 Type A jars, 50 Type B jars, 100 Type A' jars(196). Another example: the 'Terracotta Factory' is "deficient" as a coroplast's factory, but as a house, as which it is "best considered", its facili-

Massalia, Syrakuse and Thasos (above); on Ephesos see below. Cf. de Graeve on Phoenician merchantmen: they were designed to carry 'passengers'. Tenedos, an island which features rarely in the literary sources (but note Pindar Nemean 11) and still less in archaeological scholarship, specialised in 'passenger traffic' (Aristotle Pol. 1291b25). The usual interpretation of this is a Tenedian propensity for the 'ferry' business. See below.

191 Greek Painted Pottery 1968:275. Finley notes that surprisingly few kiln-sites have been identified, even less examined AE 1985:190f. At Korinth, for example, cf. Williams art.cit. 1981:408-421.

192 E&S 1983:33.

193 (My emphasis)"..are Athens, Olympia, and Corcyra in Greece; Selinus, Gela, Syracuse, and Leontini, in Sicily; and Leuca, Metaponto, Gravisca, and Rome, in Italy" Koehler Hesp 50(1981)452.

194 (My emphasis)..at Metaponto" ibid. 1981:454 n.25.

195 ibid. 1981:456.

196 From the proportions given on p.450 we compute that there are estimated to be, in these tons of fragments used as building rubble over a period of several centuries, a total of 3,000 pots, of which 1280 are Punic (ie. Phoenician) and 1280 are Khian, since the 160 'Korinthian' (Koehler argues that many of these are in fact Kerkyran) constitute 5% of the total, and the others comprise 2/5ths each. The figures are very round.

ties

would be sufficient, however, to produce figurines in the building, with dried clay products fired in a kiln built elsewhere or shared with a neighbour on another lot(197).

Korinth's 'great trading fame', not to mention her copious ceramic 'industry', is here, in a few hundred pots and a cramped, kilnless cottage 'factory'.

Meanwhile, distribution studies (specifically, absence of 'imports' where, theoretically, there should be imports), traditional visual methods, and recently developed scientific analyses of clays, are increasingly suggesting (more or less strongly) that a substantial proportion of pottery, including painted pottery found at 'colonies', was locally produced. "The implications are becoming steadily wider; the more local centres of production emerge, the less the part played by long-distance trade"(198). Moreover, despite her 'trading interests', Korinth does not appear to have had a sizeable metic population(199). She did, on the other hand, have a phenomenal number of slaves: Timaios (apud Athenaios 6.265) reckoned their numbers to be in the region of 460,000. We need not take the figure literally; what is significant is that Korinth was perceived in a world without statistics as a major slave-holder, and was therefore heavily involved in the slave trade. Let us then turn to Aigina.

Aigina: Aigina is an island with few natural resources, "a small and markedly infertile island"(200) with a territory of 33 sq.miles, yet she was one of the richest and most powerful Archaic states. It was ostensibly to pursue the war with Aigina that the Athenians built the

197 C.K.Williams art.cit. 1981:419.

198 Snodgrass AG:AE 1980:129.

199 D.Whitehead 'Immigrant Communities in the Classical Polis: Some principles for a synoptic treatment' L'Antiquite Classique 53(1984)50f.

200 Murray EG 1980:211. Compare the territorial size of Sikyon, 140 sq. m. (above average), Korinth, 340 sq. m. (one of the largest), and Athens 1000 sq. m. (of a different order of magnitude), S.Diamant 'Theseus and the Unification of Attika' Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography Hesp.Supp.19(1982)45.

200 triremes with which they fought the Persian War(201). She was, according to one tradition, the first mainland state to coin silver, and her 'turtles' are found in small numbers all over the Mediterranean(202); yet she seems not to have produced anything for export - nor does the island have any mines whence to produce the coins(203). Are we to believe that her great wealth was acquired entirely through freight charges and middleman profit? The arguments above would suggest not.

Herodotos records some unsavoury stories about the Aiginetans: perhaps propagandist, but he tends to report them in his 'matter-of-fact' style rather than in his 'that is what some/they say' vein. For instance, during the execution of 700 Aiginetans involved in an unsuccessful civil uprising, one prisoner escaped and took refuge in the sanctuary of Demeter the Lawgiver. Since his pursuers could not make him let go of the temple door handle, they cut his hands off, and took him back to continue the proceedings (6.91). "That was how the Aiginetans dealt with each other" he says (6.92.1). After the battle of Plataia they showed the same sort of character: an Aiginetan recom-

201 Hdt.7.144.

202 Cf. Kraay JHS 1964 and Revue Numismatique 1968 for distribution maps.

203 Aigina's earliest coinage used silver "from a source unusually rich in gold", H.B. Mattingly 'A summing-up for the numismatist' in E.T. Hall & D.M. Metcalf (edd.) Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage 1972:324. A considerable amount of electrum in the melting pot perhaps (see below). Recent analysis has shown that Aigina did use Laurion silver in later issues, N.H. Gale, W. Getner & G.A. Wagner 'Mineralogical and geographical silver sources of archaic Greek coinage' MIN 1(1980)36, cited by Vickers 'Early Greek Coinage' NC 145(1985)35 (who would date such issues to the Kimonian period). This, of course, raises perhaps the greatest problem for scientific analyses of precious metal objects (esp. coins); the stock of metal "was continually being melted down, re-mixed and used again, so that the distinctive features of any batch of metal were soon diluted and lost", Kraay ACGC 1972:10. It is quite possible, for example, that the Aiginetan coinage made of Laurion silver was produced by melting down and reusing Athenian coinage, rather than Athenian bullion or Athenian ore. According to Kraay (ACGC 1972:12) it was usually urgency which occasioned restriking instead of melting down and reissuing, and Aigina used a different standard from Athens.

mended to the Greek general impaling the head of the Persian general, in order to increase the former's reputation, and to make barbaroi more cautious before insulting or injuring Greeks in future (9.78). The general, a Spartan, declined (though the Spartans weren't above brutality towards their own helots). Aristophanes enlarges the image, naming Aigina as a smuggling base during the Peloponnesian War(204).

These 'traders' fielded "an elite squadron"(205) of 30 front-line war-ships in a reluctant war with Persia, and had at least twelve ships patrolling her own coastline - the low figure is probably due to her lack of enthusiasm for this war. She had fielded 70 ships against Athens eleven years earlier, in 490 (Hdt.6.92.1), and the home guard number (twelve) is in any case a guess, to relate Herodotos' total to his sums(206). Despite the relatively small number of ships (less than either Athens or Korinth) Aigina won both the individual and the team prizes for distinguished service at Salamis, and received mentions in despatches from both there and Artemision(207).

Her most famous son, Sostratos (the only man in Greek popular mythology to have been richer than Kolaios, who discovered Tartessos), has been identified more or less plausibly with or as a relative of a Sostratos who dedicated an aniconic Apollo Agyieus at Gravisca in Etruria(208), and similarly with the 'Attik' black figure 'SO' vases, all dated to the years 535-505(209), and all of which (of known prove-

204 Frogs 363.

205 Burn Persia and the Greeks (henceforth PG) 1984:459.

206 Burn PG 1984:382,441f.

207 Hdt.7.181 mention from Artemision; 8.84-92 distinguished performance at Salamis. This would have entitled them to a larger share of the spoils, which may be the truth behind the story about how Aigina's great wealth was founded on the spoils of the Persian War, Hdt.9.80.

208 Cf.M.Torelli 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca' La Parola del Passato 32(1977)398-458.

209 The dates may have to come down cf.Francis & Vickers art.cit. 1985:131-138. There is a difficulty in the consensus view here; the idea of an Aiginetan trading Attik vases in the later sixth/early fifth century is at variance with the 'unheralded' war going on at the time between the two states. If the Aiginetans were in the habit of burning Phaleron and ravaging the coast of Attika, one would expect an Aiginetan trader to get short shrift in Attik

nance) come from Etruria(210). Even if these conjectures are allowed to stand, Sostratos did not make his fortune selling 'Attik' pots abroad: it is almost an economic 'law' that in pre-modern societies the profit on overseas ventures is made not on the outward but on the return journey(211). What then did Sostratos take back to Greece? What could be acquired in Etruria which realized such a hefty profit in Greece? The answer is probably to be found in Aigina's reputation: apart from her open-ended 'trading' fame (and Aigina sent out no colonies remember), there are two exceptional features of Aigina: (i) she, like Korinth, does not appear to have had a sizable metic population, power and 'trading' interests notwithstanding(212); (ii) the phenomenal number of her slaves - some sources put it at the exaggerated (and impossible) figure of 470,000(213).

This implication finds corroborating evidence: Gravisca was one of the ports of Agylla (Caere) (about 20 miles N. along the coast(214)), which was the town most incensed by the activities of the Phokaians based at Alalia (and Massalia?), and is the one town singled out by Nash in connection with the Massaliote slave trade(215). Let us then

 markets. On Attik/Aiginetan hostilities cf. Burn PG 1984:191f. Jeffery AG 1976:84,104.

- 210 One therefore suspects that they were made in Etruria, not Athens.
 211 "Their gain lieth rather in the foreign commodities there bought" Company of Merchant Adventurers report 1579, R.H.Tawney & E.Packer (edd.) Tudor Economic Documents 1924(II)54, cited in Andrews TPS 1984:21, see also pp.5, 31-35. Cf. also Aelfric's Colloquy, cited in Runciman art.cit. 1984:15 n.47.
 212 D.Whitehead art.cit. 1984:50f.
 213 Aristotle amongst them, Constitution of the Aiginetans, apud Athenaios 6.272d (apropos perhaps 9000 male citizens; the figure of the total population on the island today). It is the size and fertility of the island, not the proportions, which make the number impossible: Patterson cites over 45 tribes, regions or countries in which the estimated proportion of slaves has been over 75% of the total population. In one case (the island of Barbuda in the British Caribbean in 1790) the slave proportion was 99.9% (the absolute figures are 2 whites, 290 slaves in 1790; no whites, 600 slaves in 1812; no whites, 500 slaves in 1834). Cf. SSD 1982 App.C.
 214 M.Torelli PECS 1976:366. For the harbour see the well-illustrated paper by E.Shuey 'Underwater survey and excavation at Gravisca, the port of Tarquinia' Papers, Brit.Sch.Rome 49(1981)17-45.
 215 CT 1985:53. If the foundation date of Massalia comes down toward 540, the 50 vases (currently dated 535-505 and perhaps also to be

turn to the third great 'trader'.

Khios: The Khians were not great 'colonizers', but we might note in passing that they founded a small settlement called Maroneia, near Ismaros - the place sacked by Odysseus and whence Arkhilokhos won, by spear, his wine(216). In the SE of Khios was a site called Emporio (significant name). Around the hilltop was a wall not much, if at all, higher than 2m., enclosing approximately 6 acres of open ground and two C.7 buildings. One has been identified as a temple, the other has been 'classified' as an 18m megaron of unknown function built into and contemporary with the wall. Nearly all the architecture postdates the desertion of the village, the inhabitants (about 500) having moved down to the harbour(217). What was the function of this place up the hillside and invisible from the harbour?

Almost everybody accepts the proposition that Greece became a genuine slave society around the eighth/seventh century BC. However, hardly any consideration has been given to matters such as: how the slaves were acquired(218); how they were kept upon enslavement and acquisition (here specifically in the matter of 'housing' or 'herding'); how they were transported from the region of enslavement to the region(s) of use. I can discuss this only briefly, perhaps suggesting avenues for future research. But a certain Panionios of Khios, who

brought down about a decade) would tie in quite closely. Note that legend attributed Agylla's foundation to Thessalian invaders, Hdt.1.167. Diod.Sic.15.14. Dion.Hal.1.20,3.58.

216 Cf.Jeffery AG 1976:231.

217 Coldstream GG 1977:306-308. Plan, Boardman Greek Emporio fig.4.

218 Originally and currently, Patterson SSD esp.ch.3-6. Pritchett believes the most important source to have been war, GMP 1971:80. Within the 'Greek world' I think that this is probably correct (it is worth noting that the official responsible for the public regulation of slaves in Athens was the polemarch, the war archon, SSD 1982:40) especially during the period under consideration - although the term 'war' seems a rather grandiose title in this context. The Khians were reputedly the first Greeks to acquire foreign slaves through purchase (Theopompos apud Athenaios 6.265b-c). The fact that they used the Milesian (=Lydian) standard for their earliest (electrum) coins is consistent with this (see below). Perhaps Kolchhis was at some time a major supply area, idem 6.266f.

specialised in producing eunuchs for the markets at Sardis and Ephesos(219), stored and remodelled his merchandise somewhere(220), and the hill top structure at Emporio might have been a suitable place.

A slave society and a slave trade presupposes the existence somewhere of slave 'corrals' or 'compounds'. Such considerations might apply to walls dividing settlements, usually into two sections, such as Emporion (Spain), Naukratis, Tanais and perhaps Epidamnos(221). For where there is no strategic reason, such as topographic, for a wall to be built across a circumference wall in order to create a 'keep', its purpose seems to be to keep the respective occupants apart. It is of course impossible to tell the difference between a king's bones and a slave's; it is similarly impossible to prove that slaves rather than free men lived and/or worked in a certain place(222). But we know that slaves were an integral part of Greek society, that they lived and ate and worked somewhere. And we can associate, on a variety of analogistic grounds, certain types of locale with free activity, and others with constrained(223).

We should also consider briefly another great 'trader' and slaver, Samos. Samos too had a well-established slave-trade link with Sardis: Periander of Korinth used this route when he sent 300 boys from the leading families of an impudent colony (Kerkyra) to Sardis via Samos,

219 Hdt.8.105.1, cf.also Pritchett's comments GMP 1971:81f on eunuchs and child slaves.

220 Athenaios adds that they were freeborn boys (6.266e): somehow they had been reduced to this condition.

221 J.Hind op.cit. App.III p.15f.

222 "One wonders if slaves would have been buried in the same way as their masters? A modern parallel suggests that they would" J.C.Carter 'Rural Settlement at Metaponto' AIS 1981:167-178, quote from p.177 - he gives no reference for the parallel unfortunately.

223 In the case of Naukratis, the Greek section was overlooked by an Egyptian garrison post. Naukratis was exceptional, and conditions pertaining to it should not be extended to other sites. Nevertheless, the Greeks were still constrained, and the point remains valid even here. On the atypicality of Naukratis cf. J.F.G.Hind op.cit. and M.M.Austin Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age PCPS Supp.2, 1970:22-33.

where they too were intended for emasculation (Hdt.3.48). Samos' known connections were even further flung; its tyrant Polykrates had a pact with Amasis of Egypt(224), who established the Greek emporion at Naukratis(225). Samians also settled abroad, at Perinthos c.600 (coinciding with Al-Mina's enforced evacuation), and a small band of exiles (who had plundered the Siphnians to the tune of 100 talents) established themselves at Kydonia in N.Krete(226).

Let us then turn back to emporion - to the reputedly earliest for which we know only the modern name; Al-Mina, on the mouth of the Orontes in N.Syria.

Al-Mina: This site was not then or later on a main trade route or trunk road from or to anywhere(227). "Before the valley was drained in 1953-55...swamp vegetations covered the greater part of (it)"(228). Antioch, built much later a few miles inland, with its port Seleucia four miles to the north of Al-Mina(229), was on trade routes of enormous compass, that is long-distance; there were few settlements in her immediate vicinity(230). If Al-Mina was planted with a view to trade

224 Hdt.3.39,43.

225 Hdt.2.178. Vickers' chronological arguments (art.cit. 1995, esp.18f), which are too complex and embracing to be summarised here, suggest that Herodotos was correct in this. Note the association in Vickers' argument between mercenaries, Naukratis, coinage and Ephesos - an association I shall pick up on below. Regarding the problem of what the Greeks received for their silver in Egypt (cf.Price-Waggoner Archaic Greek Coinage: The Asyut Hoard 1975:125 - must have been perishables, needless to say), we might reflect that Egypt was also a slave society. Remember Amasis, 'Athenian' potter (2.2 above).

226 Cf.Hdt.3.58.3-59.4. They enjoyed five years of great prosperity, and built temples, just like the Phokaians at Alalia. In the sixth year they were attacked and enslaved by Aiginetans and local Kretans. Poetic justice probably.

227 Cf.Boardman GO 1980:52.

228 W.van Zeist & H.Woldring 'Holocene vegetation and climate of Northwestern Syria' Palaeohistoria 22(1980)112. D.Baly Geographical Companion to the Bible 1963:28 is unaware of the modern drainage.

229 Boardman GO 1980:53. Founded in 301 BC.

230 The north-south route ran through the mountainous Cilician Gates into N.Syria, southwards through Hamath (mod.Hama) to Damascus. The east-west route crossed not at Antioch but at Hamath, where the road east to the Euphrates began. Between the Orontes and the Euphrates is a huge plateau across which wadis run on a N-S orien-

(in the modern sense), the Greeks showed inordinate misjudgment. Since they chose to return there time and again after repeated destructions, during which intervals they had been forced to frequent more established and better placed settlements, the implication is that it was not their judgement which was unsound, but the modern hypothesis which attempts to explain their choice.

The majority of excavated pots are drinking vessels not storage vessels, and even these constitute such a small amount that "pottery could have formed only a small proportion of the commodities offered by Aegean visitors and residents, which must have consisted largely of perishable goods"(231) - perishable goods which did not require containers, and assuming of course that they did offer anything. This is all very cosy, but can we justifiably assume that they were not occupied in the honourable business of manhunting?

The first period: The earliest archaeological evidence of Greek presence at Al-Mina is c.800, and not here alone; there are odd bits of contemporary pottery scattered widely in SE Anatolia(232). The pottery is not just Greek; much implies Phoenician presence, and other fabrics are typical of Kypros, Syria and perhaps Cilicia. Greek does not comprise the majority of finds until c.700 BC(233). Greeks and others had been raiding these coasts, the Levant and Egypt since Homeric times, irritating the centralised powers into whose orbits

 tation, forcing travellers from east to west "continually to toil across the ridges between them", Baly op.cit. 1963:30, see his figs.5, 23, and map VI. Consequently the main route ran far to the north-east, swinging southwards at Aleppo to join the lower Orontes valley at Hamath, forming a huge V below the Syrian Saddle, which sits directly east of Antioch.

231 Coldstream GG 1977:95.

232 The earliest pottery at Xanthos, the chief town of Lykia, shows a similar mixture of styles and posited origins, Coldstream GG 1977:264. Neutron analysis has not yet managed to identify the provenances of individual samples, though it has dismissed the hypothesis of one origin for all, Matters et.al. 'Black-on-Red Ware in the Levant: A Neutron Activation Analysis Study' Journ.Arch.Sci 10(1983)369-382. On Lykia cf.W.A.P.Childs 'Lycian Relations with Persians and Greeks in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries Reexamined' AnSt 31(1981)55-80.

233 Coldstream GG 1977:93.

they came. Al-Mina and Tarsus were bases on the edge of the Assyrian empire whence forays into the interior were launched and escape made. Ashdod further south (west of Jerusalem, on the coast road to Egypt) provided a base at the southern end of the empire from which Egypt (separated by a desert but a short hop by sea) could also be raided. Assyrian documents speak of Yawani (Ionians) raiding the Phoenician coast c.730, and in 720 Sargon destroyed Hamath and deported the population. He then resettled the area with 6,300 Assyrians(234). In 712 he marched again and destroyed Ashdod, where Yawani 'rebels' were holed up(235). Al-Mina and Tarsus were probably destroyed during his successor Sennacherib's campaign c.696.

It would appear that the Euboians had led the way, as they had done in the west. The first short-lived break at Al-Mina c.696 offers an analytically useful if over-neat division between Eubolian and Korinthian (and/or ps.Korinthian(236)) dominance, repeating the pattern which occurred in the west at Kerkyra, where Korinthians ousted their Euboian predecessors c.735, and Ischia, where the displaced

234 Francis & Vickers art.cit. 1985:133 and n.18.

235 Boardman GO 1980:51. The hippoi vessels of Sargon's reign resemble the ships of the Sea-Peoples depicted on Egyptian reliefs at Medinet Habu, de Graeve SANE 1981:126. Since the Egyptians depicted invaders and their craft, it is quite possible that the Assyrian reliefs depicting 'Phoenician' craft sometimes in fact depict these Yawani raiders. There are some close similarities between early Phoenician and Greek war galleys, de Graeve SANE 1981:131-143. Heavier, wider 'defensible' ships, as the Phoenician vessels became, reflect the prevalence of violence at sea. Ashdod later housed Greek mercenaries serving under the Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichos I (660-610) or his successor Necho (610-595).

236 Aigina and perhaps Phokaia hide under this specie, being almost impossible to isolate and identify archaeologically in their own terms. On Phokaia, see Boardman GO 1980:214 and nn.193,194, and P.Dupont 'Clasificación et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques orientales archaïques d'Istros' Dacia 27(1983)22f. There seems to be a close association between Phokaian 'trading' areas and Korinthian finds, eg. Agylla (Caere) Banti op.cit. 1973:40f, and Scullard op.cit. 1967:181-184. See C.G.Koehler 'Corinthian Developments in the study of trade in the fifth century' Hesp 50(1981)449-458 esp.453f on Massaliote-Korinthian connections. Note that Francis & Vickers are preparing a paper in which arguments will be advanced for dating early Korinthian pottery around the 540's, cf.Vickers art.cit. 1985:19 n.149.

Khalkidians, whom Thukydides and Pausanias identified as pirates, moved to Sicily to found Zankle (discussed above). Egyptian, N.Syrian and Cilician objects dated c.775-750 have been found in Etruscan graves, more or less contemporaneous with the first Greek arrivals. Aramaic and semitic scripts have also been found, demonstrating that eastern people as well as eastern goods were arriving with the Greeks. The Euboian and (pseudo-) Korinthisian connection suggests how they arrived there, and our hypothesis suggests in what capacity(237).

The second period: The second period at Al-Mina is marked by Korinthisian (and/or ps.Korinthisian) and East Greek wares, and lasts until c.600, when it more or less mysteriously and rapidly fades out, while Tell Sukas enjoys its main period of prosperity. This break offers another analytically useful if over-neat division between these styles and later Athenian dominance. At about this time Naukratis was established, where Khios, Samos, Rhodes, Miletos (East Greek); Phokaea, Aigina (ps-Korinthisian); Teos, Klazomenai, Knidos, Halikarnassos, Phaselis and Mytilene, are attested in the literary sources(238), archaeology revealing, in addition, Spartan, Korinthisian and Athenian pottery(239).

The third period: Of the rebuilt Al-Mina c.530 much more is known; the pottery, all Athenian by now, is poor, "for an uncritical market"(240). Such are surely not trade items but utilitarian by-products, containing necessities, water and food, for the goods

237 This also accords with those who argue that the 'orientalising phase' in early Celtic art was transmitted via Italy, not direct from the east, eg.J.V.S. Megaw 'Meditations on a Celtic hobby-horse: notes towards a social archaeology of Iron Age art' SS 1985:161-191, esp.168.

238 Hdt.2.178

239 Boardman GO 1980:124f.

240 Boardman GO 1980:53. I can only join with J.de Plat Taylor in pleading "for excavators to publish more of these (coarse wares, which) nautical archaeology has shown...were often shipped in quantity", 'Moÿa Pottery Research' PIA1 1978:117-119 - if only in statistical form. The obvious has a tendency to be overlooked: amphorai may have held water besides wine or oil. Fresh water was not on tap and ships did not have water tanks.

which were trade items. Slaves have to be fed, and they are not known to be critical of the utensils from which they dine. The 'warehouses' of which a reconstruction is illustrated in Boardman (ibid.) appear to me eminently suitable slave-sheds. (The building of large 'store-houses' at Toscanos at the end of the C.8 coincides with a sudden population increase(241), and these buildings are probably to be interpreted similarly).

2.6 A Model of the Development of Emporia

How then were camps of raiders transformed into emporia? The invaders and indigenous population sooner or later came to an arrangement: either the Greeks were repelled, or the locals were expelled, or they cohabited, willingly or unwillingly.

Scenario 1: The Greeks were repelled and native life returned to normal until the next band arrived. In the process of repulsion the natives may well have acquired a few trophies - a piece of Greek armour perhaps (Arkhilokhos' shield, or the early C.7 Korinthian helmet found at Jerez(242)), or some abandoned crockery. If the Greeks continued coming and could not be repulsed, native life would not return to 'normal', it would lead into scenario 2.

Scenario 2: The natives were expelled and the Greeks established a beachhead camp, possibly on the site of the nearest native settlement, from which they launched raids in the vicinity, and to which they returned and stored their hauls, until a full cargo was amassed(243).

241 Whittaker WPh 1974:59f, Coldstream GG 1977:241.

242 Contra Boardman's assumption GO 1980:214 (with illustration no.254) I think it more likely to have been worn, than carried as a 'trade' item.

243 Data on this ae almost entirely absent; comparative evidence is a useful supplement to the mute, scattered and partial archaeological record, on which cf. Finley's warning AE 1985:33. The activities of Abyssinian raiders in the Sudan and Kenya during 1913-1927 is illustrative. The total number of raids known to British officials during these years was 139; the raiders varied in number from small groups of 8 or 10 to as many as 700; the raids were undertaken with various objects, but chiefly to obtain ivory, slaves and cattle. One raid carried off 12 men, 1 woman

For example, in the mid-ninth century there is a massive dislocation in Etruria, when many of the villages were deserted and the people fled to the big tablelands of the five future major centres of Villanovan culture(244). This probably began when the Greeks started raiding the area prior to setting up a base at Ischia. During this time local foodstuffs would have been utilized, and probably local labour to prepare it. What plunder might be acquired was very limited - most emporia are in backward regions, even, as we have seen, those in the east, and people were if not the only then certainly the most numerous commodity the indigenous folk would have for the Greeks to take(245). The captives probably consisted of women and young adolescents; men would be killed, and babes and toddlers either massacred, abandoned, or left to fall by the wayside on the return to the ships. Most camps were established on an island offshore or an easily guarded promontory(246) to facilitate the enforcement of their captivity and hinder escape, as well as protect the camp from retaliatory attacks from the natives.

The more successful was the camp, the more incentive would there be both to continue working the patch and to ship acquisitions out for sale abroad. Slaves are perhaps the only commodity for which there is

and 2 children; another killed 5 men and took 10 women; another captured 7 men and 4 women and held them to ransom; another similarly, 7 men; another, 8 men, Simon Slavery 1929:29-31. The only example of 'proper' trading in the Homeric poems (which involved a kidnapping incidentally) took a long time; the Phoenicians ('gnawers at other men's goods, with countless pretty things stored in their black ship' Od. 15.415f) who visited Eumaios' home at Ortygia (nr.Ephesos) spent a year trading before 'at last their hollow ship was loaded for sailing' (l.457). Cf.also Knorringa Emporos 1926 on 'wild' trading.

244 I wish to express my gratitude to A.Guido for providing me with copy of a paper he read to the Theoretical Archaeology Group Annual Conference in Glasgow, December 1985, 'Detecting social organisation from burial data: a case study from the early iron age in Central Italy'.

245 Cf.Pauli art.cit. 1985:33f.

246 Eg. Berezan (Olbia), Epidamnos, Kerkyra, Kyzikos (cf.Boardman GO 1980:245), Ortygia (Syrakuse), Platia (Kyrene), San Martin (Emporion, Spain, cf.Maluquer de Motes PECS 1976:303), Sinope, Thasos, and Trotilon (Megara Hyblaia, cf.Coldstream GG 1977:235).

strong pressure to export surplus. They require feeding, housing(247), and a certain degree of maintenance, ie. guarding, of which the quantity and quality required increases with both numbers and 'wildness'. This was appreciated by, for example, Plato; "slaves who are to submit to their condition quietly should neither be all of one stock, nor, as far as possible, of one speech" (Laws 777); and Aristotle:

The people who farm (the territory) should ideally, and if we can choose will, be slaves - but slaves not drawn from a single stock, or from stocks of a spirited temper...failing slaves, the next best group will be one of serfs who are not of Greek origin and whose character is like that just described(248).

Contra Aristotle, no man is by nature a slave; they have, like mustangs, to be broken. The metaphor is Anakreon's:

Thracian filly, why do you look at me askance, coldly shunning me and taking me for a boor? Know that I could put a bridle on you, and hold the reins, and get you to the finishing post. But now you graze in the meadows, playing and frisking, for you have no able horseman to mount you(249),

and the more recent is the day of captivity, the more fiercely they resent the saddle.

Slaves are also easier to manage when disorientated. In a foreign and distant country they are less prone to attempt escape than if reaching home is a viable proposition; separated from home, family and community, wrenched from their traditions, history, and self-identity, they are isolated and psychologically enfeebled(250), and in their new

247 A euphemism; 'kept' is perhaps more appropriate.

248 Pol. 1330a25-28. He also says it is wise to offer all slaves the eventual reward of emancipation and promises an argument to support it - which presupposes that this was not normal practice, like Plato's oft misunderstood deprecation of the practice of Greek enslaving Greek, Rep. 469b, which presupposes that they did, and for which there is ample evidence, cf.eg.that assembled by Pritchett GMP 1971 esp.chap.3. "Greeks enslaved Greeks when they could, Romans enslaved Greeks, and they both enslaved anyone else they could get their hands on by capture or trade" Finley AofA 1976 ed.157.

249 Anakreon PMG 417, trans.Frankel EGPP 1975:296 (slightly modified). This is a common metaphor, cf.Liddel & Scott s.v.polos and related words.

250 Cf.the discussion in Finley ASMI 1983:111-116 on slaves and escape, and Cartledge art.cit. 1985:27. In most Greek societies foreign-born slaves "vastly outnumbered" home-born slaves up to

surroundings they are socially dead(251). Uprooting is one of the slave's greatest fears and most painful sufferings, and explains a situation possibly not uncommon and occasionally documented, which is the third scenario.

Scenario 3: Voluntary subservience on condition of not being sold abroad. The Mariandynoi, whose euphemistic nickname was the doro-phoroi, gift-givers(252), did not just toil on the land for the Heraklaians; they manned the oars of their ships(253).

It can be seen that scenarios two and three overlap somewhat, and perhaps three should be reserved for voluntary and equal co-habitation. It is possible, but unlikely, that this could be an original arrangement, that is, from the Greeks arrival(254). More probably it developed from scenario two, perhaps along the following lines.

Those living nearest to the Greek camp suffered the brunt of the attacks. They effectively disappeared; they either fled to safety elsewhere (like the villagers of Etruria, above), were enslaved and sold abroad, or were reduced to some form of tribute or tithe paying servitude (like the Mariandynoi, or the Kyllyrionoi of Syrakuse). The norm in the early days was probably murder of the men and enslavement of the women - 'taking wives' in the euphemised language of gentle

and during the Classical period, Cartledge idem 1985:36.

251 Patterson SSD passim, esp.ch.2 & 3.

252 Kallistratos FGH 348 F 4. Cf. more generally Athenaios 6.263c-d; 264b, and Plato Laws 776. Cf. also Murray EG 1980:112, and Finley art.cit. ('Colonies') 1976:185 and n.58.

253 Aristotle Pol. 1327b11-15. Slaves serving in such a capacity were perhaps quite widespread. Gomme Comm. 1.55.1 ad.loc. supposes the majority of the rowers in the Kerkyran fleet to have been slaves. They were certainly present in the Athenian navy according to Jordan's recent monograph, The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period 1972, signified as publicly owned slave rowers by the term hyperesia (cf. esp. sect. III.5 passim).

254 Such may lie behind stories of 'permitted' settlements, such as Abydos where Gyges, king of Lydia, 'allowed' Milesians to settle (Strabo 590). On whether they were mercenaries or not, cf. C. Roebuck Ionian Trade and Colonisation 1959:112; Graham art.cit. 1971:41f; Boardman (still unpersuaded in 2nd.ed.) GO 1980:242 and n.83 (no reply in Graham's 2nd.ed. CMC 1983).

domination, on which Bourdieu has cast so much light(255). These alternatives should be reflected in the archaeological record as the two traditions exist side-by-side and/or one replaces another, dramatically or gradually. To which the record testifies may show in the speed with which the ultimately dominant assumes that role.

But the coexistence and assimilation of two (or more) cultures presents the archaeologist with particularly great difficulties in constructing historical societies from the mute material record(256). A.Momigliano has shown how little serious interest the Greeks took in other cultures(257), and scholars are wont to attribute the dominance of their culture purely to Greek aesthetic sensibilities. Classical archaeologists' "traditional trance-like contemplation of truth and beauty", as one such archaeologist complained(258), has tended to focus upon the proportion, structure and form of various 'art works' quite in isolation from the social matrix (not to mention the more prosaic physical matrix) with which they were *inextricably intertwined* for the people who created and used them. The dominance of one culture over others is due to something more complex than aesthetics. Different cultures have different values, including aesthetic sensibilities, and rarely adopt - more or less wholesale - those alien to their own; with one major exception, the dominated(259). In his

255 OTP 1977:190-197.

256 Cf.eg.D.L.Clarke Analytical Archaeology 2nd.ed. 1978, C.Renfrew, M.Rowlands & B.Segraves Theory and Explanation in Archaeology 1982, C.Slaughter 'Social Evolution: Some Sociological Aspects' ESE 1984:41-68 for brief review of various epistemological positions. D.Ridgeway art.cit. for empirical illustration.

257 Alien Wisdom (henceforth AW) 1975; on the Hellenisation of the Phoenicians cf.Millar 'The Phoenician Cities' PCPS NS.29(1983)55-71, esp.66-68.

258 Snodgrass 'The Ancient Greek World' ESE 1984:230.

259 The Greeks, when dominated by Rome, being a fine example, Momigliano AW 1975:7-13. Cf.Patterson SSD 1982 ch.7, and Memmi The Coloniser and the Colonised 1974 part two. Similarly, there is a tendency to overestimate the influence of Greek culture on the Romans - great undoubtedly though it was - of which the expose was also begun by Momigliano AW 1975, esp.ch.5 & 6. However, we should not err on the opposite side; if an archaeologist of the future only had structural remains to work from, he might conclude from the diffusion of Bauhaus architecture and design that Germany

excellent study of Hellenisation, Momigliano records one of the surprises of his research:

What I did not expect to find - and what I did find - was a strong Roman impact...The influence of Rome on the minds of those who came into contact with it was quick and strong (p.6).

Not unlike her legions. Indeed,

The Greeks did not react - or rather did not go beyond the surface of Roman life - until they found themselves faced with a first-class power which had defeated the Greek armies of Pyrrhus on the open field (my emphasis, p.15).

To return to the model: the unfortunate natives' neighbours suffered less regular incursions (because they were further from the camp site), and were forewarned of the invaders' presence and habits. They sometimes offered gifts (asked or unasked), as a natural and spontaneous reaction to the threat of attack (Cf. Xenophon Anab. 5.5.2-3). Amongst the possible gift items, slaves (or 'hostages') were again, if not immediately, then as soon as alternatives were exhausted, at or near the top of the list. Villagers would obviously not want to reduce their own members to such condition (except perhaps recidivist criminals), and if intertribal warfare did not already exist, with its consequential POW's (who may hitherto have been killed, now kept for slaves)(260), then it would soon begin.

When the Greeks first arrived the natives were inexperienced in Greek tactics and were probably relatively easy prey. The first to

won WWII (this was pointed out in discussion by N.Ryan, so R.Janaway tells me).

260 Cf. Patterson SSD 1982:122 and index. Exceptional though things Spartan often are, we should not forget that they declared war on the helots every year. But it is important to distinguish between captivity in warfare and enslavement by means of such captivity. The possible prospects for POW's are considerable: they might be massacred, tortured and sacrificed, sometimes eaten, ransomed, exchanged for other POW's, temporarily imprisoned, enfeoffed, impressed into the victor's army or navy, colonised, or released SSD 1982:106. Of captivity in warfare, which is not the subject of this chapter, P. Ducrey found from a total of 120 cases of warfare involving Greeks up to the Roman conquest: 24 cases of massacre, 28 of general enslavement, and 68 in which prisoners were released after temporary detention, Le traitement des prisonniers de guerre 1968:54-55, cited in Patterson SSD 1982:110. Cf. also Pritchett GMP 1971:78f and discussion pp:80-82.

suffer were also closer to the Greek camp, within easy striking distance. After this area had been exploited, the raiders had to push further inland and fight natives forewarned and thus forearmed; for example, they might be familiar with Greek tactics and aims, and so better able to resist. Successful resistance demanded the adaptation of military practices in particular in order to meet the invader on equal terms. The Etruscan 'adoption' of Greek hoplite tactics, for example, was probably learnt on the field, rather than on the parade ground with instruction by some anonymous and magnanimous Greek(261).

At a certain point it became easier and cheaper in lives and effort to exchange for the desired goods than to fight for them, leaving the procurement of indigenous products to the inland tribes(262). This meant that other goods had to be offered in exchange. This may seem obvious to us, but then we do not live in a world in which acquisition by toil of the spear was considered a legitimate occupation, and commerce an illegitimate one. Plato thought it needed pointing out (Rep. 370e-71b). This allowed the Greek camp to step down from a permanent war-footing, and as the raid-front moved further from the camp and local tribes became passive (through fear or mutual advantage), the Greeks could afford to relocate from the inconvenience (and perhaps discomfort) of the original island or promontory site to another more spacious on the mainland.

Once the camp took on a semblance of permanence, territoriality became important. The surrounding land was allotted to community, deity and individuals, and efforts began to be directed toward future production; ploughing, planting and sowing for the next harvest. The camp became a settlement and services were required: for example, smiths, carpenters, and masons; trade goods had to be produced or

261 On the invention of hoplite tactics see chapter 4.

262 Cf. Murray EG 1980:227. No doubt support was offered when required. I cannot develop the 'native' side of the model here; I hope to relate the rise of chiefdoms in Etruria to Greek activities in the area in a future paper.

obtained from elsewhere to exchange for local goods - which were principally slaves: this, as argued here, is the fundamental distinguishing mark of emporia. The slaves themselves probably discharged many of the necessary functions; farming, quarrying stone, hewing wood, building walls and ships, smelting metals, and rowing the boats they had built which transported them to market. The emporoi who supplied the state (real or ideal) with 'necessary goods', carried not principally grain, but slaves(263).

This might help to explain why in the Athenian courts emporoi were allowed the privilege to challenge the competence of an ordinary magistrate to judge their case(264), and have their case dealt with instead by nautodikai(265). Harrison suggested that it was "the calling of the litigant rather than the matter being litigated" which in this case determined the court(266). But one of the two other references to these officials shows that this court was charged with graphai xenias(267), and the other certainly has nothing to do with

263 Cf.comparative evidence (British) in E.Williams Capitalism and Slavery 1964:51, "in 1718 William Wood said that the slave trade was 'the spring and parent whence the others flow'. A few years later Postlethwayt described the slave trade as 'the first principle and foundation of all the rest, the mainspring of the machine which sets every wheel in motion'". The British slave traders were, of course, principally shipping slaves acquired in Africa to the sugar plantations in the Caribbean, although some were sold on the streets of Liverpool (ibid. 44), and note that amongst British slave traders were numbered founders and patrons of charities; mayors; MP's; and nobles. Not all the people shipped to the plantations were Africans, however. In 1648 "the Worshipfull Mr.Mayor, the aldermen and the major part of (the Liverpool town) assembly" ordered nine citizens to "goe all through and about the towne and take (the) names and examine (dyvers yong children and beggars found loitering) and cause such as are fitt and able to work in the plantacions to be shipt for the Barbados or otherwise to be put apprentices if they belong to this towne", G. Chandler (ed.) Liverpool under Charles I 1965:411f, cited in The Urban Experience 1983:121.

264 Cf.Lysias (17) Dem.ad. 5; note that they are possessors of land, and therefore almost certainly Athenian citizens.

265 Officials superceded by Aristotle's time and therefore not mentioned in Ath.Pol..

266 TLA 1971:23.

267 (Responsibility for suits in which false claims to citizenship were involved.) Cf.Krateros FGH 342 F 4; Harrison TLA 1971:23f.

merchants(268). However, if the property in question in the first (and fullest) case included slaves, there is a third possibility which might better explain this apparent randomness of responsibility of the nautodikai: it may have been the nature of (at least some of) the property involved in the case. The one other reference which, although not mentioning nautodikai, seems to refer to this court(269) is consistent with this interpretation: the entire discourse concerns the importation of vast numbers of slaves, and recommends (amongst other things) inducements to encourage slave traders to bring their stock to Athens, such as prizes for the judges in the emporos courts who resolve cases quickly(270).

In some circumstances, however, there were different constraints, which offered a different scenario. A recurrent practice of Greek soldiers (formalism for 'one who fights'(271)) abroad is to offer their services to one local group against others(272). This is possible when the indigenous people are organised into small units, and may be termed the diaspora condition(273). When, however, the

268 IG I2 41; cf.Harrison TLA 1971:23.

269 'Xenophon' Poroi 3.3, he tou emporiou arkhe.

270 Time really is money for an emporos holding stock - if he doesn't feed them their condition will deteriorate and with it their sale price. Note also 'Xenophon's' consideration of the buildings necessary to take this expansion of the Athenian public slave sector; 'warehouses', 'exchanges' and 'shops' on current grain-dominated translation of the Greek words, the last of which is kapeleion, which is sometimes reckoned to mean 'tavern' or 'public inn'. Pandokeion is the normal word for an inn, (cf.eg.Aristophanes Frogs 549ff) and I suspect that kapeleion means something like 'slave-shop', where local slave auctioneers kept their stock between auctions. It is worth remembering amongst discussions of the practicality of a 'slave-shop' (cf.Finley AofA 1977:163) that prisons are designed for the equivalent of a 'shelf-life' in terms of decades, they are also compact (although more generous than slaves might expect) and convertible. See also 5.4 below.

271 Hoplites is literally 'armed', named from the shield (hoplon) carried.

272 Eg.Xenophon Anab. 5.4, 7.3; Nicias in Sicily, Thuk.6.62.3-4.

273 Again there are parallels in the European expansion of the C.15 and C.16. During his expedition of 1567, Hawkins adopted the tactic of intervening in a tribal war, accepting POW's as payment, which he then shipped to the Caribbean for sale, with other slaves acquired, in his own words, "partly by the sword, partly by other means" Andrews TPS 1984:110, 126. So Magellen in the Phillipines,

society they encountered was a centrally organised empire, such as Assyria, Persia or Egypt, this was not possible: neighbouring villages were not at war with one another, nor were they allowed to be(274). In these circumstances the Greeks could either risk the opposition of such organised powers, as they did originally at Al-Mina and Ashdod, or they could offer their services to the central power - become mercenaries in the service of the king or pharaoh. Epigraphic evidence attests to the presence of Greek mercenaries in Nineveh from 659 BC(275), and in Egypt c.591 BC(276). Literary evidence tells of Greek and Karian mercenaries in Egypt from the second half of the seventh century(277), and Kypriot Greeks serving in Judah in the same period(278), as well as Alkaios' brother Antimenidas' involvement (as a mercenary) in the capture of Jerusalem c.597(279).

Now mercenaries have been associated with the invention of coinage in Lydia and its adoption by the Greeks, and both mercenaries and coinage are of some relevance to this chapter. Coinage was used as 'all purpose' multifunctional money in Classical Greece. But the four functions of money, (i) as a means of payment (ii) as a standard of value (iii) as a store of wealth and (iv) as a medium of exchange, were separately institutionalised in most pre-capitalist societies.

whose offer was declined by the islanders, E.S.Dodge Islands and Empires 1976:5.

274 This probably explains Sargon's treatment of Hamath (above).

275 Brown, R.B. 'Greeks in Assyria: some overlooked evidence' CW 77(1984)300-303. For a succinct and well illustrated archaeological account of Nineveh (mod. Kuyunjik) see S.Lloyd The Archaeology of Mesopotamia 2nd.ed. 1984:197-201. An ivory plaque of local manufacture found at Gordion and dated c.680 depicts a cavalryman with Korinthian helmet; Coldstream suggests very plausibly that this depicts a Greek mercenary GG 1977:265.

276 Jeffery LSAG 1961:354-355. Tod GHI 1933:12-13. Fornara op.cit. 1977:28. Austin op.cit. chap.2 (part. on Egypt).

277 Herodotos 2.157. 30,000 in the first quarter of the sixth so we are told, 2.163.

278 Brown art.cit. 1984:301f and n.8. Joel also associated Greeks with Judah: "the children of Judah and of Jerusalem have ye (men of Tyre and Sidon) sold unto the Greeks" (3.6), whilst in Amos (2.6) the Israelites accompany men of Gaza (1.6) and Tyre (1.9) as slavers.

279 In the service of Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon. Cf. Alkaios PLF frg. 350.

An examination of these practices in the pre-coinage period shows that this was true also of early Greece, and sheds light on the structural transformation which made the social environment suitable for the adoption of coinage. That is, it helps to explain (a) why coinage was perceived as an attractive innovation by the Greeks, and consequently adopted, and (b) why the Greeks 'expanded' the innovation they adopted, viz. increased the range of functions coins could perform.

2.7 Monetary systems and the origin of coinage

In the shield scene (Il. XVIII.483-508) we see Greek society without coinage, but with metal bullion serving as a means of payment. An institution in which payment in the modern sense of the term(280) is already present but, it would seem, not yet established(281). That is, although coinage is not yet present, metal bullion is, and it is being employed to serve one of the four money functions. Therefore the environment is fertile for the adoption of the idea of coinage in this role at least. Another use of money is as a store of wealth. The Homeric poems provide ample evidence for the existence of this second potentially fertile area for the adoption of coinage. However, this area was strictly circumscribed by social constraints, which could have had 'knock-on' effects for other money uses if coinage were to be adopted in place of what currently served as a store of wealth. For these items, principally tripods and bowls, were prestige items, which circulated by gift-exchange or by violent acquisition. One either received them as a gift (or prize) or one took them forcibly from their previous owner. Few men were able and willing to enter the highly mobile (physically and sociologically) group who possessed

280 That is, the discharge of an obligation by handing over quantified units, cf. Polanyi LM 1977:105f.

281 I shall argue below that in the 'gift recompense' scenes of the Iliad we can see the struggle to replace older (ie. 'traditional') more physically brutal forms of 'recompense', namely a life for a life, with gentler forms, including material payment, and that Drakon's law should be seen in this context.

prestige items, who were "ipso facto, powerful ie. honoured and feared"(282). Its members, therefore, would not want to use their prestige goods, their symbols of membership, for payment of debts or obligations in the modern sense of the term. Debts they settled with arms(283). For the essential difference between a gift and a payment is that the giver has choice over the item given and the time at which it is given. The payer's choice is strictly circumscribed; the item to be paid is defined quantitatively, either so many or so much. But equally important is the difference in freedom over time, for the concept 'payment' brings the act which created the obligation and the return which discharges that obligation together at one point in time (and equates them), which is precisely the action which turns a gift into an insult(284).

Payment makes the payer's obligation ruthlessly explicit, bluntly showing that one person is obliged to another, and thus that the payer's autonomy - which is the core of the concept of honour - is interfered with. As such, it is the antithesis of gift-exchange, as payment is the antithesis of a gift. And it is not only the payer who suffers dishonour; receipt of a payment confers no honour either. The transfer is made explicitly to cancel an obligation, its motive is unambiguously to make the parties 'quits'. Giving and receiving gifts does not work in this fashion; "the operation of gift exchange presupposes (individual and collective) misrecognition of the reality of the objective 'mechanism' of the exchange"(285), which anyone who cares may test empirically by giving back as a present a gift just received to its donor, and/or by telling their bank manager that "it's the

282 Polanyi LM 1977:110.

283 Cf. eg. Antilokhos' reaction, Iliad XXIII.544-554, and Menelaos' consequent response ll.566-585. Antilokhos' strategy is a perfect example of what Bourdieu characterises as the ploy of an acknowledged inferior, and Menelaos' strategy (giving back the mare) is that of an acknowledged superior; cf. OTP 1977:13f.

284 Bourdieu OTP 1977:5f.

285 Bourdieu OTP 1977:5f.

thought that counts". With prestige goods, which are so-called because they confer prestige of course, the question of honour is magnified, and prestige goods are thus the least likely things to be used as payment.

Through a complex chain of events on the plain of Ilion, this is precisely what Agamemnon is forced to do, with all the trials and tribulations that the concomitant injury to both his and the recipient's (Akhilleus) honour entails. But on the divinely inspired shield, the god envisages an alternative: metal bullion, not prestige goods. The point of honour is still a ticklish issue, but the conversion of prestige goods into non-prestige goods reduces its proportions considerably. This 'de-honourising' of precious metals was an absolutely fundamental step before precious metals in the form of coins could have found widespread acceptance as a means of payment.

There are two other uses of money: as a standard of value and as a medium of exchange. The former seems to be "more closely linked with the exchange use of money than is either payment or storing"(286), and the need for a standard of value springs, according to Polanyi, from two very different sources: exchange, and administration (specifically, the administration of large-scale redistributive systems (staple finance) on which early empires were built). For neither can be carried out effectively without some standard of value. Oxen function as such in Homeric society(287). Similarly, administrative economies, in which staple goods are pooled and stored at a centre whence they are distributed, require accounting devices, for no assessment of contributions and dispersions involved in such economies is possible without a standard(288). Fixed equivalents are adopted or invented to designate the rate at which staples can be substituted, one for

286 Polanyi LM 1977:108.

287 E.g. Iliad XXIII.702-705, where a tripod is valued at 12 oxen and a skilled female slave at four.

288 Polanyi LM 1977:119.

another. And, as in barter (exchange), the accounting unit may serve only as an accounting unit, as is obvious in cases where, for example, the value of half a female slave is attested(289). There is no evidence that Greek societies in the late DA/early archaic period had large-scale redistributive economies, and thus any structure requiring accounting devices besides exchange(290). In the Near East, however, where coinage was invented, there were administrative empires employing staple finance, and in which, moreover, slaves functioned as "a standard of value and a medium of payment"(291).

I am going to suggest that coins began as a substitution for slaves. The latter being used as a standard of value and a medium of payment, they were used, I suggest, to pay Greek mercenaries serving in the east. Becoming undesirable to the employer (perhaps because the 'currency' ie. population was being exported as a consequence), standard units of precious metals - with which the Near East was well-blessed - were substituted when the payee was a foreigner. This substitution, being an empirical act not an accounting device, was an act of exchange: one unit of metal was not only equivalent to one slave, it was given instead of one slave. Coinage thus had an association with exchange, and in particular in exchange for slaves, from its inception.

The advantages to the mercenary of being paid in coin instead of a random assortment of slaves (captives he had helped to acquire in all likelihood) are fairly obvious. In the first place, he was relieved of the burden of getting them home, the difficulty and danger of which increased with the amount he earned. Once he got them home, he could

289 In early Medieval Ireland female slaves also functioned as a means of payment and represented the highest unit of value, Patterson SSD 1982:168f. Note that the 'honour price' was reckoned and paid in other forms of money: payment in the modern sense of the term (even for homicides) and the restitution of honour were separately institutionalised.

290 Unlike Bronze Age Greece, for which the linear B tablets testify to this kind of economy.

291 Patterson SSD 1982:168.

only use so many himself(292), and they were a very precarious store of wealth. They were also a very conspicuous store of wealth and statement of prowess, which rendered him a more likely target of another's ambitions(293), and to become unpopular with the neighbours(294), with the result that, to try to avoid this, he would have had to give a fair amount away(295). Moreover, if he wanted to exchange them, at this time the range of items he might procure locally was extremely limited, especially with regard to things which would not require feeding, more land, or would rot.

The advantages to the Near Eastern minter are also obvious. He retained the population of the area overrun by his mercenary-fortified army, and retained them in a more servile state. The metal was abundant, and cost him effectively nothing except equipment and labour, which was readily available in his slaves.

However, the adoption of coinage, that is, the adoption of the idea of producing coins, by Greek states cannot have been a simple transference of ideas, because conditions qua production were very different in Greece. Few places possessed precious metal sources, and fewer still possessed them in abundance. What most favoured the substitution of precious metal for slaves as a means of payment in the east - ample supplies of the metal - least favoured it in many Greek states, including all those in Sicily. And what function it was produced in the east to facilitate, the payment of mercenaries, was not a major need in Greek states until the fourth century, generally speaking. Therefore, the reason why the Greek states adopted coinage was probably not the same as it was in the country of innovation.

 292 Too many were recognised as a liability, not a benefit, cf. 'Xenophon' Poroi 4.

293 Cf. eg. Plutarch Thes. 30.1.

294 Cf. eg. Thuk. 1.2.4; Aristotle Pol. 1302a38-40.

295 This is true also of the classical period, eg. Kimon, and forms the ideological foundation of the liturgy system. That is, it helps to explain why the wealthy willingly (sometimes competitively) complied with the system, rather than tried to avoid it (until the C.4 anyway).

That the Greeks used coinage to serve a 'peculiar', that is, specifically Greek function, is also suggested by the fact that whilst coinage spread uniformly throughout the Greek world,

non-Greek peoples such as the Etruscans, Phoenicians, Carthaginians and Egyptians were slow to adopt (and) the Persians provide only a partial exception(296).

I have argued that Greeks received coins in place of slaves. It does not require a great intellectual leap to transfer the idea of coins for slaves out of a mercenary context and into an exchange context, especially when the same men could move easily between such contexts. Mercenaries came back with coins, independent hunters came back with slaves. Exchange between the two, in the same way that those who had served in the east had experienced, coin for slave, would probably have arisen fairly quickly once the idea was discovered, since mercenaries also wanted some slaves, and independent hunters did not want slaves in excess.

The very limited circulation of most currencies is usually attributed to a difference between coin value and bullion value(297), but the arguments for this are based on modern economic theory of labour-time and supply and demand. These are terms in which the Greeks demonstrably did not think(298). The very limited circulation of most coins; the widespread (if light) distribution of others; the reluctance to debase coinage and the habit of cutting coins (besides the little literary evidence which exists on the issue of coin worth), all suggest that metal weight and purity, ie. a coin's bullion value, was rather what the Greeks (as well as foreigners) had in mind(299). Kraay pointed out that numismatic interest has tended to obscure the

296 Kraay ACGC 1972:317.

297 E.g. Kraay ACGC 1972:323.

298 Cf. Finley AE passim, esp. 167, "no money-changer gave a better rate for a four-drachma Syracusan coin because it was signed by Euainetos" (the Praxiteles of coin art).

299 'Xenophon's' claim, (Poroi 3.2) that Athenian silver was very acceptable abroad, was because of its purity, not its workmanship or its scarcity.

fact that a far larger volume of silver in other forms circulated, and that silver bullion accompanying a handful of coins is sometimes not even recorded. For example, the 73 kilograms of silver ingots (that is, enough to produce over 4000 Attik tetradrachms) found with the 23 (many fragmentary) coins of the Mit Rahineh hoard(300). There is literary evidence too; for example, the 60 talents of uncoined silver the Egestans took to Athens as a month's wages for the crews of sixty ships - wages which would have been paid in Attik coin, of course(301).

The reason why most coinages are not found outside their immediate region of origin is probably because coins were overtly political, "a piece of local vanity, patriotism or advertisement"(302), which probably dictated that, when they found their way into another coin-producing state treasury, they were promptly thrown into the melting pot and reissued - obviously as coins of the issuing state. This is surely the most economical explanation for the abandonment of electrum by most of the Ionian states, which follows closely upon the Lydian abandonment of the metal(303).

These issues are the earliest Greek coins, their issuing states the first to adopt the innovation of coin production(304). A priori these

300 ACGC 1972:320 and n.1. Austin op.cit. 1977:37-40 has some very sane comments on this matter.

301 Thukydides 6.8.1. Nor should we overlook precious metal in the form of booty as another source; Kraay has argued that booty from the Persian Wars was melted down to produce coins, 'The Earliest Issue of Ambracia' Quaderni Ticinesi Numismatica e Antichita Classiche 6(1977)35-52 (in this case probably part of the booty won by the Korinthians, since a common reverse die for the Korinthians and Ambrakiots is suggested). See also the evidence cited by Pritchett GMP 1971:96f, note esp. that the booty seized by Iphikrates in 347/6 was turned into coin, Diod.16.57.3.

302 J.M.Keynes A Treatise on Money 1930(I)12, quoted by Finley AE 1985:166.

303 And the most economical explanation for one of the main sources of at least Aigina's and the Sicilian states' silver.

304 It is probably not a coincidence that the earliest coin hoard known was found at Ephesos (as a foundation deposit at the temple of Artemis), wither we have had frequent cause to mention in the discussion above, particularly her status as slave mart (Herodotos names her with Sardis, 8.105.1). We may add that Malakos (apud Athenaios 6.267a-b) recorded a legend that Ephesos was settled by

states might be expected to show the greatest degree of 'copying', at least insofar as technical matters are concerned, and it is surely no coincidence that the so-called 'Milesian' standard(305) is exactly the same as that used in Lydia. If the hypotheses above are accepted, then all these adopting states did was to melt down a Lydian stamped electrum coin, and use the resulting metal blob to determine the size of the flan. Thereafter all coins produced from it could be struck with a design of their own. The actual process might even have been carried out by Lydian slaves skilled in the technique. "Modern experiment has shown that sufficient accuracy (in weight) could have been achieved" by this procedure(306). Other Ionian states seem to have set their own standard (ie. designed the flan independently or very carelessly). One of the states using the 'Phokaian' standard (c.16.1 gr.) designed their flan with little (if any) reference to the Lydian (or 'Milesian') originals, but the fact that other states(307) produced coins of the same metal and same weight strongly suggests that direct copying as described above occurred for the rest - the regularity is surely not coincidental(308). Samos is probably to be credited with the invention of the so-called 'Euboian' standard, since Samos coined before the Euboian states, again determining the weight (c.17.2 gr.) independently of the Lydian (= Milesian) or other stan-

a thousand Samian slaves; perhaps aetiological but none the less significant for that. Ortygia, whence Eumaios was kidnapped, was near Ephesos (Strabo 14.1.20) or was another name for Ephesos (Pliny NH 5.31; Steph.Byz. s.v. Ephesos). Her considerable role in the slave trade is attested as late as Varro (De Lingua Latina 8.21). A C.19 scholar, from whom I cannot resist a quotation, was "grieved to find that the moral character of the Ephesians did not answer their intellectual qualities", and cites many of the ancient testimonia to support the charge, E.Falkener Ephesos 1862:135.

305 Viz. c.14.1 gr. electrum stater, used by Miletos, Ephesos, Khios and other southern Ionian states.

306 Kraay ACGC 1972:11.

307 Phokaia, Lesbos and Kyzikos use this standard.

308 In this connection we should note that, as far as weight is concerned, one Samian stater = one Euboian stater = one Attik tetradrachm = 17.2 gr.; one 'Wappenmunzen' (didrachm) = one Korinthian stater = 8.6 gr..

dards. Those states blessed with natural sources of precious metal were not of course so dependent upon supplies of foreign coin in order to produce their own, and such metals in ornamental form could always be thrown into the melting pot to produce ingots or coin if necessary and desirable.

It will be noted that an implication of this argument is that either Aigina obtained her silver from sources other than foreign coin, or that she was not the first state to coin silver. The arguments which attribute this honour to Aigina depend on a theoretical framework of international trading in the modernist sense (even in a pre-coinage, pre-market period), which has to be abandoned in the light of more recent research, when they are not based on the tradition which associated this step with Pheidon, hardly encouraging. The statement that, because they had no source of electrum, the Aiginetans used locally available silver instead(309), does not quite disguise the fact that they had no source of silver either. The "locally available" silver is suggested to have been acquired through trade, particularly with the peoples of Thrace and Macedonia (hardly 'local'), where silver "was probably at this date the normal item of export in exchange for manufactured goods"(310); in bullion form one must assume. If the Aiginetans obtained their silver by trade, one wonders why they did not obtain electrum in the same way, particularly since they are supposed to have got the idea of coining from the east Greeks, with whom they came into fairly frequent contact (especially at Naukratis), who already had electrum coins. Presumably they never traded with east Greeks. This is not a very satisfactory argument, and is contradicted by Herodotos' statement that the Lydians invented gold and silver coinage(311), which is supported by contemporary

 309 Kraay ACGC 1972:34.

310 Ibid. 1972:44.

311 1.94. As Kraay and others have pointed out, if Herodotos meant electrum he would have said 'pale gold', not 'gold and silver', ACGC 1972:29 n.2.

archaeology(312). Aigina's well-known pro-Persian stance may have been due at least in part to the fact that Persia, or more precisely the Lydian satrapy, was a major source of her silver. She probably acquired it at Sardis, where a large metallurgical complex has recently been found(313), in exchange for slaves, the only 'commodity' associated with the 'market' at Sardis(314).

So, if the Lydians produced coins in order to keep slaves who would otherwise have left the country as payment to Greek mercenaries, did the Greeks begin producing coins in order to acquire slaves? Was, for example, the Sicilian states' principal source of silver, coins from other states, paid to the Sicilians for their slaves, most of which were acquired through toil of the spear, either in raids (especially in the early days) or in wars or on the high seas(315)? The arguments above would suggest so. Let us then consider the coins themselves, that is, the value of these coins.

Greek (and Lydian) denominations, certainly earlier issues and it is true for most of the classical period too, are far too large for 'retail trade' in the modern sense(316). If we convert a Milesian (=

312 Cf. Kraay ACGC 1972:30f; Price-Waggoner op.cit. 1975:122; Vickers art.cit. 1985:8f. The earliest datable context in which an Aiginetan coin has been found is the Persepolis deposit, normally dated c.513-511, but Michael Vickers has recently advanced quite persuasive arguments that it should be dated not earlier than (probably slightly later than) 491, art.cit. 1985, esp.pp.4-9 (it certainly makes more sense of the deposit in the SE corner, on which cf. Price-Waggoner op.cit.).

313 Cf. Vickers art.cit. 1985:9 n.59.

314 It is perhaps significant that the only two Cycladic islands which did not employ the 'Aiginetan' standard are Melos and Delos. Melos, which used the 'Milesian' (= Lydian) standard until destroyed by Athens in 416, is one of the few places for which a 'population boom' is attested in the LG period, and Delos, which used the 'Euboian' (= Samian) standard, was a slave mart extraordinaire (at one time it could turn over ten thousand slaves a day, Finley AofA 1977:161).

315 In C.6 Sicily only Akragas, Himera, Selinos and Zankle produced a substantial number of silver coins; we have suggested that Himera and Zankle were pirate bases; Akragas and Selinos boasted extraordinary temples, on the significance of which see chapter 4.

316 Cf. Kraay ACGC 1972:318-320. According to Murray (EG 1980:225) the commonest Lydian denomination "has the value of around twelve sheep". He suggests it might be six months' or a year's pay for a mercenary.

Lydian) electrum stater into Attik drachmas to get an idea of its value, we find that one such coin was worth nearly 33 Attik drachmas(317); one Phokaian electrum stater was worth a little over 37 Attik drachmas (37.44186); one Samian electrum stater was worth 40 Attik drachmas (exactly). In terms of Perikleian period jury service, these are equivalent to payment for 98 days(318), 112 days and 120 days sitting in the courts, respectively.

When the Lydian electrum supply stopped, only three mints continued to produce electrum coins (by deliberate alloying); Kyzikos, Mytilene (Lesbos) and Phokaia, all on the 'Phokaian' standard. The most important of these mints was Kyzikos, whose electrum staters circulated widely(319). It was worth between 26 and 24 Attik drachmas (the value fluctuated over time between these two extremes), and was approximately equivalent to the gold daric(320). Now, when the Spartans captured Iasos in 416, they sold the inhabitants to Tissaphernes for 1 gold daric a head (Thuk.8.28.4). This is a very rare instance in which we are given the precise 'wholesale' price for slaves, acquired in war, a very normal means of original enslavement in the Greek world(321). It is extremely fortunate that it also happens to be in a

317 14.1 gr. x 10 (electrum was worth ten times its weight in silver, Kraay ACGC 1972:27) = 141. Divided by 17.2 gr. (Attik tetradrachm weight) = 8.1976744. Multiply by four (tetradrachm > drachma) = 32.790697. In terms of 'Wappenmunzen' the stater is worth a little more than 16 (16.395348 to be exact). On the 'Wappenmunzen' see Vickers' very attractive hypothesis, art.cit. 1985:31f.

318 2 obols per day, 6 obols per drachma, so 32.790697 x 3 = 98.372091.

319 The distribution is explained on the hypotheses above as because (i) being electrum, the coins could not easily be melted down and reissued by most states, who used silver, and being worth ten times their weight in silver (when exchange rates were worked out) would not be added to an overwhelmingly silver stock, and (ii) these issues are almost apolitical: the mintmark (a tuna fish) is insignificant if visible at all, the main design changes rapidly, and an inscription (of origin) is extremely rare - the Kyzikenes reserved that for their constant-type silver issues, Kraay ACGC 1972:261.

320 Top rate for a daric seems to have been 26 dr.4 obols, for a Kyzikene 26 dr.5 obols, Kraay ACGC 1972:262.

321 Pritchett GMP 1971 chap.3 passim; Finley E&S 1983:174 and index.

currency which we happen to know was approximately equivalent to a Kyzikene. This price seems cheap by comparison with the rough estimation of the average 'retail' price of a slave in classical Athens, 150-200 drachmas(322), but it was probably close to the norm for what was a normal practice. An army which did not - and in the few instances recorded, because it could not due to lack of buyers - sell off its booty almost as soon as it won it, would quickly become unfit for service(323). The roughly 60-80% 'profit' on paper ignores the slave-trader's 'costs'. He had to get the slaves from wherever the booty auction had taken place to market, on foot at least as far as the coast, and then probably by ship. The losses incurred en route through weakness, injury, disease, shipwreck and other, for which the annals of better documented slave trades offer plentiful analogy, were probably far from negligible. He had to feed, or at least water them until he resold them. If he did not possess his own ship he would, in addition, have to pay shipping costs(324). And it was an unpleasant business, acknowledged as something to which one turned in dire straits, an alternative to theft and brigandage(325). It was profitable, but not as profitable as paper figures might suggest(326). The Kyzikene seems, then, to have been about the value of one slave, wholesale price.

We can test the hypothesis in another way. In the east, where coinage began, the standard piece was the stater, and smaller denominations were arrived at by dividing the stater into thirds, sixths and

322 Cf. Pritchett GMP 1971:91 n.39. A.M.H. Jones reckoned an unskilled male to have cost in the region of 125-150 drachmas, 'Slavery in the Ancient World' in Slavery in Classical Antiquity ed. Finley, 1960:5-7 (see for good discussion of the evidence).

323 Finley AofA 1977:160.

324 This is probably what the Tenedians specialised in, the only regular form of 'passenger traffic' which existed.

325 Xenophon Symp. 4.36.

326 Moreover, Jones' observation should not be overlooked: "slave merchants could hardly have made a profit unless they acquired their wares for nothing or next to nothing and sold them very rapidly" art.cit. 1960:7.

so on, down to the ninety-sixth, the smallest denomination, worth about 2 Attik obols, or a day's pay in the Perikleian courts(327). In the west, where iron spits had served as money, giving rise to the terminology obol (spit) and drachma (handful; six obols filled the hand), the weight systems were constructed upon the smallest unit, the obol. Larger denominations were therefore multiples; but the largest normal denomination (ie. the technical standard) nevertheless comes up to about the same weight as the eastern stater(328). On this hypothesis, the subdivisions of the stater would have been required to account for differences in age, sex, skills etc. of individual slaves on resale. The protomonetary spits in the west, which certainly ante-date coinage, seem to have been used as stores of wealth and standards of value, and were perhaps used also as a means of payment and medium of exchange. But they had to increase their denominations considerably in order to come anywhere near the price of a slave (although their system would have no trouble accommodating finer price differences to reflect the quality of the merchandise).

Finally, the argument can be tested against the null hypothesis, for there was one state which expressly refused to adopt coinage, Sparta(329). Sparta was also the only state whose servile labour force throughout the archaic and classical period was overwhelmingly

327 Cf. Kraay ACGC 1972:316 and 318 n.2.

328 The Aiginetan (at 12.2 gr.), Kerkyran (at 11.6 gr.), Thasian (at 9.8 gr.) and Korinthian (at 8.6 gr. - but this is exactly half the weight of the Samian=Euboian standard) being rather lower. This might suggest that slaves were cheaper in these places. Aigina, Korinth and, I have argued, Thasos were great slavers. (The evidence on Kerkyra is too scanty to permit anything but inference.)

329 She did not begin coining until the C.3, when the world was a very different place. What was most different about it for the Spartans was her loss of helot manpower. When Kleomenes III needed reinforcements for the army c.222, he did not promise any helots who joined the reward of emancipation, as those in 370 had been recruited; he offered service in the army to any helot who could purchase his freedom with cash, Plutarch Kleomenes 23.1. Helots were no longer the inalienable property of the state; they were slaves with a price tag.

if not exclusively native: her Lakonian and Messenian helots(330).

2.8 Summary

This chapter has expanded upon Thukydides' judgement that

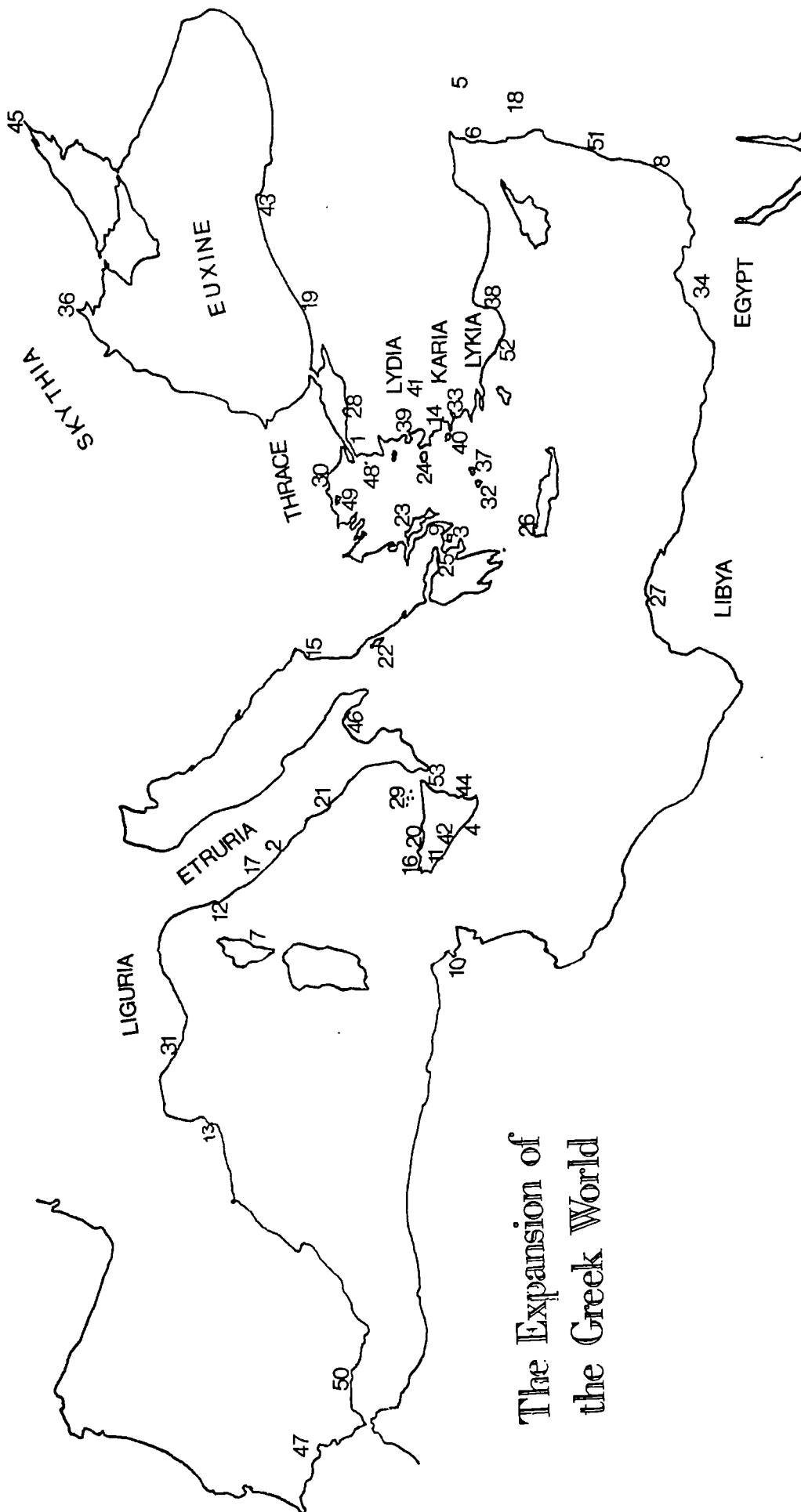
as communication by sea became easier, so piracy became a common profession...they would descend on cities which were unprotected by walls and indeed consisted only of scattered settlements, and by plundering such places they would gain most of their livelihood...the same system of armed robbery prevailed by land(331).

In the eighth century the social organisation which was to characterise the polis was being born in violence and strife, rupturing the structure of the preceding four centuries known as the Greek Dark Age. The episode(332) between Al-Mina and Ephesos largely defined the terms in which the Greeks would orientate their world. During this time the paradigms (the models and exemplars which would shape thought and deed) of the ancient Greek world were created. We have focused upon goods and their acquisition, overstressing the importance of slaves; but this emphasis seems necessary given the structural importance of slavery - an importance which began at this time - and by its long neglect (even negation) in classical scholarship. In the next chapter we shall examine the social consequences of the increased authoritative and allocative resources brought about through this expansion.

330 Thessaly, whose penestai are considered by the ancient sources as analogous to the helots, did not coin before the Persian domination of the area; the first mint (Larissa) was on the Persian standard, cf. Kraay ACGC 1972:115. This changes the picture entirely.

331 1.5. The route from Troizen to Athens was punctuated with some particularly unsavoury characters, besides the usual bandits and ruffians, Plut. Thes. 6.

332 "Episodes" refer to processes of social change which have a definite direction and form...in which a major transition takes place whereby one type of society is transformed into another' CC 1981:82.



The Expansion of
the Greek World

Map 1

- | | | | |
|----|----------------|----|-----------------|
| 1 | Abydos | 28 | Kyzikos |
| 2 | Agylla (Caere) | 29 | Lipari Isles |
| 3 | Aigina | 30 | Maroneia |
| 4 | Akragas | 31 | Massalia |
| 5 | Aleppo | 32 | Melos |
| 6 | Al-Mina | 33 | Miletos |
| 7 | Alalia | 34 | Naukratis |
| 8 | Ashdod | 35 | Nineveh |
| 9 | Athens | 36 | Olbia |
| 10 | Karthage | 37 | Paros |
| 11 | Egesta | 38 | Phaselis |
| 12 | Elba | 39 | Phokaia |
| 13 | Emporion | 40 | Samos |
| 14 | Ephesos | 41 | Sardis |
| 15 | Epidamnos | 42 | Selinos |
| 16 | Eryx | 43 | Sinope |
| 17 | Gravisca | 44 | Syrakuse |
| 18 | Hamath | 45 | Tanais |
| 19 | Herakleia | 46 | Taras |
| 20 | Himera | 47 | Tartessos |
| 21 | Ischia | 48 | Tenedos |
| 22 | Kerkyra | 49 | Thasos |
| 23 | Khalkis | 50 | <i>Toscanos</i> |
| 24 | Khios | 51 | Tyre |
| 25 | Korinth | 52 | Xanthos |
| 26 | Kydonia | 53 | Zankle |
| 27 | Kyrene | | |

Chapter 3: The expansion of the Greek world (II) Internal

Elitists assume the existence of a 'system'
within which the elite exercises supremacy.

G. Parry

Political Elites
1969: 134.

3.1 Introduction

The last chapter was concerned with interaction principally between Greek and non-Greek societies involved in the expansion overseas. The focus was upon the most obvious and crude form of domination, slavery. In this chapter we shall be concerned with interaction between and within Greek societies, the focus being upon more subtle forms of domination. This involves an examination of mechanisms capable of storing authoritative resources, such as status and political office; evidence of their existence in early Greek society; and evidence of their development through this episode of tumultuous change. It is currently believed that in this period Greek societies underwent an 'aristocratic stage', between the monarchy of an earlier period and the democracy of Classical times. In this chapter I will first attempt to show that 'the aristocratic stage' is an assumption of earlier generations of scholars, historians and politicians(1), which we have received as 'wisdom'. It has never been seriously questioned, and when it is so examined, this assumption proves to be completely without foundation. In the rest of the chapter I attempt to reconstruct Greek society in this period without 'aristocrats', focussing on political developments, chiefly through analysis of eighth century society as depicted by Homer. Other aspects of early Greek history associated with 'the aristocratic stage', such as the rise of tyranny and hektemorage in Athens, are treated in chapters 4 and 5.

1 As late as Victorian times these three 'roles' might be played by one and the same person, for example Grote. Since the subjects were barely academic disciplines until late Victorian times, and since the Classics formed the core of education, any educated person might be considered a 'classicist'. Ancient history one 'picked up' from studying the classical texts, therefore any classicist was considered competent to write ancient history.

3.2 The 'Aristocratic Stage' in Greek History

Ancient history is relieved of the burden of selection which medieval and modern history have to bear, with their less or more inexhaustible supply of evidence from which to select facts(2). Nevertheless, there is more evidence than can be accommodated simultaneously in one head (however big), and there is enough which is contradictory, ambiguous and difficult to understand(3), for ancient historians to pick and choose, more or less consciously, what to consider significant ('facts') and incorporate in histories, and similarly what to ignore. This can result in interpretations which individually seem sound but are mutually irreconcilable. Consequently, there are currently many histories of archaic Greece which each offer different interpretations of 'the same evidence'(4). There is, as Galbraith put it with respect to the Bible, enough material

that with a little effort anyone can find a faith that accords with his preferences and a moral code that is agreeable to his tastes, even if fairly depraved. In consequence, dissidents are not excluded from the faith; they are retained and accommodated in a different chapter(5).

Some of these facts, however, are imposters.

F.G.Maier has recently introduced to classicists a useful concept for the old and troublesome phenomenon in scholarship of hypotheses masquerading as facts. He calls such propositions factoids, and explains:

Factoids are mere speculations or guesses which have been repeated so often that they are eventually taken for hard fact...the tendency to get stronger the longer they live is one of their most insidious qualities. Factoids occur in all branches of scholarship and many are of course still well disguised - their complete discovery would create havoc in the disciplines concerned(6).

2 What Carr aptly called ancient history's "built-in ignorance", What is History? (henceforth WisH?) 1964:14.

3 What, for example, did Aristotle mean by his ideal 'polity'? (Cf. the succinct discussion by Mulgan Aristotle's Political Theory 1977:100f.)

4 Cf. Snodgrass' preface AG:AE 1980.

5 Economics, Peace and Laughter 1975:29.

6 'Factoids in Ancient History: the case of fifth century Cyprus' JHS 105(1985)32.

The presence and strength of factoids seems to be inversely related to the amount of evidence available on a particular subject. Maier cites the proposition that there was mutual antagonism between Greeks and Phoenicians in Kypros in the fifth century as an example of a factoid(7). Ideally, a good factoid is characterized by the following attributes: it is very plausible as an abstract idea; it has many strategic applications in scholarly arguments; it can be given a clear provenance as an assumption or guess of one scholar; and it can be shown to be inconsistent with the evidence. Few are likely to live up to this ideal, and are thus harder to identify and expose. But one, 'the aristocratic stage' in Greek history, can, I think, be shown quite clearly to be a factoid.

Factoids thrive where there is a chronic lack of evidence relevant to themselves, and in this case conditions are ideal:

The precise forms assumed by the early aristocracies of the Greek world can very rarely be determined...the administrative character of these aristocracies is as obscure as their form, and the little we know about the nature of their rule is confined to the period of their decline(8).

The linguistic symptoms of infection are a gradual loss of qualifying phrases and a change from what is best described as the optative mood to the indicative as the factoid is repeated. This symptom is recognised, of course, in reverse, as one tracks an idea back through earlier generations of scholars. What one is accustomed to seeing stated as a matter of fact is first 'probably', then 'possibly', and, if it is an ideal factoid, it will turn out to have been at one time a guess, which cannot be found in earlier generations of scholars. This

7 That the Egyptians knew the right angle triangle of 3, 4 and 5 sides is a factoid in the history of mathematics, according to B.L. van der Waerden Science Awakening 1961:6 (I owe this reference to Dr.J.V.Tucker). I cannot resist a quotation which possesses the tell-tale signs of another factoid, of some relevance to the last chapter: "Our information concerning industry and trade (in early Greece) is lamentably meagre", M.P.Nilsson The Age of the Early Greek Tyrants Dill Memorial Lecture, Queen's University Belfast 1936:14f.

8 A.H.J.Greenidge Handbook of Greek Constitutional History 1896:24.

is why, in order to identify a factoid, one often has to trace an idea back to 'outdated' scholarship. In this case, these symptoms are clearly apparent. What Greenidge wrote in 1896

the government of a union of clans is perhaps exemplified by that of the Eupatridae at Athens, for although the title 'Eupatrid' in historical times designated only a very small section of the community, it was probably applied originally to all the noble families

has become in 1977 "Solon broke the Eupatrid domination of Attika", which is cited to support the assertion that there was discontent with aristocratic government(9). What Greenidge adduced as the 'proof' that "the discontent of the demos at home under oligarchical government" was the chief stimulus to emigration, namely "the fact that with the rise of democracy and settled government colonisation on a great scale ceases", would not, I think, be considered irrefutable today. It may even be stood on its head, in a less categorical manner, to suggest that the fact of colonisation supported (perhaps prompted) the idea of discontent with oligarchic government. For the Victorian Greenidge believed that colonisation was enterprise, and that discontent "was the basis of enterprise" (ibid.25), which clearly shows the line of his thinking.

A contemporary of Greenidge's - a very different and badly neglected scholar and priest, J.P.Mahaffy (1839-1919) - believed in the aristocratic stage for different reasons: by analogy with the rex sacrorum, the basileus archon's name and function was taken to "point clearly to their being a survival of those kingly functions which were thought indispensable on religious or moral grounds, even after the actual monarchs had passed away"(10). The legends which told "of a gradual change from a monarchy to an aristocracy" - which he would otherwise have hesitated to believe - were not therefore "mere plausible fictions, but an obscure, and perhaps inadequate, yet still real

9 J.Salmon 'Political Hoplites' JHS 97(1977)94 n.56.

10 Problems in Greek History 1892:35.

account of what did happen in Attika in the days before written records existed." From a man who contested - against the fashion - that history was not an exact science, but a science of probabilities (ibid. 43), this is undoubtedly better method. However, as Finley noted,

(the elimination of kingship) was curiously unnoticed in Greek legends and traditions. The contrast in this respect with early Roman history could scarcely be greater(11),

which suggests that the degree of comparison is inadequate to support inference by analogy. A more serious problem is that, as late as Aristotle's day, what we call the archon basileus was called just basileus, usually translated by Homeric scholars as 'king', by early Greek historians as 'nobles' or 'aristocrats', and by classical Greek historians as 'officers of state' (alias the transliterated words 'archon' or 'phylobasileis'). This is the quintessence of the problem of Greek political development: basileus seems to be such a very ambiguous word. Aristotle's Politics opens contesting the view that the statesman (politikos) is the same as the basileus, which if nothing else means that somebody thought it was, Plato most probably. In the course of the treatise he categorises five different types of basileia (1284b35-1285b33). These are (1) that of heroic times (by which he means Homeric), which was hereditary, willingly accepted by the people, and had authority over certain specific affairs, the basileus being general, judge and religious head; (2) that of non-Greeks, which was hereditary despotic rule within the law, and was allowed to be despotic because foreigners were naturally more slave-like than Greeks and do not mind taking orders so much; (3) what men call aisumneteia, that is, elective dictatorship; (4) the Lakonian type, which was roughly a permanent generalship which may have been hereditary or

 11 Finley EG:BA 1981:87. The legend of the kings of Athens, for example, was "built up gradually on the basis of an extremely meagre tradition" P.J.Rhodes Comm. 1981:65, starting probably about three hundred years after Homer lived with Hellanikos of Lesbos (fl.430 BC), cf.65-79, 98-102.

elective; and (5) a sovereign ruler, hereditary or elective(12), a man with the authority and autonomy of a state. This last, he says, is like household management, but whereas the latter is basileia of an oikos, the same sort of management of one or more poleis and ethne he calls pambasileia to distinguish it.

Modern efforts to reconcile all this with the usage in the pre-fourth century sources, and with what we think probably happened, have added considerably to the list: (6) petty kings; (7) princes; (8) nobles; (9) aristocrats; (10) chieftains; (11) big-men, and so on(13). Aristotle ignored the Athenian high official concerned with religious duties in his typology(14), and mentioned basileia of an oikos only to illustrate what he meant by the fifth type. That is, there were at least two more senses of the word basileia. The former, as mentioned above, is currently understood as an archon who replaced the king and kept the title, as Mahaffy, but is now supported less by reference to

12 Cf. 1286b22-27.

13 Drews' monograph Basileus: the Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece 1983 is wholly devoted to exploding this myth of kingship in early Greece, the exposure of which began in 1934 with Calhoun's, papers 'Classes and Masses in Homer I' and 'II' CP 29(1934)192-208, 301-316. These papers were largely ignored until Starr re-examined the question in 'The Decline of the Early Greek Kings' Historia 10(1961)129-138, since when there has been a steady stream of books and articles on the subject, of which the more important are F.Gschnitzer 'BASILEUS' Innsbrucker Beitrage zur Kulturwissenschaft 11(1965)99-112, C.G.Thomas 'The Roots of Homeric Kingship' and 'Patrike Basileia: E Upolepsis' Historia 15(1966)387-407, 368-369 respectively, W.Donlan 'The Tradition of Anti-Aristocratic Thought in Early Greek Poetry' Historia 22(1973)145-154, D.J.Stewart 'The Disguised Guest' 1976, J.Andreev 'Konige und Konigsherrschaft im den Epen Homers' Klio 61(1979)361-384, Donlan AI 1980, B.Qviller 'The Dynamics of Homeric Society' SO 56(1981)109-155, Donlan 'Reciprocities in Homer' CW 75(1982)137-175, A.G.Geddes 'Who's Who in "Homeric" Society' CQ 34(1984)17-36, J.Halverson 'Social Order in the "Odyssey"' Hermes 113(1985)129-145, T.E.Rihll '"Kings" and "Commoners" in Homeric Society' LCM 1986. B.Qviller informs me that the idea of early Greek kingship probably derives from European scholars in the sixteenth century reading Greek history backwards: Hellenistic monarchs (also called basileis) were transposed back onto Homeric basileis.

14 But he says elsewhere that the superintendence of all public sacrifices which derive their prestige from the common hearth and are not entrusted by law to priests are entrusted to officials sometimes called basileis, sometimes archons and sometimes prytaneis (1322b24-29).

the analogy with Rome than by trading on the ambiguity of the word basileus in the Ath.Pol.. The latter is 'accommodated' with much less difficulty by ignoring it, as is his remark that an entire populace (to plethos) can be basileuton (1288a8-9).

Those remarks on basileia which refer to its downfall (Pol. 1312b38-1313a17) tend to get cited selectively; oddly enough, they are ignored when it is translated 'kingship', but they form the basis of the 'discontent with aristocratic government' hypothesis when it is translated 'aristocracy' and basileis translated 'nobles'. This is, in fact, completely unjustified, since Aristotle clearly separates basileia from aristokratia and oligarkhia, and discusses factions in aristocracies elsewhere (1306b22-1307b25). Basileia, he says, is the least likely type of constitution to be destroyed by external causes, and tends to be durable. Most often it is destroyed from within, by one of two ways (a) when those who share the basileia form factions amongst themselves, or (b) when they attempt to govern more like a tyranny, claiming authority over more than they are legally entitled to. Basileiai do not arise nowadays, he says(15), for any contemporary government of that type is more a monarchy or tyranny because basileia is government by consent, as well as authority over more important affairs, and nowadays many people are peers and nobody stands out enough to warrant the greatness and position of the office. Consequently they do not give their consent voluntarily, and if someone imposes it through fraud or force, he says, it is instantly regarded as a tyranny.

Now translating this word basileus as 'kingship' clearly will not do. Kingship is synonymous with monarchy in English, and basileia can, but need not be, rule by a plurality. More significantly, kingship has nothing to do with consent, whereas basileia ceases to be an

15 "Kingship has now gone out of fashion" as Barker translates, catching just the right level of grandeur, dignity, and solemnity.

appropriate term for an actual situation when and if general favour is withdrawn. Translating it 'aristocracy' or 'oligarchy', and using it in a 'discontent with their government' hypothesis won't do either, because that confounds two categories clearly distinguished by Aristotle. Basileia sometimes appears to be a characteristic of government rather than a constitution as such. This impression is strengthened as Aristotle continues - to discuss a further cause of downfall characteristic of hereditary basileiai which, we note, is therefore a subset of basileiai by virtue of being hereditary. Thus basileia can, but need not be, hereditary, whereas heredity is implicit in the English concept of kingship (and of nobility). "Those who inherit are often easy to despise" says Aristotle(16), incidentally speaking volumes on the issue of the relative merits of 'good breeding' as perceived by one fourth century thinker at least(17). Although they have acquired the honour (time) of a basileus, not the power of a tyrant, they ill-treat others. Dissolution then follows easily, for as soon as he is not wanted, he ceases to be a basileus, says Aristotle. Whilst this sounds most odd to modern ears, it would seem to be what happened to Pheidon - 'the king who became a tyrant' as usually translated, unhappily, into English(18). This perplexes

16 1313a12, as translated by T.A.Sinclair revised by T.J.Saunders, Penguin ed.1981.

17 Cf.also 1271a19-22, 1286b22-25.

18 1310b26-28. It is an unhappy translation because by 'king' we normally mean a constitutional ruler who is assumed to have inherited the throne from a close relative and who will occupy it for life, unless choosing to abdicate in favour of another, who is also assumed to be a close relative if not direct descendent. By 'tyrant' we normally mean a ruler either who came to power (note, the power in question is normally perceived to be something other than the throne; the tyrant pretends to the throne, but does not really occupy the throne) in an unconstitutional manner, or, more commonly, we mean a ruler whose position is apart from the constitutional offices (including the throne). In both cases the person is assumed to be an individual risen above his family and 'status', and a person who would not have come to the position had he or she not seized it by improper methods. Consequently, it requires rather special pleading in order to explain how someone who is already a king can become a tyrant. That special pleading involves changing the meaning of 'tyrant' (the familiar argument that Greek tyranny was different from modern tyranny, which is true): which is

modern minds chiefly because of an inadequate grasp of the concept basileia, and consequently an inadequate translation of it(19), which is why I have transliterated it.

Carr objected to this practice, with considerable justification (and wit)(20). I would defend transliteration in this instance because I know of no current word which corresponds to basileia. As we have seen, the concept embraces a singular or plural, hereditary or elective, esteemed and above all 'popular' (for want of a better word) office of limited or permanent tenure. The office becomes known by another name if the incumbent ceases to be wanted, and it may be more or less under the law. If it is under the law it is not a form of constitution, but a characteristic of government which is best described as paternal(21). If it is not under the law but is the law, then it is a form of constitution.

Greek words are unfamiliar and obsolete to all of us at first, and transliterating the more obtuse among them can hardly be considered 'cheating oneself into the past' if there is no modern term which corresponds to what the Greek word seems to. 'Cheating oneself into the past' is rather a case of using approximate modern terms imprecisely and inconsistently, instead of labouring away to try to grasp what the obsolete word connoted. Greek is a foreign language and Greek history is a foreign country. The historian is akin to the anthropologist; he (or she) studies people in another society, learns their language, and records his experiences in his own language. Some impressions thus gained are certain to be decidedly foreign, and then, to describe them, the historian can either use the term the natives

my point. It is an inadequate translation because it does not make sense in English, and in order to make sense of it the meaning of the English words has to be changed. That is not a translation (in the normal sense of the word).

19 Cf. Finley 'Desperately Foreign' AofA 1978:11-15, and with regard to heroes, p.11f esp.: "Allow Aristotle to mean what he says and the first victim is the tragic hero".

20 WisH? 1964:25.

21 Cf. 1286a2-6, 1287a3-4. Cf. also Ethics 1160b24-49.

use as a shorthand, or he can use modern words (singly or in combination) as appropriate, or he can coin new words. Any method requires a proper description of what is meant by the word(s); that distinguishes the short-cuts from the odysseys when modern words are used, and inconsistencies can be identified and corrected more easily. The native words have drawbacks: transliterated words often mean 'the sentence is suspended pending further investigations'. If enough understanding has been gained to warrant considered translation, then this potential source of ambiguity is best avoided. The case can always be reopened. Let us then attempt to analyze this foreign concept.

Aristotle distinguishes five types of basileia only one of which, pambasileia, is a type of constitution. This type of basileia was one of his 'right' constitutions, was monarchic and concerned rule at the state or empire level (1279a32-34). This type may reasonably be translated 'absolute monarchy'. This type is the easiest for us to understand, and, under the influence of the French (l'etat, c'est moi) and Russian monarchs whose reigns and overthrow were the principal models of the time, it was by far the easiest for our discipline's founding fathers to understand. It was (and still is) this strongest type of basileia which constitutes the paradigm for modern scholars; it is this type which is assumed when the word basileus is encountered in the sources, and it is deviations from it which are considered to require explanation. Aristotle, on the other hand, considered this type sufficiently odd to warrant four chapters of explanation (chaps.XV-XVIII, bk.III), compared with the one chapter which sufficed for all of the other types of basileia combined(22).

At the other end of the scale, the 'weakest' form of basileia, was that exemplified by the Lakonian constitution (1285b35-37). This was the easiest type for Aristotle and, he assumed, his audience to under-

stand(23). It was the weakest because it was the furthest beneath the law. It amounted to perpetual generalship, and might be acquired either by birth, as in Sparta, or by election(24). The example by which this type is illustrated indicates that it could be plural. The fact that it still existed was sufficient proof for Aristotle that it was moderate and very limited in scope, which he attributed chiefly to the fact that there were two basileis not one, and that the institution of the ephors acted as a very efficient check - the principal reason being, of course, that the ephors could dismiss an incumbent from office(25). In the case of the Spartans, it was inherited, and Aristotle thought that the first basileis had been honoured with the office because they had given distinguished service in the acquisition of territory(26). Knowing of no modern term which reflects all this, I am tempted to call this form of basileia tenured generalship, after Aristotle, leaving the issues of heredity and numbers open. It was one office, amongst others, firmly under the laws of the state and possessed final authority only on active service abroad.

In the fourth century the word basileia in a political context could, then, signify something between these two extremes; it clearly underwent an interesting and complex development. Now, it might be argued that Aristotle's typology of basileia is unduly influenced by the basileia of his own day(27). 'Influenced' it must be; whether 'unduly', and if so, to what extent, is the important issue. It

23 1285a3-6. This is not to say that Aristotle thought that other people understood it correctly, only that they had an opinion on the matter (Aristotle contends that this type is not what it is usually assumed to be). The other types of basileia are largely unknown to them, and Aristotle feels compelled to describe what other types have existed or do exist in other countries.

24 1285a3-16. Sinclair-Saunders' translation is to be preferred to Barker's here. The nauarkhia ('admiralty' for lack of a better word) was considered all but another basileia (1271a39-40).

25 1313a20-28, cf. also 1271a24-26.

26 1310b31-39. He was probably thinking of the conquest of Lakonia or Messenia.

27 I wish to thank Steve Hodgkinson for drawing attention to this point.

should first of all be stressed that most sources upon which any interpretation of basileia and basileis is based are substantially later than Aristotle, or are substantially more fragmentary than Aristotle's treatise, and are usually written by someone of substantially inferior intellectual power than Aristotle. The question is, if Aristotle misconstrues basileia in time past because of the influence of basileia in the present, does he underestimate the power of earlier basileis, or does he overestimate it? The 'increasing democratisation' framework of reference for Greek political history seems to have prevented scholars from even recognising that the latter possibility exists. It is usually assumed that, if Aristotle misconstrues the past on the basis of the present, then he necessarily underestimates the power of basileis in time past. But the second possibility, which comes into view when the question is posed in a more open-ended way, is a real one. Through the rest of this chapter and in the chapters following, my argument will be that if Aristotle errs, then he errs on the side of overestimation of the power of basileis in time past. Let us then consider what ancients and moderns have thought about the earliest type of basileia, that of the heroic period.

A century ago it was appreciated that the basileis depicted in the Homeric poems, Agamemnon included, are far from absolute monarchs. Two opposing influences led to Homeric basileis being cited to exemplify both the rise and the fall of monarchy. Some scholars signalled that they were citing particular hexameters to refer to the rise by systematically using the word 'heroic', and used the term 'Homeric' or 'of the Epos' when they were citing hexameters which they thought exemplified the fall. One influence was the new subject of anthropology, which suggested a tribal prehistory and the origin of basileia therefore came to be considered in terms of chieftains ruling over clans (phule). Some of Aristotle's comments on the type 'heroic' were cited to support this interpretation, and suitable Homeric references were considered 'traces' of this murky past. The opposing influence,

which suggested that basileia should be conceived as a fall from monarchic heights, is more complicated. We may first note that it was necessary to have a bridging sentence or two between a discussion of rising chiefs exemplified by Homeric hexameters and Aristot^elian analysis, and a discussion of falling monarchs exemplified by precisely the same sources. Greenidge may be taken as typical:

In any case, this chieftainship developed into the stereotyped monarchy of the Epos, which is described by Aristotle as hereditary and legal...

- even if, over the page, the monarchy described in the same Epos is hurtling toward destruction whilst "the growing power of the nobles is, in fact, very apparent"(28). As if by magic, we now have aristocratic nobles instead of grubby chiefs. I do not suggest that this was deliberate sleight-of-hand, far from it. Greenidge and his contemporaries were under an influence which, at the risk of gross oversimplification, I shall try to elucidate as briefly as possible.

It is difficult enough to account for the process by which a society becomes stratified. It is much more difficult to account for the process by which an aristocracy and monarchy come into being (hence Greenidge's "in any case"). The modern concepts of monarchy and aristocracy are fundamentally connected to the idea of inherited privilege, and this notion has a tendency to lock the mind into a course of infinite regression - he inherited it from his father, who inherited it from his father, who.... No sane scholar ever supposed that individuals left what they inherited no more and no less, and nobody ever denied that there were changes of personnel, either on the piecemeal model(29), or the wholesale model(30). But the framework was accepted as 'given'. In Western European history, which traced its self-conscious roots to ancient Greece, there had 'always' been

28 Ibid. 1896:15f.

29 Noble families dying out, to be replaced by recruitment from just below.

30 One set of personnel was replaced by another, whence 'history is the graveyard of aristocracies' idea.

kings and nobles.

For much of the last thousand years of European history noble privilege was not merely an expression of social superiority or of economic and political advantage. It was essentially a judicial fact, conferred or confirmed by royal grant and existing not because of the laxity of the state but because of a legal provision(31).

Homeric heroes came to be compared with Medieval knights, gloriously rescuing the damsel Helen from the fortress of Byzantine (that is, Eastern) luxu. In more recent times, the history of Western Europe came to be seen as a faltering process of the erosion of inherited privilege, from the curbing of the worst excesses of de iure or de facto personal power, to the current perception of remaining (and therefore domesticated) nobles as something approaching an endangered species. They are now considered by some to be living anachronisms; by others as historical exhibits who live in their own museums, which the public can (or should be able to) visit on a 'cultural' day out.

Add to this the chronic idealisation of ancient Greece, which Byron's scathing comments and Mahaffy's revelation of the less agreeable aspects(32) could do little to moderate, it is not then surprising that the Spartan basileis were seen as kingly relics; that the Athenian high official charged with religious matters was seen as an historical echo of a preceding 'king' in the most conservative sphere of life; and that Agamemnon, surrounded, as weak kings tend to be, by self-willed and rather independent inferiors, suggested that when Greek history opens, monarchy is in the process of being ousted by contumacious nobles.

The dual role of Homeric basileis, rising chieftain and falling monarch in one split personality, developed over a century into

31 M.L.Bush Noble Privilege 1983:1.

32 For instance homosexuality, which the Victorians did not like at all. He was forced to remove the relevant passages from later editions of Social Life because of the furor they elicited from philhellens whose sensibilities were deeply offended by this slur on their precious ideal's character, cf.W.B.Stanford Ireland and the Classical Tradition 1976:153.

contemporary statements of the form

despite the Agamemmons and Ajaxes of the Homeric poems, their real Dark Age rulers were petty chieftains within a framework of 'many kings', whose disappearance from the scene was undramatic and unmemorable. Without them, the nobles were compelled to formalise the previous informal advisory bodies we see in action in the Homeric poems. So there arose councils and offices...all confined within the closed group of the landowning aristocracy(33).

Advances in anthropology, history and sociology since the late nineteenth century make the inherited misuse of language more blatant. 'Nobles' implies 'kings' past or present, not chieftains, petty or otherwise, and whilst this may be dismissed as terminological pedantry, it is precisely and only on the basis of this misuse of language that 'the aristocratic stage' has gained any credence at all. European Iron Age chieftains, for which we have archaeological evidence (unlike Greek chieftains), did not disappear for no apparent reason, memorable or otherwise, and by that act of disappearance (i) turn their previous inferiors, presumably pettier chieftains, into nobles (here synonymous with the even less justifiable term 'landed aristocracy') and (ii) compel their erstwhile followers-cum-nobles to formalise themselves into councils and offices which, moreover, were necessarily closed. Within a few short sentences this abuse of language allows the speedy circumlocution of the most problematic development in Greek political history: its beginning. Let us then clarify these abused English concepts before proceeding.

Aristocracy: The word is of course Greek: it means 'rule by the best'. It was a "purely political term: the leadership of some men over others"(34), and so it remained until the eighteenth century. By

33 Finley EG:BA 1981:87f.

34 J.Powis Aristocracy 1984:8. A.J.Graham and G.Forsythe also recognize the disparity between the Greek and the modern concepts of 'aristocracy', "Aristokratia simply means 'government by the best men', which in theory has nothing to do with the rule of an established nobility of birth or plutocracy" with n.33 "to be quite technical, we should not therefore translate this word as 'aristocracy', because the modern term connotes something which the ancient one does not", 'A New Slogan for Oligarchy in Thucydides III.82.8' HSCP 88(1984)33 and n.33. Ironically, in a paper debating the

'aristocracy' Montesquieu meant "a republic where high-minded magistrates wielded authority over the citizenry to the greater good of the community as a whole"(35). The 'high-mind' is the inheritance from the Greek. Not until the French Revolution (1789) was the word applied to a social class and the word 'aristocrat' coined to refer, pejoratively, to its members(36). Modern loose usage has tended to blur the distinction between aristocracy and nobility, but they were not synonymous. The former referred to political organisation, and had connotations of authority and leadership; the latter referred to people, and did not have such connotations(37). Moreover, the Classical Greek concept of 'aristocracy' did not carry the modern

finer points of the terminology employed for 'rule by a minority' they decided "not (to deny themselves) the convenience of this translation". This is especially unfortunate at p.38, where they quote Isokrates (Panath. 153) on the Lykourgan reforms, whence the notion of a 'mixed' 'democracy and aristocracy' in Sparta. It is absurd to call a constitution in which "the offices are assignable not by lot but by election" an 'aristocracy' in English. If we ignored the non-citizen population, we would automatically call it a democracy. I have no idea what we would call what the Greeks meant by democracy (assignment by lot). Anarchy probably.

- 35 Powis ibid. 1984:6. Montesquieu (1689-1755) was the first person to revise (partially) Aristotle's political typology, replacing number of persons exercising political power by the degree to which a government was 'legitimate', *ie.* recognised the rule of law. The rejection of Aristotle's Politics was a 'sociological revolution' akin to the 'scientific revolution' which rejected his Physics: from the latter emerged Newtonian mechanics, from the former elite theory. On the 'scientific revolution' see T.S.Kuhn The Structure of Scientific Revolutions 2nd.ed.1970 and The Essential Tension 1977; on Pareto and Mosca and their context see Parry Political Elites 1969; on Montesquieu see M.Richter The Political Theory of Montesquieu 1977 and L.Althusser Politics and History: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel, Marx 2nd.ed.1977.
- 36 As for the Greek word, aristokratia occurs first in Thukydides (3.82.8); Graham and Forsythe argue plausibly that it was then a recent coining, art.cit. 1984:33f.
- 37 Powis ibid. 1984:3. We can see the distinction still clearly apparent but beginning to merge in Montesquieu's attempt to reconcile the noblesse de l'epee (people) with the noblesse de robe (politicians), Esprit des lois bks.XXVIII, XXX, XXI. The terminology also signifies on what basis the 'old nobility' (*ie.* people) created and maintained their position: by the sword. Arnheim recognises the distinction (Aristocracy in Greek Society (henceforth AGS) 1977:9) but proceeds to ignore it in the belief that the context will make plain which sense he means (p.10). The introduction (ironically labelled 'definitions') amply illustrates the consequences of this policy.

association with heredity(38). For example,

In the Menexenos (238c-d) Plato says expressly that at Athens the poor and obscure may be ton ariston and are therefore eligible to office...Any form of government could be 'aristocratic' in the Greek sense...aristokratia, that is, was not itself a form of government(39).

Rather, it was a characteristic potentially applicable to any government. The term 'aristocracy' should be confined in discussions of ancient Greek societies to polities of a certain character; it should not be used of people. Prior to the rise of polities, it is wholly inappropriate and very misleading. The point was made succinctly by Coleridge: "in no instance has the false use of a word become current without some practical ill-consequence, of far greater moment than would primo aspectu have been thought possible"(40). And in conjunction with polities it should be accompanied by an examination of the prevailing ideology to establish the reference of 'best': 'best' in respect to what? In the pre-state periods then the issue is the existence of a nobility.

Nobility: Nobility was first and foremost "a matter of time and ancestry"(41). A nobility presupposes that the transmission of privileges passes from one generation to the next in a strictly circumscribed fashion within a few families. Therefore the existence of a nobility can only be shown through records over several generations. The literary evidence is such that the fundamental work on wealthy families in the best-documented Greek society, Athens, begins with the generation 600-567/6 BC. Two persons are recorded in that first generation. One is presumed to have been wealthy by virtue of being his wealthy son's father, the other by virtue of being archon during the Kylonian affair(42). However, I think it is significant that not

38 Powis ibid. 1984:15 and n.29 above.

39 Gomme Comm. II.109.

40 On the Constitution of the Church and State 1830, note to p.16.

41 Powis ibid. 1984:17.

42 J.K.Davies Athenian Propertied Families (henceforth APF) 1971, xxvii for summary in table. Phainippos, father of the first

these men, but their sons, are the eponyms of their respective families.

The next generation records another nine persons, the next one more(43). The situation in sixth century Attika which can be reasonably reconstructed from the surviving evidence is a total of twelve people, some of whom are included by referencing forward in time, not backward. Moreover, that evidence suggests only that these men were in some sense relatively 'wealthy'. It does not prove that they were 'nobles'.

The existence of a nobility prior to the sixth century is a posit for which there is even less evidence(44). It certainly cannot be proved by claims to ancestry made in the Homeric epics. Some therein are certainly fraudulent(45), and there is no way to distinguish amongst the rest between the wholly, partially, or marginally fraudulent(46). On the other hand, there are very strong testimonies against privilege by inheritance. I cite only two: they concern the highest positions available in the society of the Iliad. If inheritance can be shown not to be the mechanism which governs privilege in these two primordial cases, then further citations are unnecessary.

The first is Andromache's forecast for her son Astyanax, grandson of 'king' Priam, on the death of his father Hektor, bulwark of the

Kallias (Reg.no.7826 II) and Megakles, father of Alkmeon (Reg.no.9688 II) respectively. It is debatable whether Megakles was archon: the source is Plutarch Sol. 19. Neither Herodotos nor Thukydides mention him in their accounts of the Kylonian affair. See chapter 5.

43 The figures of nine and one for generations B and C are the correct figures when overlaps are discounted, cf. Davies op.cit. 1971:xxvii n.3.

44 Including circumstantial evidence, such as Davies' use of wealth as an index of status.

45 For example, Odysseus-the-Kretan Od. 14.199-206; even more telling is Eumaios' scepticism, 11.379-389.

46 Without literary documents there was no way to establish it for the Greeks themselves - it is impossible to 'check' an oral memory. Hence the later importance of registration on the deme roll (for men after Kleisthenes) and the phratry roll (for women and minors before and after Kleisthenes) in order to prove citizenship and free status.

Trojan defences and 'prince' of Troy:

Though he escape the attack of the Akhaians with all its sorrows,
 yet all his days for (Hektor's) sake there will be hard work for him
 and sorrows, for others will take his lands away from him. The day
 of bereavement leaves a child with no agemates to befriend him.
 He bows his head before every man, his cheeks are bewept, he
 goes, needy, a boy amongst his father's companions,
 and tugs at this man by the mantle, that man by the tunic,
 and they pity him, and one gives him a tiny drop from a goblet,
 enough to moisten his lips, not enough to moisten his palate.
 But one whose parents are living beats him out of the banquet
 hitting him with his fists and in words also abuses him:
 'Get out, you! Your father is not dining among us'.
 And the boy goes away in tears to his widowed mother,
 Astyanax, who in days before on the knees of his father
 would eat only the marrow or the flesh of sheep that was fattest.
 And when sleep would come upon him and he was done with his playing,
 he would go to sleep in a bed, in the arms of his nurse, in a soft
 bed, with his heart given all its fill of luxury.
 Now, with his dear father gone, he has much to suffer:
 he, whom the Trojans have called Astyanax, lord of the city(47).

He, whom the Trojans had called Astyanax, lord of the city, will be
 treated by those Trojans as the Ithakans treated Iros the beggar(48).
 Neither his mother alone, nor his 'princely' uncles or cousins, nor
 his 'royal' grandfather are expected to be willing and/or able to fend
 off this beggar's future(49). If his closest kin cannot, it is an
 abuse of English to call this a monarchy. And "without a monarchy, no
 nobility; without a nobility, no monarchy", was the dictum of
 Montesquieu, who lived with a functional, rather than titular,
 monarch, and a nobility which could raise private armies(50). If they
 will not, then there is no self-supportive cohesiveness necessary to
 classify whatever structure exists as an elite of any sort. Elite
 theory, whether explicitly stated or implicitly assumed in most
 discussions of Greek 'aristocrats' or 'upper classes', rests upon an
 assumption

that the supposed elite constitutes a coherent, united and self-
 conscious group - and these qualities appear in nearly all defini-
 tions(51).

47 Iliad XXII.487-506.

48 Od. 18.49, cf. also 334-6.

49 As for the young, so too the old: cf. Iliad IX.492-495,
 XXIV.486-489.

50 Esprit des lois II.4.

51 G.Parry Political Elites 1969:31.

Parry continues:

if the group does not act as a unified body it is less an elite than a category of 'top persons' in the particular sphere in question - the category of the 'most wealthy men' in the USA or the category of 'public school products' in Britain(52).

This important point applies also to the notion of a 'ruling class', which is by definition a cohesive group(53).

Since the preservation of whatever resources (allocative or authoritative) the oikos and its members have depends, at base, upon a continuous succession of men who have the ability and the luck to defend it without a single fatal failure, it is very difficult to envisage a wealthy family surviving in this world over a sufficient number of generations to claim the prerequisite qualification of nobility: time(54). Since a nuclear segment of the 'highest' family in the land will, on the death of its lord and protector - that is, its husband and father - lose whatever privileges it hitherto held, at base 'ancestry' counts for nothing(55).

The second example is Agamemnon's tenure of the most important position in the Akhaian forces, leader of the host, 'king of kings'. Agamemnon is justified as 'king' of Argos and overlord of the Greek forces not because of his birth, but because of his possession of a sceptre.

Powerful Agamemnon
stood up holding the sceptre Hephaistos had wrought carefully.
Hephaistos gave it to Zeus the king, son of Kronos,
and Zeus in turn gave it to the courier Argeiphontes,
and lord Hermes gave it to Pelops, driver of horses,
and Pelops again gave it to Atreus, the shepherd of the people.
Atreus dying left it to Thyestes of the rich flocks,
and Thyestes left it in turn to Agamemnon to carry

52 idem. 1969:32.

53 See Bottomore Elites and Society 1966.

54 And the more wealth an oikos or community possessed, the more likely was it to be a target of someone else's ambitions. Cf. Adkins 'Values, Goals and Emotions in the Iliad' CP 71(1982)301, "Were a Homeric agathos to prove unable to defend his possessions, he would be unlikely to retain them for very long". It seems to me that this (correct) observation undermines the overall position on a hereditary nobility in Homer to which Adkins subscribes. There is no hint of the notion of 'genteel poverty' in Homer.

55 Cf. also Donlan AI 1980:16, and the many examples pp.15-20 passim.

and to be lord of many islands and over all Argos(56).

The 'pedigree' appears at first sight to be quite long; however, four of those mentioned are deities (and they are mentioned seven times in total); the link Pelops is an aitiological eponym (and is mentioned twice); and we are left with Agamemnon and his immediate kin, father Atreus and uncle Thyestes. The genealogy could hardly be shorter.

Further, the fact that it is inheritance of the sceptre which matters contradicts the quintessential fact of a nobility: birth is the qualification, being the father's son - not possession of some object. Besides, this sceptre passes first to a brother and then to a nephew, and to argue that even so, it is inheritance within one family, is misguided. The switch from the more intentional 'gave' to 'left' suggests that Homer was aware of the unstraightforward (and violent) manner in which this sceptre had passed from its alleged maker into Agamemnon's hands(57). These men may be blood relatives, but overconcentration on Orestes as matricide - which begins after Homer(58)- has led most scholars to neglect the fact that these two branches share a blood-feud and, far from acting as one family, they are each other's bitterest enemies. Atreus supposedly served up to his brother Thyestes that man's own children, whose one surviving son Aigisthios murdered Atreus' son Agamemnon on return from Troy, who was in turn murdered by Agamemnon's son Orestes. That Hermes is here, for the first time, given his epithet 'slayer of Argos' is not, I think, mere coincidence. Further, of the sceptre, Agamemnon's claim to leadership, Kirk dryly remarks

ancient and hallowed as it (supposedly TR) is, the royal sceptre is merely leant on when the king begins to speak - rather, for instance, than being wielded to and fro to point up his

56 Iliad II.100-108.

57 G.S.Kirk Comm 1985 ad loc..

58 Most notably with Aischylos' trilogy Agamemnon, Choephoroi and Eumenides. The legends of the House of Atreus are full of horror and murder and many are mutually exclusive, for instance the various versions of Orestes' purification; compare Aischylos' Eumenides and Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris.

argument...but it is soon to be used in an even more mundane way by Odysseus, first to restrain troops at 199 and then for belabouring Thersites at 265f(59).

The ambiguities and uncertainties regarding sceptres - Kirk identifies nine different functions with several overlaps - suggest that this tool for justifying (or claiming) special privilege is a rather new idea. If privilege could be claimed on birth it would be completely superfluous - and ruthlessly suppressed(60). Moreover, if there was a genuine nobility, its members would claim descent from their real ancestors, not from mythological - or worse, divine figures within one or two generations from the claimant: Agamemnon's real grandfather was not Pelops(61). Finally, this is not a characteristic of one or two nouveaux riches attempting to 'pass themselves off' as nobles: it applies to every Homeric hero(62).

Archaeological evidence also denies the existence of an aristocracy, nobility, elite - or indeed, even a category of top persons:

What strikes one is the egalitarian appearance of Greek burials at most periods. There is simply nothing in Greece proper, at any rate south of Macedonia, to correspond with the tombs of paramount chief, vassal-chief, sub-chief status and so on which they discern in west-central Europe. Of all the hundreds of burials of the earliest Iron Age in Greece (roughly the eleventh to tenth centuries BC), most of them single graves, there is not one that can really be called rich. In the ninth and eighth centuries when the quantities are greater (I have counted 682 closely dated graves of this period from Attika alone), there are one or two whose contents are reasonably impressive (say a few pieces of gold jewellery or a dozen bronze fibulae), but still none which is imposing in terms of architecture or even sheer size"(63).

59 Kirk Comm. 1985:128.

60 Because the symbolic object could fall into the 'wrong hands'. With birth, the only way power can fall into the 'wrong hands' is through machinations with babies; these appear in later literature but they are conspicuous by their absence in Homer, and are contradicted by 'Odysseus the Kretan'.

61 Cf. Finley UAH 1986:27, and 1.4 above.

62 And to heroes tracing descent from the gods per se; such heroes were invented and inserted at the head of genuine (if massaged) genealogies which were constructed backwards from present into past (although counted forwards from mythical figures, eg. tenth in line from Temenos) in much later times.

63 A.M. Snodgrass 'The Ancient Greek World' in ESE 1984:230. Cf. also Runciman art.cit. 1982:373 and n.69, and the comments of Davies on the relativity of 'rich', and of the contrast between 'rich' and 'poor' in Athens even in the fourth century, Democracy and Classical Greece 1978:34-37.

This is an important statement. It summarizes the archaeological evidence for stratification in the DA: nil(64). It also suggests that stratification was growing, very slightly (quantitatively and qualitatively), towards the Archaic period.

The case against 'aristocracy' might be thought to be a terminological quibble: it is not. The crucial theoretical point is that the leaders of Greek societies may constitute a category of top persons, but they do not constitute a temporally stable, coherent, and self-supporting group, which are essential characteristics of any sort of elite(65). The crucial methodological point is that careless use of modern terms can be profoundly misleading, and even underwrite an interpretation(66).

64 A perfectly proper argument that status may not be reflected in burial practice would be valid if there was other evidence (archaeological, historical, philological, or other) for such stratification. In this case, there is not. For example, it has not gone entirely unnoticed (eg. by Coulton Greek Architects at Work (henceforth GAW) 1982:17f) that, if there was an 'elite' of any sort in the Dark Age-Archaic period, they did not construct for themselves substantial houses, let alone anything which could be described as a 'palace'.

65 Cf. also Aristotle Pol. 1330b17-21, where the planning of strongholds is discussed: "There is no one policy equally good for all constitutions", he says. A citadel is suitable for monarchies and oligarchies, a level plain for democracies, neither of which suit an aristocracy, for which a number of different strongholds is preferable. The inference is clearly that a monarchy and an oligarchy are constituted of a coherent self-supporting group, a democracy is not constituted of groups at all, and an aristocracy is constituted of a number of competing and mutually belligerent groups. That is reminiscent of the building of towers in the N. Italian city-states (reached a peak c.1200 AD), Martines Power and Imagination 1983:35-50. I am extremely wary of drawing comparisons with this period because it, after all, hides the very pitfalls which launched the Bucher-Meyer controversy: the most significant difference between the two is, I think, that the Italian city-states did inherit stratification and established monarchs in the shape of emperors, popes and nobles.

66 Note that demos can mean either the whole citizen body or "the masses, in effect, the poor, populares" (Gomme Comm. 2.37.1 ad.loc.), to which ambiguity Gomme similarly attributes scholarly misunderstanding. The significance is that the Greeks did not feel it necessary to distinguish between 'the whole populace' and 'the poor'. If and when they wanted to say 'the poor' they had a perfectly good word in hoi penetes. If and when they wanted to add moral overtones, they had hoi poneroi. Further, "demos was a very respectable word in all manner of states, including Sparta", Gomme Comm. II.110.

Let us then consider the empirical evidence from which this century-old tradition is derived. I shall take as typical one recent statement on this 'aristocracy stage', and methodically examine the supporting references(67). The author will not, I hope, take offence: this example was selected because it is untypical - John Salmon does attempt to support the statement with references to primary sources. The vast majority of statements on this matter are not so supported. Salmon states (p.98) the consensus view that

the exclusive nature of Bacchiad rule and their failure to provide dike clearly contributed to their fall, and similar complaints were voiced in most of the states which underwent change - footnote 56 - Full references cannot be given here...

not for the reason that they are too numerous. Let us begin with the 'aristocracy' which has maximum visibility, in the text here as in every other discussion, the Korinthian Bakkhiadai.

The Bakkhiadai: The vast majority of tales about this family(68) derive from Diodorus Siculus (fl.60-30 BC), Strabo (fl.60 BC - AD 20), and Pausanias (fl.120 AD)(69), hardly 'primary', that is, contemporary sources on the government of Korinth circa 650 BC. Thukydidides does not mention them at all, despite a long discussion of early Korinth(70). In his introduction to Greek history Thukydidides passes

67 J.Salmon 'Political Hoplitest?' JHS 97(1977)84-101. He is responding to the important and challenging paper by Snodgrass 'The Hoplite Reform and History' JHS 85(1965)110-122.

68 D.Roussel Tribu et Cite 1976 (part 1) and F.Bourriot Recherches sur la nature du genos 1976 have amply shown that the interpretation of the gene as ancient 'clans' or other pre-state 'tribal' units is scholarly fabrication born in the wake of early anthropological reports.

69 Additional titbits from Nicolaus of Damascus (fl.end C.1 BC), Plutarch (at least 46-127 AD) and Aelian (fl.120 AD).

70 The Bakkhiadai are mentioned once in Aristotle's Politics (1274a33), and the context of their citation is not as an example of government of any kind in this, Aristotle's opus maior on matters political (and Korinth was hardly an insignificant polis), but as family of the Theban lawgiver significantly known as 'Philolaos of Korinth'. A.Szegedy-Maszak has shown how the legends about lawgivers may be seen to comprise a type which describe the state's progress from anomia to eunomia ('Legends of the Greek Lawgivers' GRBS 19(1978)199-209), which casts further suspicion upon the suitably named Philolaos' historicity.

straight from the Homeric basileis to tyrannies (1.13.1).

The earliest source for the Bakkhiadai is Herodotos(71), who mentions them once, in one of his longest speeches (5.92). The credulity required to accept this story as 'historical' is, not to put too fine a point on it, astounding(72). John Hart's judgement is fine: Sosikles' speech is "a vehicle for the transmission of some excellent tales that (Herodotos) has not previously had an opportunity of including"(73), although 'excellent' needs qualification. As a 'ripping yarn' it is entertaining, but the inconsistencies detract attention from passive acquiescence in the tale. For example, Labda is the lame Bakkhiad(74), a member of a close-knit group who allowed her to marry outside the group only because she was lame and no one inside would take her. But when the ten lily-livered Bakkhiads arrive to murder her baby she, "having no idea why they had come", supposed "that they wanted to see her baby out of affection for its father". They are supposed to be her relatives, not his, and to have denied everyone else dike never mind affection. This too incidentally in the only reference for exclusive intra-Bakkhiad marriage, on which so much significance has been heaped(75).

- 71 Although sometimes cited, the Pindaric reference to Alates (Olym. 13.17, for Xenophon of Korinth's victory in the dash and pentathlon 464 BC) has no explicit connection with the Bakkhiadai: it is sources many centuries later which connect Alates with Bakkhis, from which the Pindaric reference is inferred. The only people with whom Xenophon is connected is the Oligaiithidai (1.97) whom, it may reasonably be supposed, are or more likely are part of the narrow oligarchy which replaced the Kypselids (Nic.Dam. FGH 90 F 60 with Will, Korinthiaka 1955:609-615 (a council of 80, a proboulesis of 8)). The alleged earliest reference to the Bakkhiadai is, then, an inference not a reference.
- 72 Cf. How & Wells Comm. 1928(2)51, the speech "is incredibly inapt to the occasion, and is no more historical than the political essays put into their mouths".
- 73 Herodotus and Greek History 1982:52. Sosikles, or the living man on whom this character was modelled, would have been alive at the time of (possibly one of) the Oligaiithidai. The model for the Bakkhiadai is obvious, I think.
- 74 So too was the eponym Bakkhis (Aristotle frg.611.19 Rose): if the 'methodology' which appears to have guided Bakkhiad reconstruction is applied, I suppose someone will suggest that this could be a gentilical characteristic...due to all that inbreeding no doubt...
- 75 Eg. Arnheim AGS 1977:42.

Or consider the marvellous drama of 'nasty brutes foiled by the quick, intelligent action of a defenceless, lame mother hiding her smiling, innocent baby': "Knowing, as she did, that if the men came back they would be sure to make a thorough search", she hid the baby "in a chest, which was the most unlikely place she could think of". The men, who had only gone as far as outside the front door, duly returned, "hunted everywhere without success", gave up and went home. How much furniture is the average non-Bakkhiad late-eighth/early seventh century Korinthian dwelling thought to have possessed? What subset of that might a baby have been hidden in? A chest could hardly be a more likely place. But Labda wasn't stupid, the men weren't stupid, and Herodotos wasn't stupid. It is an enjoyable yarn, and it offers an aitia for why the first tyrant of Korinth was called "Chest" (Kypselos) to boot(76).

Or consider the Bakkhiadai's alertness in discovering the contents

76 In Wealthy Corinth (1984:187) Salmon translates Kypselos as 'bee-hive', apparently on the authority of Roux (RE lxxv(1963)279-289). Bjorn Qviller says this is not implausible (pers.comm.) since beehives are apparently found in housewalls, according to E.Game The Archaeology of Beekeeping. However, scholarly attention to the details of the possible type of hollow container involved (kypsele means any hollow vessel, chest, box LSJ) should not be allowed to obscure the whole within which this is a detail (with obvious aitiological significance). My initial question still remains: how many hiding places might exist in an early Korinthian house? The men had already been in the house and had seen and held the baby. Each lacked the courage to drop it as he held it, and they had left. Immediately outside the front door they chastized each other for their cowardice, and resolved to go back in and carry out their orders. When they couldn't find it, they gave up, went home - apparently without any repetition of bad conscience for failing in their task, and apparently without any consequential action by the villainous group who sent them on their mission. Even if one wants to accept this story as 'historical', one is obliged to admit that (i) their resolve was extremely weak, since they gave up when they knew the child was somewhere in the house - they had not gone far enough for it to be 'spirited away'; (ii) that men intending to murder a baby did not try to coerce the mother into revealing its whereabouts; (iii) that they were too impatient to simply wait for the baby to cry out when hungry or wet; (iv) that they made no second attempt; and (v) that the villainous group who sent them were sufficiently indifferent about the outcome that they did not bother checking or sending a second mission. Even later classical sources found all this so implausible they felt compelled to embroider the story.

of an oracle delivered in person to Kypselos' father-to-be Eetion at Delphi, and their complete life-long unawareness that his son had survived the carefully planned and attempted murder, and passed through childhood, adolescence and early adulthood in the nearby village of Petra(77).

That is the example of 'aristocratic domination' which occurs time after time in the secondary literature. That is the main 'primary source' for the 'aristocratic stage' in Greek history(78). Not for no reason, as we shall see by examining the selection in the footnote(79).

- 77 There is no Oidipous-like childhood with foster-parents or any other twist (such as a second attempt at murder) which might render the story a little less transparent in its fiction. This has worried 'rationalizers' since the fourth century, so that by Nic.Dam.'s time Kypselos and Eetion go into exile at Olympia (FGH 90 F 57). Hart, rightly I think, regards all the Kypselid oracles as fakes, op.cit. 1982:42. Note too the description in the first oracle of the rulers of Korinth (always inferred to be the Bakkhiadai) as andrasi mounarchoisi, 'the men who govern as single leaders' (cf.Drews' comments on the numerical force of the latter word op.cit. 1983:120 n.6), an expression which accords with our concepts of neither monarchy nor aristocracy, but very well with Aristotle's comment on basileis, Pol. 1313a10-11.
- 78 Salmon has nothing more to add to support the contention of the Bakkhiadai as a 'clan' or an 'aristocracy' in Wealthy Corinth (where he again uses the Penthilidai of Mytilene as an analogy (see below)). He is too honest to fudge the sources, but the difference between what he puts in the text - "A Bakkhiad founder for each (colony) is recorded: Archias for Syracuse and Chersicrates for Corcyra" (p.65) and what he puts in the footnote - "Strictly, Archias is not specified as a Bakkhiad, but as a Heraclid (Thuc.vi.3.2); but the story of Actaeon (for what it is worth; see below) implies that he was a Bakkhiad (Plut.Mor.772c-773b, esp.772e)" exemplifies how this myth has been created and maintained. Further down the page he says of the story of Actaeon, "there is enough that is suspect about the tale to cause its rejection three times over". Thus, on the strength of an inference from a thrice-rejected 'analogy' (and against Thukydidēs) the Bakkhiadai live on in the most recent monograph on Ancient Korinth.
- 79 Arnheim, in a chapter entitled 'Heyday of Aristocracy', manages to rake up a few more, equally spurious. For example, Miletos; a brief glance at the supposed 'references', Hdt.9.97, Nic.Dam. FGH 90 F 52-3, and Strabo 14.27f reveals no sign of an aristocracy. Herodotos, the nearest to the supposed events, is merely a reference to the foundation of Miletos by Neileus. Nic.Dam. and Strabo talk about basileis, and are elaborations and embroideries of Herodotos, that is, about Neileus' family being expelled from the Peloponnese and settling in Asia. And so on for the rest; Ephesos, Erythrai, Khios, Khaionia in Epirus (not a place which features often in Greek history or histories of Greece...) and the Thespro^tians (that is the complete list besides those discussed

Other examples of 'the aristocratic stage': First, Hesiod's dorophagoi basileis, also a stock example in scholarly discussions(80). Salmon refers back to page 95, where we are told that Hesiod rails against 'the corrupt aristocrats'; there is a considerable leap involved in translating dorophagoi basileis as 'corrupt aristocrats' which is not elucidated: it means 'gift-eating basileis'. In addition, Hesiod may complain once(81) about the 'gift-eating basileis', but the majority of his complaints are directed to his brother, his immediate and probably only next-of-kin. Moreover, the tale of the hawk and the nightingale should not, as it so often is, be either ignored or glossed over: 'for basileis who understand', the message is 'Might is Right'(82). The nearest analogy to this is Mentor's speech (Od. 2.229-241) advising basileis no longer to be gentle and kind and just, but to be harsh and act severely (see below).

The next reference is two hexameters, attributed to Terpander(83), of which the crucial phrase apparently is dika euruaquia, 'justice of the broad ways'. This seems to be an adaptation of the epic phrase euruchoron Lakedaimonia, 'Lakedaimonia of the broad spaces'(84). How can this text, of itself, be cited to support the 'discontent with aristocratic government' hypothesis? It can be (and has been) construed as a metaphoric reference to a democratic victory over aristocracy in Lakedaimonia, but that is not what the text says, and assumes an awful lot more than the text offers. Inferred metaphors

here) are all cited on the strength of one of two 'references' which, when checked, never come closer to an 'aristocracy' than mention of the word basileus.

80 Erga 263f. That dora is always translated in this compound adjective as 'bribe' (and phagoi as the connotation-laden 'devouring') whereas in, eg. the Mariandynoi euphemism as 'gift' (where 'bribe' would be absolute nonsense), exemplifies how preconceived notions can affect the reading of a text.

81 And by inference (not reference) more than once, eg. M.L. West Hesiod Works and Days 1978.

82 Erga 202-212. So Forrest The Emergence of Greek Democracy (henceforth Emergence) 1978:60.

83 ALG 4 (apud Plutarch Lyk. 21) - but see PMG 363.

84 Od. 15.1, Podlecki The Early Greek Poets and Their Times 1984:91.

make very poor historical 'evidence': this one certainly will not bear the weight which has been placed on it.

The next reference is not a reference: "Solon broke the Eupatrid domination in Attika" is given, as usual, as if it was a statement of fact. The Athenian 'Eupatridai' and the Solonic reforms will be discussed in chapter 5, so I move on to the next and last reference: Aristotle Pol. 1311b26-30 on the Penthilidai in seventh century Lesbos, Mytilene to be exact(85). Politics 1310a39 to 1313a17 is a discussion of monarchies(86). Aristotle may digress occasionally, but he is not prone to confuse his carefully identified types. We are back with the problem of translating basileis as nobles. Every example Aristotle gives in this section for which there is independent evidence confirms that his subject is monarchies. There is no reason therefore to interpret the Penthilidai as an 'aristocracy' a la Bakkhiadai(87). Rather, there are very good reasons for interpreting them as analogous to the Peisistatidai, who constitute another example in this discussion, and about whom we know rather more. There would seem, therefore, to be a chronic shortage of evidence for aristocracies in early Greece. Let us then return to first principles.

Human society in general and the polis in particular did not emerge ex nihilo complete with stratification and established monarchs. One might argue that stratification and monarchy had developed a long time before our period, and so indeed they might have. But are we then bound to suppose that they continued when those civilisations in which they existed collapsed? That all nobilities which have ever existed

85 This happens to be one of very few passages which Barker removed from the text of his translation and relegated to a note (VV) on the grounds that "they are matters of scandal, at best curiosities of history (such as Aristotle, with his encyclopaedic habit, loved to collect), rather than matters of politics and political theory".

86 Of both basileis and tyrannoi varieties.

87 In Alkaios (PMG 363) and Sappho (PLF 71) the Penthilidai are a family; by Strabo's time they have been worked up into a legendary family with pre-Trojan War ancestors et.al. and have claims to the whole island a la Heraclidai, Strabo 13.1.3, Pausanias 3.2.1, Steph.Byz.s.v. Penthile.

stem from one primordial (and, it would seem, primaeval) predecessor? Are we to suppose that kingship and nobility endured right through the Dark Ages? From when? The collapse of the Mykenaian world? Through 400 years of total obscurity? How, pray, could anything to which the words nobility or kingship might be applied - without being perverse - have existed in the societies of the Dark Age as revealed by archaeology?

Greek legends and traditions did not notice the elimination of kingship because there was no kingship to be 'eliminated'. On the contrary, what they noticed was the creation of monarchs, some called basileis, for example oikists such as Battos and synoikists such as Theseus(88), and some called tyrannoi, for example Kypselos and Peisistratos.

The emergence of the state and of governmental roles was neither smooth nor painless, and it was certainly not 'automatic'. Prior to its formation, sovereignty lay elsewhere. The emergence of the polis was a process not an 'event', and that process must have involved trials and errors; the polis did not emerge fully-formed overnight. Hindsight generates a tendency to attribute to the Greeks living through this period of upheaval and catastrophic social change a prophetic vision, omniscience, and steadfastness of purpose which the annals of well-documented periods flatly deny to man. Aristotle made much the same point over 2000 years ago, when he said

Some people believe that Solon deliberately made the laws obscure so that the people would be masters of the constitution. But this is unlikely. The reason is rather that he was not able to formulate the best principle in general terms. It is not proper to interpret his intentions on the basis of what is happening at present(89)

that is, on the basis of what the outcome happened to be. Our earliest literature, the Homeric poems, which were composed during

88 The ancient testimonia on synoikisms and their legendary or historical creators are conveniently assembled in M.Moggi I sinecismi interstatali greci 1976. Cf.J.Roy's review JHS 97(1979)203.

89 Ath.Pol. 9.2.

this time of upheaval, are generally interpreted in this way. Homeric scholars have spilt a great deal of ink arguing from hindsight over whether the epics portray society before or after the emergence of the polis - as if the epics merely chanced to be composed, quite independently of the society which produced them, either 'before' or 'after' the great 'event' (90). The poems are abstracted from the society which stimulated their composition before the society portrayed therein is compared against a series of static, structurally perfect, perfectly functioning, theoretical constructs of early Greek society either 'before' or 'after' the emergence of the polis (91).

Winnifrith noticed that Virgil, Dante and Milton all wrote their epics after a "gruelling civil war in which their emotions had been heavily involved" (92). This implicitly recognises Dewey's argument that

conflict is the gadfly of thought. It stirs us to observation and memory. It instigates to invention. It shocks us out of sheep-like passivity, and sets us at noting and contriving... Conflict is the sine qua non of reflection and ingenuity (93).

The customary is taken for granted; it operates subconsciously. Breach of wont and use is focal: it forms consciousness (94).

'Breach of wont and use' is the theme of both epics: in the Iliad between leaders in an overtly bellicose situation in a foreign land; in the Odyssey between oikoi in a covertly bellicose situation in a

90 This is not, of course, to denigrate the enormous advance in understanding which has been achieved in the process.

91 The same is true of physical structures, eg. Iron Age houses - "where identifiable at all" (M.O.Knox 'Megarons and MEGARA: Homer and Archaeology' CQ NS.23(1973)1-21) - the crucial corrective caveat to the Drerup (Archaeologia Homericæ II O 1969) versus Plommer ('Shadowy Megara' JHS 1977:75-83) debate. Plommer's view of ninth and eighth century buildings perhaps explains the inconsistencies in Homer: "architecture, as I should hope to define it, did not then exist... there was everywhere a series of hits and misses" (p.83, my emphasis). Homer is probably here, as almost everywhere else, presenting a contemporary image.

92 Aspects of the Epic T.Winnifrith, P.Murray and K.W.Grandsden (edd.) 1983:116.

93 J.Dewey Human Nature and Conduct 1930:300, cited in L.Coser Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict 1967:20.

94 Dewey The Public and its Problems 1946:100, cited in Coser ibid. 1967:24.

community in the homeland(95), because they were composed at a time of upheaval and catastrophic social change: the customary and the usual were being ruptured and violated. Both poems explore the nature of that violation, and both were, I believe, stimulated by the tumultuous ferment out of which emerged the poleis. It is to the Homeric poems then that I turn in order to try to understand this episode in Greek history.

3.3 Sovereignties in Homeric Society

I have argued elsewhere(96) that in the society portrayed in the Odyssey a basileus was an oikos-head whose authority within his own oikos was absolute, but beyond that was unconstitutionalised, unstructured and violable, and was built upon his standing in the 'public eye'. This status, I argued, was earned through his just, intelligent, and successful actions and decisions when such were elicited from him. John Halverson(97) reached similar conclusions by a different route from the same starting point: if basileis are leaders, what do they lead? The arguments presented there can be furthered by examining Homeric society from the community perspective, by considering the issue of sovereignty. No sovereignty exists isolated in space and time; there are always neighbours, other sovereignties with which its members interact, however infrequently. Clusters of such sovereignties may constitute a jural community, that is, a community of sovereignties which follow established procedures for inter-sovereignty interaction, particularly in the area of disputes and their resolution(98).

95 Since the ending of each epic brings the story told therein to its close, the major theme should be related to what happens in the last episode. The interpretation advanced below does fulfil this criterion, and therefore suggests that conflict is not just a theme but the major theme of each epic.

96 'Kings' and 'Commoners' in Homeric Society' LCM 1986.

97 art.cit. 1985.

98 Cf.F.Gearing 'Sovereignties and Jural Communities in Political Evolution' in Helm (ed) Essays on the Problem of Tribe 1968.

A sovereignty recognizes 'capstone crimes'; that is, certain misdemeanors by a member may elicit collective punishment from the other members. There are some acts which are considered perhaps on the first, more often on some nth occasion to be 'criminal' by the whole membership, and the usual self-help pattern is superceded by collective punishment. However, whereas a sovereignty recognizes capstone crimes, a community composed of a plurality of sovereignties does not, and the established procedures may fail to resolve a dispute short of unrestrained war. Such failures redefine the community, whose boundaries are determined not straightforwardly by geography but by willingness to abide by the 'rules' for inter-sovereignty action.

If this idea of a jural community and its lack of 'capstone crimes' is difficult to envisage, consider the United Nations Organisation today. It is composed of sovereign states. Though the members may 'raise eyebrows'; defame a miscreant state's reputation (public opinion); assist the transgressed with military, economic, and moral support; impose the same sort of sanctions on the transgressor; and even police a neutral zone between the disputing sovereignties; the United Nations cannot impose collective punishment to force a sovereign state, member or not, to do what, in their collective opinion, is right. Still less can they mount a united military force to attack the transgressor: this in a world of international law; the Human Rights Commission; nuclear weapons; vast communications and media systems; and economic interdependency. Odyssean Ithaka (or the Trojan Plain) was no such world, and only a brave man would speak out against the likes of Antinoos and Eupheithes, of Agamemnon or Odysseus. If he did, like Thersites, he could expect no support; beaten by his physically stronger antagonist, laughed at by his peers, and denigrated by the poet(99). (On the other hand, Thersites' outburst is considered

serious enough to warrant five speeches in response: two by Odysseus, one in reprimand of 19 lines, one in condonance of 49 lines; one by the people in approval of the reprimand of 6 lines; one by Nestor in disgust of 32 lines; and one by Agamemnon in conciliation of 24 lines. All in all, the Thersites episode occupies 182 lines - evidently not a 'trivial' inclusion in the story, and we should note that the poet does not so denigrate Mentor or Hali[^]therses.)

It is often remarked that 'the people' in the Homeric epics do not act, that the assemblies are rather ineffectual and meetings seem to be superficial. But this is not indifference, nor caprice. If the Assembly does nothing, it is either because they do not constitute a sovereignty, or because they do not recognise the issues under discussion as capstone crimes. Consider Iliad IX.63 f., where Nestor says that the man "who longs for all the horror of fighting among his own people" (polemos epidemios) is aphretor, athemistes, anestios. This suggests that capstone crimes existed not only in the oikos (anestios), but also in the phrater (aphretor)(100). Only sovereignties recognise capstone crimes, therefore the phrater would appear here to be a sovereignty. Closer examination is necessary.

Of the nineteen murders committed in the epics, nine result in the murderer's exile(101). Of the remaining ten cases, of one we do not know the outcome(102); five - all in the Odyssey - result in the death or intended death of the murderer(103); and four are not punished(104). Of the last, in two cases murderer and victim are relatives (Orestes, Oidipous), in one the victim is a guest of the murderer (Herakles), and in the fourth the victims are the slaves of

100 Aphretor is derived from phrater, cf. Donlan art.cit. 1985:306 n.47. It would indicate that he had been exiled.

101 Il. II.661-670; XIII.694-697; XV.431-439; XVI.572-575; XXIII.85-90; XXIV.480-483; Od. 13.259-275; 14.380f; 15.271-282.

102 Il. XVIII.497-508 (shield scene).

103 1.35-43 and elsewhere (Orestes' revenge); 2.422-30 (cf. 3.309f); 4.536f; 22.1-33; 24.430-437.

104 All in the Odyssey again, Orestes 3.309f; Oidipous 11.273-280; Herakles 21.24-30; Telemakhos 22.465-472.

the murderer (Telemakhos). Of the five resulting in the death or intended death of the murderer, two revenge murders are committed by one individual relative of both murderers (the horrific house of Atreus). One is a small war which again concerns the house of Atreus (Od. 4.530-537). Another certainly seems like a small war: it is usually thought that in the final scene of the Odyssey the kin of the slaughtered suitors are ranged against Odysseus and his household, and this is a plausible guess. But an assumption is normally built upon that hypothesis, namely, that revenge is a purely family affair. What, in that case, is the final assembly for? Why do the men of Ithaka (24.443, 454) gather in assembly(105)? Why does Eupheithes wait until they are all gathered, address them in tears, and try to solicit their action first by reference to the fact that Odysseus lost the entire contingent he led out to Troy, and only then by reference to his killing of the suitors (426-429)? Why does he open his speech with "Friends"? Why does he say let "us" go, "we" shall be shamed forever if "we" do not take revenge (431-434)? Why do Medon and Hali[^]therses get involved, since they are not relatives of either Odysseus or the suitors, and why do they open their addresses with the much more forceful "Hear me now, you men of Ithaka"? Why does Hali[^]therses say "Now let it be thus. Hear me, and do as I tell you. | Let us not go there" (461f)? Why is one of the suitors' relatives trying to persuade the men of Ithaka to get involved if vengeance is a family matter? Why don't the relatives just get on with it? Why are two men who are relatives neither of Odysseus nor the suitors trying to dissuade them? Why elsewhere (23.118-120) does Odysseus refer to a victim's helpers (aosseteres) not relatives? This passage is very relevant to our theme. He says

105 Medon and Hali[^]therses are not relatives of the suitors, and 'the Akhaians' would pity themselves not just Eupheithes (l.438) if they were all relatives, so there is no need to suppose that 'men of Ithaka' refers uniquely in this context to a subset, relatives of the suitors.

For when one has killed only one man in a community (demos) and then there are not many helpers behind, even so, he flees into exile, leaving kinsmen and country. But we have killed the stay of the city, the best young men in Ithaka. It is what I would have you consider,

he advises his son(106). Odysseus certainly seems to be thinking in terms of the community, not kin - except the exile's. This is suggested also by his tactics. He is concerned lest "anyone who is outside, some one of the neighbours, or a person going along the street" (135f) suspects that murder has been committed until they can escape out to their estate to plan their next move (137-140). Likewise, the suitors had thought that, if they could get out of the house and run through the town, "so the hue and cry could be most quickly raised, and perhaps this man will have shot for the last time"(107). Odysseus had expected this to happen, for his careful planning involved barring every exit (21.235-241).

Let us then examine the fifth and final example of this group, Od. 22.1-33. The suitors take it upon themselves to avenge Odysseus' killing of one of their number, Antinoos. None are relatives, all are friends, helpers, companions.

If we quickly consider the cases of exile, seven of the nine simply state that the killer went into exile, one "immediately" (Od. 13.259-275). Tlepolemos went into exile "because others threatened" (Il. II.661-670). The last case is that of Theoklymenos; the one instance in which emphulon occurs, and the one cited to support the hypothesis that murderers fled from victim's kin. Theoklymenos says "I killed a man of my phulon(108); but he had many brothers (kasig-netoi) and neighbours(109) in horse-pasturing Argos" (15.272-274).

106 Trans.Lattimore, except aosseteres taken as 'helpers' (LSJ and Stanford ad.loc.), opisso as 'behind' (LSJ; better English, 'behind whom there are few supporters') and herma poleos as 'the stay of the city' (LSJ; better English, 'the bulwark').

107 22.77f, repeated 11.133f with the addition of the completely explicit "tell the people (so the hue and cry...)".

108 em- in composition nearly always means in or on; it has locational force.

109 The translation of etai as 'clansman' has to be abandoned in the

Phulon and Argos correspond in the two sentences, and explain the role of neighbours/townsmen as well as why Theoklymenos left his country(110). Finally, let us consider one of the suitors' reflections on murder:

(Telemakhos will) stand up before (the Assembly) and tell them how we designed his sudden murder, but we could not catch him; and they will have no praise for us when they hear of our evil deeds, and I fear they will work some evil on us, and drive us from our own country, so we must make for another community(111).

It would seem then that Nestor's statement is not without some foundation, in cases of murder at least. This is recognised as a capstone crime by the community. Another example of 'community action', which might be an instance of spontaneous outrage and mob violence or the working of capstone law in its true sense, is that concerning Antinoos' father, who had joined the pirate Taphians in a raid on the Thespro^ttians, with whom the Ithakans were friendly(112). Such action threatened the whole community and at the very least brought it into disrepute with friends and potential allies in a hostile world - it was tantamount to treason.

But the problem Telemakhos faces is very different. He is the victim of a war of attrition; only when he is completely bereft does he expect to get any help from the community(113). Similarly, it does

light of Roussel's work; in later authors (Aischylos on) it is equivalent to demotes, townsman, neighbour, citizen, and it should probably be given the same meaning in Homer (see p.162 below on demos).

110 It is of course implicit in the kinsmen hypothesis that all kinsmen share the same place of residence, although Agamemnon lived in Mykenai and his brother Menelaos lived in Sparta, and despite the fact that Menelaos doesn't lift a finger to avenge his brother's death.

111 Od. 16.374-382. According to the Ithakan (rather than the Homeric) version (Plutarch Greek Questions 14, probably after Aristotle, Constitution of the Ithakans cf. Rose frag.464) Neoptolemos was called in to arbitrate between the feuding oikoi: he decided that Odysseus should leave the country and be exiled as a homicide, and that the hetairoi and oikeioi of the suitors should each pay annual recompense to Odysseus for the wrongs done to his oikos.

112 That is, they were members of a jural community, 16.424-427. Note that the demos are not afraid to threaten their supposed 'noble' with death and consumption of his property (zoe).

113 2.74-78, "it would be better for you (the suitors) to eat away my

not occur to Penelope to ask her father-in-law Laertes, ex-'king' in Ithaka (living like a peasant and exceedingly grubby), to do something to try to save his son's and grandson's oikos - viz. complain to the people - until she finds out that Telemakhos has left the island in search of his father, and the suitors are plotting to murder him on his way home (4.697-741). Things have to get very dire before the community can be expected to act, and then they have to be persuaded of the merits of the case. There are very few, very serious affairs in which the group or part of the group will override oikos autonomy and step in to stop the disturbance. Whilst they recognise that other people have a right to get involved in conflicts which 'go too far', and which at least includes murder, they do not have clearly defined minima by which to qualify conflicts as falling into or outside this category. Thus, before Odysseus got home and the murders began, Mentor had appealed:

Let us think how we can make them stop, or better, let them stop themselves(114).

This is a plea to invent a method, a procedure to prevent certain members threatening the public order.

So, as the Assembly in book 2 goes on, Mentor looks forward not back, offering a programmatic statement for a break with the past(115). He continues with a reproach against the people -

how you all
sit there in silence, and never with an assault of words try
to check the suitors, though they are few, and you so many

(2.239-241). Leokritos is completely taken aback -

Mentor, reckless in words, wild in your wits, what a thing
you have said, urging them to stop us

(2.242-244). That this is novel, 'wild', is indicated by the succeeding argument advanced by Leokritos. He assumes that, if these

treasures and my cattle", he says, for then there would be recompense: "we could go through all the settlement, with claims made public asking for our goods again, until it was all regiven".

114 Od. 2.168 f..

115 2.229-234, summarised in the last section re:Hesiod.

men could be roused, they will attempt to stop the suitors not with words, as Mentor clearly stated, but with arms (ll.244f). Whilst he can just about entertain the possibility that the people now assembled might take up arms against them, he cannot conceive of them doing so with Odysseus(116). That is, he does not connect the people now gathered with Odysseus: he cannot envisage them fighting together - and in this he is not alone or wrong, for they do not, and neither Odysseus nor anyone else ever assumes that they might do so, never mind would do so.

Every case is judged on its own merits. Moreover, in the final assembly the case for action against the murderers (Odysseus, his father, son, and retainers) is not matched by a case for action on their behalf. Murder is a capstone crime; the suitors' crimes against Odysseus' oikos are not. Those who supported Telemakhos think the suitors got their just deserts and consider the matter finished. They do not go to support him and his father when more than half the meeting decide to act against him and arm themselves accordingly(117). They do not regard it as anyone's duty to intervene, and each man makes his own decision whether to act on behalf of the suitors or not.

Community affairs are still extra-personal affairs, but we are clearly beyond the 'lawless' family autonomy of the *Kyklopes*, in which sovereignty resides in the oikos. In this regard we remember that apparently odd law of Solon's (Ath.Pol. 8.5) that, if stasis broke out, any man who did not take up arms with one side or the other would be penalised, namely, "deprived of his civic and personal

116 This is clear from the contrast between his comments that, on the one hand, the people now assembled might be many but the outcome would not be a foregone conclusion, and, on the other, that great warrior though he is, Odysseus would be greatly outnumbered by the suitors (246-251).

117 "So he spoke, but more than half who were there sprang up - though others stayed where they were - since Halisthernes' speech did not please their hearts, but they listened to Eupheithes, and now suddenly they ran for their armour" (24.463-466). Hardly a case of inactivity by the people, or of an ineffectual assembly.

rights"(118). This law was framed in an effort to force any would-be independent (ie. autonomous, sovereign) oikos-member to invest his interests (and authority) in a larger group, if and when the whole community was threatened by internal conflict. It is a law to buttress the unification of oikoi which may only too easily drift back into fragmented independence(119).

Political Idiom: 'Inter-sovereignty law' follows an idiom, often the same as that followed within the sovereignties. Sometimes this is kinship idiom, such as that of the Nuer, who treated whole villages corporately and as if they were kin, for instance, mother's brother(120). Greek terms such as phulon and phretre may reflect Greek jural community idiom(121). The Nuer idiom was couched in kinship terms, and Evans-Pritchard's study of those people has been a paradigm exercising powerful influence over modern scholarship since its publication in 1940(122). However, Roussel has thoroughly demo-

118 Rhodes Comm. ad.loc.: "In archaic Athens the atimos lost not merely his rights as a citizen but his rights as a person, vis-a-vis... (in this case) the community as a whole, who might inflict on him death or any other penalty". Slavery perhaps. Solon enacted a law to restore the rights of atimoi, usually taken, properly, as slaves (cf. Rhodes Comm. 1981:111): it certainly cannot be death in this case. As Moore points out, ad.loc., "since it is a legal provision rather than a constitutional matter, it was probably included in the published body of Solon's law, and is therefore more likely to be genuine than if it had been a constitutional change". Rhodes, with full discussion (Comm. ad.loc.) agrees. That Plutarch, the other, later source of this information (Sol. 20.1), found it 'a very peculiar law' is also a good indication of its genuineness. And, of course, Solon's predecessor Drakon's concern was with homicide - on that, if on nothing else, all seem to be agreed.

119 As Rhodes states, "apathy in a domestic crisis is being treated as equivalent to treachery" ad.loc.. See further chapter 5 below.

120 Cf. E.E. Evans Pritchard The Nuer 1940.

121 Donlan stands the usual nesting order of phretrai compose phula on its head, ('Social Groups in Dark Age Greece' CP 80(1985)293-308) but I am unpersuaded. As Roussel pointed out, phulon was always a general, indeterminate word, (Tribu et Cite 1976:161-163, cf. also 169-171) and I cannot believe that the small local groups under one leader, a band loyal to one leader (Donlan p.296f), would be signified by such an unspecific word. This is the level of person-identity par excellence, and one which possesses if not sovereignty then certainly a measure of unity and autonomy.

122 Cf. A. Kuper Anthropology and Anthropologists: the British School 1922-1972, 1975:105-122. Maine drew the distinction between

lished the idea that Greek societies were organised upon 'tribal' ie. kinship lines, but, I would argue, he has not gone far enough. He did not dispense completely with the idea that these terms were originally kinship terms, pseudo or otherwise. Although a cognate of the "almost universal Indo-European kinship term for brother"(123) *bhrater (which word anyway did not mean consanguineous brother, but was a word of "broad" meaning(124)), phretre is clearly of no relation to any of the Greek words for 'brother'(125). Since phretre/phrater is not related to the words for the consanguineous kin relationship 'brother' (adelphos, kasignetos et.al.), there are no etymological grounds for inferring that it signifies a fictive kin extension, 'brotherhood'. As we have seen, in Nestor's comment on 'local bullies' phretre seems to have locational significance. In the only other passage in which this word occurs in Homer it is linked with phulon:

Set your men in order by phula, by phretrai, Agamemnon, and let phretre go in support of phretre, let phula support phula(126).

By so dividing them, Nestor says that Agamemnon will thus discover

who among the leaders (hegemones) is bad, and who among the peoples (laoi), and who is brave: for they will fight by themselves (kata spheas).

Since Andrewes' paper in 1961(127) this passage has usually been interpreted as an intrusion from the poet's own time (on the premiss that the society depicted in the poems is not that of the poet who depicted it) with no effect on the subsequent action and no parallel; 'subsequent' being qualified - it does introduce the Catalogue(128).

kinship and territorial organisation before the anthropologists, C.Kluckhohn Anthropology and the Classics 1961:10.

123 Murray EG 1980:55.

124 Benveniste Indo-European Language and Society (trans.E.Palmer) 1973:172f.

125 It varies from dialect to dialect (in itself significant).

126 Il. II.362 f.

127 'Phratries in Homer' Hermes 89:129-140. Cf.eg.Rhodes Comm. 1981:71.

128 ll.369-393 Agamemnon agrees with Nestor's suggestion and then delivers a morale-boosting speech; 394-440 preparations; 441-454 orders are issued and the marshalling of the army begins; 455-483 the poet describes the assembling army; 484-493 the poet prepares

One of the objections to it is that

the advice to marshal men by contingents (or tribes) and phratries or brotherhoods looks almost too obvious; surely that would have been done at the beginning of the campaign, not after nine years?(129)

Most good ideas look obvious afterwards - that is the hallmark of a good idea. That, however, does not mean to say it was easy to think up, as revealed by the dictum 'genius is one percent inspiration and ninety-nine percent perspiration'. I would point out too that great stress tends to prompt truly innovative ideas, and perhaps renders tolerable the greater risk of trying them out in practice(130). Technological advances, for instance, never proceed more rapidly and creatively than in wartime. In terms of the plot, Akhilleus' withdrawal from the battlefield has placed the army under much more stress now, in the ninth year of the war, than it has hitherto had to bear.

Whether this advice had any effect on the subsequent action depends on what is understood by phulon and phretre. Ordering the army by contingents, each behind its own leader, obviously means that the leaders, the heroes of the drama, are going to be strung out across the battleline, each surrounded by his own 'henchmen' and companions, and at some distance from the other heroes. The fact that an abstract noun only occurs twice in a poem which focusses very much on the particular is not a sufficient reason to suppose that it is a meaningless 'intrusion'. The poet sweeps across the battlefield but focuses on the heroes. However, there is enough evidence, I think, to suggest that the army do go into battle as recommended by Nestor and as that recommendation is understood here.

First, when Agamemnon goes through the army in book four to find and give appropriate encouragement (either goading or praise) to

himself for the formal description of the army now assembled.

129 Kirk Comm. 1985:154.

130 There are other innovations, for example the idea of swapping armour, so that the best fighters have the best armour and the worst the worst, XIV.370-383. This is a suggestion of Poseidon's (ie. the poet's).

various leaders, they are indeed strung out, surrounded by 'henchmen' and contingents(131). After a simile likening the advancing Akhaian troops to wind-driven waves, one behind another, the poet expressly says that each leader was commanding his own men, and that they marched silently in fear of their commanders(132). Elsewhere during the battle, which rages for several books, the predominant focus on the exploits of various heroes at various places along the front is punctuated by comments of the form, "Telemonian Aias...brought light to his own company (hetairoi)"(133). Even during the aristeia of Diomedes it is perfectly plain that his own companions are close at hand(134). Likewise, Menelaos was about to hand over a captive to one of his henchmen when Agamemnon "came on the run to join him"(135).

Second, the purpose of this reorganisation was 'to discover who among the leaders was bad, who among the peoples, and who was brave, for they would fight by themselves'. This is precisely what aristeia means: a show of valour by one hero. But that hero is very rarely actually isolated from his henchman and companions, and when he is, he requires assistance from another hero to get to safety. For example, in book eleven Odysseus goes to rescue Diomedes, who has been injured. As soon as Diomedes is installed in a chariot and packed off to the ships for treatment, "the Argives" ran away, leaving Odysseus alone. He is then injured and has to be rescued by Menelaos, who is accompa-

131 IV.222-421.

132 IV.422-431. This is in contrast to the Trojans, who are making a considerable din, because their various contingents were mixed, and presumably their leaders were similarly disorganised (ll.433-438).

133 VI.5f (Lattimore trans.). Other examples are: Odysseus' deliberations, on noticing that Tlepolemos had fallen, whether to go after Sarpedon (his injured slayer being carried to safety by companions) or to remain where he was, fighting Lykians (V.663-676); Diomedes, "sharply perceiving" that Nestor was in mortal danger when the rest of the army (heroes included) was in flight, charged across to rescue him, one reason being that his (Nestor's) "henchman is a man of no worth" VIII.80-104.

134 Eg.V.25f., 241-244, 319-327. Agamemnon's aristeia are clearly conducted at the head of his contingent, cf.eg.XI.148f., 153f., 165, 180.

135 VI.52-54.

nied in the act by henchmen, and Telemonian Aias(136). It is the reorganisation which allows individual leaders to show their worth, not Akhilleus' absence which, like that of some outstanding prima donna, allows hopeful starlets to come out of the chorus line and into the spotlight for a few brief moments of glory.

Third, although four of the major heroes(137) have been injured by fighting in this way, the Akhaians are still fighting by contingent in book thirteen (ll.685-693), where the fact that Aias Oileos is not with his contingent (Lokrians) is singled out as an exception requiring an explanation (ll.708-722).

That the army is drawn up in the Catalogue according to geographic principles can hardly be in doubt; that it fights by those contingents is suggested by the arguments above(138). They would suggest that the Greeks used phulon and phretre to express contingents and regiments drawn up on the basis of geography not kin. Phulon and phretre are abstract nouns of locational, not kin, significance.

On this interpretation, the Rhodians' 'triple division' would refer to the three cities, Ialysos, Lindos and Kameiros, the three sections of the laos, whole people(139); the phulon to which Theoklymenos and

136 XI.396-488.

137 Menelaos (in bk.IV.128-147), Agamemnon, Odysseus and Diomedes.

138 See now Pritchett GSW vol.IV (1985) chap.1, esp.11-30 on Homeric warfare, which appeared in the library after this chapter was revised. "When Lorimer (Homer and the Monuments 1950:462) refers to Homeric tactics as 'the loose unorganised fighting of the Homeric field', she is referring to the individual encounters between the main chieftains who pair off in duels. Suffice it to say that in the poem as we have it, marshalled lines of heavy dismounted men-at-arms, equipped with shields and spears, clash and break formation, resulting in flight, pursuit, and examples of individual valor, just as men have fought in historical times from Marathon to Waterloo and Gettysburg" (p.28). See also for discussion of all words relating to tactical formations, phalanx, stix etc.. Tactical formations are not synonymous with, but organisations within, contingents, therefore "inconsistencies" between the number of leaders of a contingent mentioned in the Catalogue and the number of leaders mentioned when that contingent is marshalling itself for or fighting a battle (eg.Pylians, Myrmidons) are scholarly inconsistencies, due to comparison of incomparables.

139 Il. II.655f, 688, as suggested by Craik, 'Homer's Dorians' LCM 7(1982)96.

his victim belonged was that of Argos. Phulon, a generic term for 'like beings', refers to 'likeness' in spatial location: its members are 'alike' in their occupancy of the same spatial area(140). Weber's point(141) that phule and phratria were unknown in the non-polis states should, I think, be related not to their supposed kinship organisation (to translate ethne as 'tribal' is to presuppose - and predetermine - the answer), but that they were settled kata komas(142).

Aristotle's theorising on 'the ideal state' begins with an examination of the ways in which and degree to which its members may be associated. He adduces three alternatives: either all citizens must have everything in common; or they must have nothing in common; or they must have some things in common but not others. The second alternative he dismisses as "impossible" on the grounds that the members of a state

must initially be associated in a common place (topos). To be fellow-citizens is to be sharers in one state, and to have one state is also to have one place of residence. There must therefore always be sharing in a common place(143).

Residence, location in space, is Aristotle's fundamental criterion, from which the argument proceeds - not to kinship, but to the level of unity within the association(144). He then distinguishes between a

140 Similarly, this seems to me the most plausible explanation for the Korinthian panta okto: the synoikism of Korinth was said to involve a division of the people into eight phulai and the city into eight parts, Suda s.v. panta okto. See Salmon WC 1984 App.1 for discussion of these supposed 'local tribes'. Perhaps that is why Kleisthenes' reforms of the territorially-based organisation of Attika involved the creation of ten new phulai. See chapter 5.

141 Economy and Society 4th.ed.(English trans), 1978(I)394.

142 Pre-synoikised poleis-to-be were also settled kata komas, eg. the Megarians, whose five 'divisions' (komai) were undisputably territorial units; Heraieis, Peiraeis, Megareis, Kynosoureis (a very common placename) and Tripodiskioi, cf.Plutarch Greek Questions 17 and W.R.Halliday's commentary 1928 ad.loc..

143 Pol. 1260b36-1261a1.

144 First he argues that maximum unity is not desirable, for that would lead to all members having everything in common - which would be more like a huge oikos (even ultimately a huge 'individual'), rather than a polis: ie. a polis is composed of different elements who have some, not all things in common.

polis and an alliance, symmakhia (Pol. 1261a24-27): the latter has utility purely by virtue of its size - numbers count in military engagements, and an alliance is lots of whole units not lots of different elements. With this he compares the polis/ethne distinction, and to exemplify ^{strong} ethnos he cites the Arkadians (usually considered to be organised on ethne principles) in contrast to a ^{weak} ethnos, in which the people are settled kata komas. Whatever sense is to be made of this "apparently technical discrepancy"(145) for the status of Arkadia, the point is that the distinction is again made on the principle of organisation in space(146). This is the fundamental criterion of political typology, whose categories are differentiated by the manner in which space is organised, and villages in a polis are not scattered kata komas (Pol. 1261a27-29). Villages in an ethnos are, by analogy (Aristotle's analogy), 'whole units'.

I think we should understand an ethnos as a region in which the settlements (all villages originally) were scattered but allied sovereignties, and the whole territory was the aggregate of the sovereign lands belonging to each sovereign 'ally' in a religious/jural community. Over time some such allied settlements united and transferred sovereignty to the larger unit. The territory of these unified settlements was no longer an aggregate of sovereign lands, but was a sovereign land composed of the aggregated territory of its constituent settlement subunits. Seen within the region as a whole, they were poleis within an ethnos(147). If the process of sovereign transfer continued until all settlements within the region were subunits of one or another larger sovereignty, the region was one of poleis, eg. the Argolid. In the case of Attika unification continued until the whole region was one sovereignty, producing one exceptionally huge polis,

145 Snodgrass AG:AE 1980:46.

146 Not 'urbanisation' or 'city-life' as such pace Snodgrass.

147 As seems to be the case with, eg. Classical Boiotia.

that of 'the Athenians'(148). The process was regular neither in time nor space; sometimes sovereignty was never transferred beyond the cluster of settlements(149). This perhaps may explain Aristotle's use of Arkadia to exemplify a polis type: in the Classical period the region was one of poleis within an ethnos(150), but by Aristotle's time all (or almost all) settlements may have been drawn into larger sovereignties(151). Nor was the process irreversible: sovereignty could pass again to smaller units, by peaceful decision or by violent secession - with or without neglect(152).

Many 'primitive' societies may have been organised on kinship lines but, as Finley pointed out(153), they did not develop into states, which is precisely what interests the historian of ancient Greece. Societies which did develop into states are often organised along territorial lines, our own parishes, wards, precincts, boroughs, counties and provinces for example. Occupancy of land, not kinship relations, is also the mode in which Greek societies operated, therefore we might expect political idiom to be based on geography, not kin. For example, in a very recent monograph on the demes Whitehead concluded

So this investigation has taken a somewhat surprising turn. Instead of attempting - fruitlessly - to explain how the word demos as village, a rural community in its own land, could have developed in the seventh or sixth century out of a connotation of the word as "common men" (which can itself be shown to be a late development), we have found that no explanation is necessary: this is what the word had always meant. The "common men" strand should never have been brought into the discussion, for it is a semantic side-growth which leads to nothing beyond itself(154).

148 The previous 'stage' being perhaps remembered in the legend of the synoikism of the twelve 'towns' (poleis).

149 The average polis had a territory of c.70 sq.miles.

150 Mantinea, Tegea and Oresthasion being example poleis.

151 Megalopolis was founded c.369, when Aristotle was 15. He was born at Stagira (Khalkidike) in 384, became tutor to Alexander (the Great) in 343, and founded the Lyceum at Athens in 335.

152 As, for example, the changing fortunes and federal organisation of Boiotia illustrates.

153 AH 1985:92.

154 The Demes of Attika 508/7 - ca.250 BC 1986:367. Emphasis in original.

The parallel with the phule will be immediately apparent -

The phyle everywhere came to contradict the very meaning of its name (when its name is taken as 'tribe' that is) and became a purely local district...the principle of divided territory rather than divided population generally asserted itself and confirmed the close relation of the Polis to the soil(155).

Perhaps it asserted itself as early as Homer's time; perhaps it was the principle on which the polis was built(156). In summary I would suggest that phrater is a new and as yet still fuzzy concept(157), coined (perhaps from phratto) as inter-community interaction intensified. It was coined to refer abstractly to other communities with which a community interacted, not to refer simply to one other and certainly not to refer to one's own. It is a status-identity, a new idiom, an abstract idiom. Inside a phretre/phrater identity remained in the 'person' mode; hence the complete absence from the texts of the word phrateres. That word developed, I suggest, to refer to members of other phratrai who were not known personally or individually; another abstract term, a more specific development from phrater reflecting an intensification of reference to members of other districts (phratrai) in the jural community - the intensification of interaction between communities which was a prerequisite before sovereignty could pass to the polis.

155 V.Ehrenberg The Greek State 1974 ed.30.

156 There is also perhaps some support from etymology. J.Peile argued in 1869 (Greek and Latin Etymology p.270f.) that CC(TT) results only from the combination of hard gutturals and dentals with y, ie.Ky(Xy) or Ty(THy), even though in some cases it might seem to be formed from Gy or Dy, eg.prasso, plesso. Phratto, a concept concerned with boundaries, edges and suchlike, is similar to both of these, for instance in its n. and adv. forms phragma, phragden. If Peile is correct (although his arguments have been ignored by LSJ) then the root may well be PHRAT (the y disappeared before Greek was ever written, and instead we often find iota or less frequently epsilon). ERA is, of course, the root of the words meaning 'earth', and epsilon is sometimes lost in formative suffixes before a case suffix eg. pat(e)ros - it does not fall out in the acc. but does in the gen. and dat., an oddity Peile was unable to explain (p.193). Is it too fanciful to see phrater/phratra - the era arising from crisis with the y, and the variation from the peculiar behaviour of the epsilon - as phrat-era, meaning 'bounded earth', that is, a defined and finite territory?

157 So Forrest Emergence 1978:51f.

Let us then turn to the leaders of the units, the hegemones.

3.4 Hegemones and Power in the Iliad

The word hegemon would seem to signify the leader of a group of men who still have absolute authority within their own oikoi, and are peers, but who in their common extrapersonal relations bestow their collective authority in one of their number, the hegemon. From the poems and according to Aristotle(158), these relations would seem to be: war; such religious matters as did not require a priest; and the resolution of disputes. That in individual personal relations each man is autonomous is indicated by the Glaukos and Diomedes episode(159). It is irrelevant to them that they are on opposing sides in 'the Trojan War' once it is discovered that their grandfathers once met and exchanged presents: they belong, qua autonomous oikoi, to a jural community, expressed in the idiom of direct person-identity ancestors. As has often been noticed(160), this kind of relationship is almost certainly the predecessor of the proxenia institution(161), which was still decidedly personal at the 'foreign' end, was usually hereditary (direct ancestors), and served as a major 'diplomatic' channel through which two sovereign communities attempted to follow rules for settling disputes without recourse to war; that is, to constitute a jural community. A proper analysis of these hegemones, men bestowed with authority beyond their own oikoi, demands

158 Pol. 1285b9-11.

159 Il. XII.310-321.

160 E.g. Runciman 'Origins of States' CSSH 24(1982)360, Meiggs & Lewis GHI 5. Less often noticed is the doruxenos institution: in the Megarid it meant 'spear-friend', that is, a prisoner of war from the inter-komai fighting (prior to the synoikism of Megara) who had been released on trust of paying his own ransom to his captor, and who thereafter became a philos of the latter, cf. Plutarch Greek Questions 17. In Attik tragedians it means 'ally in war', cf. Halliday op.cit. 1928 ad.loc.. Given the way the Athenians were prone to treat their 'allies', I'm not sure the two usages were so very distinct.

161 Which has parallels in Latin America, Wight Systems of States 1977:30.

consideration of their qualifications for leadership, of what powers they possess, and through what instruments they exercise those powers.

Qualifications for leadership: First and foremost, a hegemon must have a proven ability to defend life and property, including saving his own whilst acquiring another's. To this end martial skills are a prerequisite. These are not merely strength or spearcraft - cunning intelligence is a highly desirable and prized quality(162) - but, at base, physical might and martial prowess equal to the opposition is the sine qua non of continued and prospective prosperity. Telemakhos(163), Peleus(164) and most pathetically Astyanax (above) are ample testimony to this hard empirical fact(165).

Privilege, such as that enjoyed by Glaukos and Sarpedon(166), had to be earned through valour, fighting in the front ranks. There is a high probability that men like Glaukos and Sarpedon, who were given such privilege under such conditions, would not live to old age; perhaps not even old enough to defend their privilege and wealth until their son (if they had one who survived childhood) was old enough to try to defend it himself, like Priam, Hektor and Astyanax. Those families which did survive through several generations may indeed have claimed glorious ancestry, but even so any weak or unfortunate link in the chain father-son could lose within seconds what had been gained over decades, as happened to the house of Priam. And of course, any

162 Cf.P.Walcot 'Odysseus and the Art of Lying' AS 8(1977)1-19, and more generally M.Detienne and J-P.Vernant Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society (trans.J.Lloyd) 1978.

163 Od. 2.59-62. Cf.also 3.313-316.

164 Il. XXIV.486-489.

165 Strength may be transmitted genetically from father to son, but "few are the children who turn out to be the equals of their fathers, and the greater number are worse; few are better", observes Athene, Od. 2.276f.

166 Il. XII.310-321, and see Donlan's comments, AI 1980:20, the passage carries "more than an implication...that should they fail in their duties they would no longer merit the honours they received". The honours are 'appointed', given by the community at large, which is not composed of "insignificant rabble, but their fellow tribesmen (neighbours TR) (who were) able and willing to judge their leaders".

successful or aspiring warrior could retrogressively glorify (or invent) suitable ancestors and their deeds(167). Honorific ancestry, real or fictional, was an extra: the necessary condition was personal strength and success - and it was a sufficient condition(168). For example, Odysseus-the-Kretan declares that, despite his bastard birth(169), "I took for myself a wife from people with many possessions (not noble birth, note), because of my courage, for I was no contemptible man, not one who fled from the fighting" (Od. 14.211-213). In the Homeric world, a person possessed inherited wealth only for as long as he could preserve it, and the epics indicate that it was acquired in the first place principally through the occupation of war and plundering(170). The same Odysseus says:

Before the sons of the Akhaians embarked for Troy, I was nine times leader of men and went in fast-faring vessels against outland men, and much substance came my way, and from this I took out an abundance of things, but much I allotted again, and soon my house grew greater, and from that time on I went among the Kretans as one feared and respected(171).

167 Cf. Ebel After Dionysus 1972:76-79.

168 Other 'extras' in the Iliad are 1. Intelligence, eg. II.370-374, VII.197-199, XII.211-214, XIX.217-219. 2. Courage, eg. II.365-368, III.39-45, IX.38-41. 3. Beauty, eg. III.44f, III.200-223 (for (1) also), XIII.431-434 (women, for (7) also), XXIV.629-632; that this is definitely an 'extra', might a prerequisite, see eg. II.673-675. 4. Possessions, eg. V.192-200, VI.191-195 (for (6) also), IX.121-156. 5. Experience, eg. IX.60-62, XIX.218f, XXIII.626-650. 6. God-loved, eg. II.196f, X.243-245, XX.300-308. 7. Accomplishment, eg. XIII.431-434 (women), XVI.594-600, XXIII.544-547. 8. Wealth, eg. XVI.594-596. In this connection note Jameson's observation that although Oidipous was the 'rightful heir' he did not succeed as such - he succeeded through merit, 'The Mythology of Ancient Greece' in S.N. Kramer (ed) Mythologies of the Ancient World 1961:240.

169 Eugenes, incidentally, could indicate nothing more than a claim to be of non-slave parentage - it was not until Perikles' time that Attik citizenship was denied to offspring whose parents were not both Athenian citizens. Bearing this in mind, see Donlan's useful essay 'The role of eugeneia in the aristocratic self-image during the fifth-century BC' Classics and the Classical Tradition edd. E.N. Borza & R.W. Carruba, 1973:63-78.

170 Cf. Donlan 'Reciprocities in Homer' CW 75(1981/2)137-175 under 'Negative Reciprocity'. So too the language of social value, agathos, esthlos and kakos which in Homer is based on physical prowess, and does not have the later connotations of broader social and moral character, Donlan AI 1980:3f.

171 Odyssey 14.229-234. Note the temporal sequence here: from his successful leadership he acquired much and allotted much, and soon his oikos grew greater, and from then he was feared (not alto-

Honour was gained through personal achievement, not one's predecessors', as Astyanax, Odysseus-the-Kretan, Glaukos, Diomedes and others amply demonstrate. And honour gained did not guarantee respect, deference, or even personal safety. Stewart made the astute observation that

from Menelaos and Helen Telemachos learnt of Agamemnon's death, the great conqueror of Troy, assassinated by his wife's paramour just as he returned laden with all the glory and wealth heroic civilisations could heap upon one who carried out its imperatives and exploited its opportunities to the full(172).

It is clear that leadership and wealth, like honour, is conjoined first and foremost with military success. It is also clear that 'social mobility' was not only possible, but likely, especially for those who were engaged in military action (offensive or defensive)(173).

Condign power: The exploration of power in the Iliad begins with the most obvious type of power, condign ('stick behind'), when Agamemnon takes a life, by seizing a slave of another. The owner from whom that person is taken is cast as the most physically powerful and strategically indispensable man in the community, Akhilleus. Akhilleus' natural reaction and immediate reaction is to kill Agamemnon, to respond with condign power, but he is prevented by Athene's intervention. Whilst this may be 'written off' by modern scholars as some kind of psychological projection, to the poet, his character, and his audience, Athene too exercises condign power: she grabs Akhilleus by the hair and physically stops him (I.197). However, her line with him is persuasion: "I have come down to stay your anger - but will you obey me? -" (I.207), and Akhilleus, although angry, submits: "so it

gether surprisingly) and respected. Cf. also 14.261-265 (Egypt); he might have bumped into Menelaos, who was plundering Egypt for seven years en route home (Od. 3.300-312, 318).

172 The Disguised Guest 1976:47.

173 Cf. comparative evidence in Runciman's third paper of a series begun with 'Origins of States' (to which he explicitly says it is a sequel, p.4 n.3), 'Accelerating Social Mobility: the case of Anglo-Saxon England' Past and Present 104(1984)3-30.

will be better. If any man obeys the gods, they listen to him also" (Il.217f)(174). Conditioned power, belief in the Olympians and their relations vis-a-vis men, is what actually stops Akhilleus killing Agamemnon. But it does not resolve the conflict between the two. This allows the poet to move on fairly swiftly to explore how else one man might try to impose his will on others, and thus to compensatory power.

Compensatory power: In an extremely thorough and detailed analysis of the poems Donlan has shown that

in sum, it is abundantly clear that the division of spoils and the rewarding of leaders in Homer conforms to the patterns of egalitarian, tribal economic systems(175).

However, there is also a sense of transition to a more stratified system, in which the prerogatives of leaders are an ascribed right (p.161). With regard to the Quarrel, the issue is rather more precisely 'compensation', but here, as with 'gift-giving', there is need for a short digression.

Compensatory power and the resolution of disputes: The paradigm of gift recompense arguments - not only for modern scholars, but chosen by Phoinix as a paradigm for ancient listeners - is the tale of Meleagros (Il. IX.515-599): "the heroes would take gifts; they would listen, and be persuaded" (l.526). It seems to have gone unnoticed in much modern scholarship which quotes this as evidence of a system of gift recompense of the kind found in many 'primitive' societies that

174 Snell recognises that, insofar as the Greek text is concerned, morality is not the issue here (The Discovery of Mind 1953, 1982 repr.155-157), and he clearly and consciously shows that personal gain, not ethics, is the prominent motive for action in early (and Classical) sources. But he then uses this regularity to substantiate the remark, "Evidently the moral gains in plausibility if it can be shown in the guise of an advantage: more than that, this is the specific form in which an act may be recommended as practicable" (p.156f). This is pure speculation: none of the texts actually support it. I would repeat again Finley's comment, made with reference to Aristotle and tragic heroes but relevant to any ancient source on any 'moral' issue, "allow Aristotle to mean what he says and the first victim is the tragic hero" AofA 1978:11f.

175 Art.cit. 1981/2:137-175.

(i) Meleagros is completely unpersuaded by the offer of gifts, "but he only refused the more" (l.585). (ii) His wife finally persuaded him to return to the battlefield not by offering gifts, but by supplicating him

in tears, and rehearsed in their numbers before him
 all the sorrows that come to men when their city is taken:
 they kill the men, and the fire leaves the city in ashes,
 and strangers lead the children away and the deep-girdled women.
 And the heart, as he listened to all this evil, was stirred within
 him,
 and he rose, and went...

(iii) Meleagros was double-crossed:

So he gave way in his own heart, and drove back the day of evil
 from the Aitolians; yet these no longer would make good
 their many and gracious gifts; yet he drove back the evil from
 them(176).

So much for the paradigm of heroes being persuaded by gifts and receiving compensation. No wonder Odysseus insisted that Agamemnon bring out all the compensation he had promised and hand it over publicly.

The shield-scene is usually cited as evidence of blood-price (material compensation for a killing), and although many details have been disputed, one view seems to have become consensus. This view is that the dispute is about the amount of compensation(177). The other view is that the victim's representative, like Meleagros and Akhilleus, refuses compensation and "would accept nothing". The argument is not over the amount, but over whether the killer is to be allowed to pay recompense (and remain in the community?), or whether his offer is to be refused (and he banished, enslaved or killed?). As seen above, in most other cases of homicide in the epics there is no mention of compensation; if the victim was neither slave, guest nor direct relative of the murderer, the killer usually leaves - in one instance at least, as fast as possible. To argue that this exile is

 176 IX.597-599.

177 Il. XVIII.497-500. Cf. the discussion by Gagarin, DEAHL
 1981:13-16.

self-imposed, owing to the killer's avarice (that is, refusal to pay), implies a view that the Greeks were more concerned with materialism than with 'patriotism', viz., a sense of belonging to a community and a place. It also implies that the material wealth with which the killer is so reluctant to part is liquid, that is, it can be taken with the killer into exile. This is untenable. Exile was always an extreme punishment (often an alternative to death), and exiles usually returned when their term of exile ended or they were prematurely invited back(178). Indeed, in Athens there was a very stiff penalty against illegal return, namely, death. Whatever else an exile forfeited, the first was his family and friends(179), the second his land (his most important store of wealth), and the third his 'citizenship'(180). As an outcast, alone and abroad, his prospects were appalling. If he was extremely lucky, like Theoklymenos, he would meet someone who would take him in and under his wing. The exile would become, at best, a 'henchman' like Patroklos. If he was extremely unlucky he would be killed or enslaved by the first person he met.

As indicated in the last chapter, I think the shield scene is divinely inspired; it is both poetic invention and truly inspired. Bullion - which appears only here, in the handiwork of the gods (ie. the poet) - was a less tendentious means of payment than were prestige goods, and allowed the issue of compensation to be teased apart from the issue of honour. The word 'teased' is deliberate: the poet is ambiguous in his language and reticent about the outcome - not because he is teasing, but because the idea teases him. I suspect he doesn't know what would happen; it is a bold new idea and it has never been done in practice. In the context of the society depicted in the

178 Which willing, even anxious return has sometimes puzzled scholars, as if exile was equivalent to modern emigration.

179 Cf.eg.Theognis 209f (Loeb ed.)

180 That is, in Homeric society, full membership of the prestate community.

poems, as understood here, he perhaps imagined that a dispute might have arisen because the recipient might still resist compensation and want the offender ^{to} pay with his life (either through death, exile or slavery)(181).

Agamemnon's removal of Briseis could be considered as an example of murder/manslaughter: his abduction of her is equivalent, if not worse (since she still lives) to killing her. Akhilleus is deprived of the life of a woman he loves (Il. IX.336). When Agamemnon attempts to compensate him for this 'killing' by offering gifts, he seems only to drive Akhilleus further into apostasy and outrage. Claus grasped the salient point, which is that Akhilleus' complaint is not against possessions gained by heroic means, but possessions that are wrongly valued(182). Agamemnon and the others regard Akhilleus' honour as something that can be counted in tripods and bought by adequate payment. Akhilleus' later desire for gifts (Il. XVI.83-86) has perhaps "always baffled critics"(183) because they have ignored the context. Akhilleus violently rejected Agamemnon's offer because Agamemnon was trying to 'buy him off'. What he says here is

so that you (Patroklos) can win, for me, great honour and glory
in the sight of all the Danaans, so they will bring back to me
the lovely girl, and give me shining gifts in addition.

Akhilleus wants Agamemnon's authority to be overruled by the Danaans. It was for the same reason that he wanted his views broadcast publicly:

Go back and proclaim to him all that I tell you
openly, so other Akhaians may turn against him in anger
if he hopes yet one more time to swindle some other Danaan(184).

As Mentor had wanted 'the people' to recognize the Suitors' behaviour as a 'capstone crime', so Akhilleus here wants 'the Danaans' to recognize Agamemnon's behaviour as a capstone crime, to recognize that

181 See further Chapter 5 on Drakon's legislation.

182 'Aidos in the Language of Achilles' TAPA 105(1975)23, 25.

183 Mueller 'Knowledge and Delusion in the Iliad' Essays on the Iliad
J.Wright (ed.) 1978:118.

184 IX.369-371.

Agamemnon has committed this wrong 'once too often'(185). He wants Agamemnon's authority and action overturned, he wants the collectivity to step in and override the usual self-help pattern, which is all that is available to Akhilleus at present. The gods had asked him not to kill Agamemnon(186), so the only way he could 'fight back' was to ask the gods to punish Agamemnon, and withdraw until they have done so. Like Meleagros, Akhilleus is driven further into apostasy by the attempt to buy him:

I hate his gifts...
 not if he gave me gifts as many as the sand or dust is,
 not even so would Agamemnon have his way with my spirit
 until he had made good to me all this heartrending insolence

(IX.375-387). Making good this insolence obviously has nothing, in Akhilleus' eyes, to do with gifts, with compensatory power. The poet then moves on to the most profound type of power, the type that only when it fails is perceived as power: conditioned power - the unthinking obedience of some men to do the bidding of others; the norms and rules by which one man's will is followed without question; the power that operates through the subconscious.

Conditioned power is the product of a continuum from objective, visible persuasion to what the individual in the social context has been brought to believe is inherently correct(187).

Conditioned power: As stated above, conditioned power is what actually stops Akhilleus killing Agamemnon during the Quarrel. Nobody is 'exercising' this conditioned power except Akhilleus himself: to obey Athene is his preference. He does not think he has been 'forced' not

185 Or more precisely, here in book IX as the nth -1. By book XVI he hopes it will be recognized after the event as the nth.

186 This negative sanction against the use of violence to settle the issue puts Akhilleus in effectively the same position as a man who lacked the physical might to fight back, and who could thus only pray to the gods for vengeance and justice. Vengeance was the principal aim at this stage; Akhilleus wants Agamemnon and all those who defer to him (and thus those who failed to support Akhilleus) to be killed for it, and that is precisely what Zeus agrees to do, thus occasioning the Akhaian reverse which will culminate in the fight for the ships.

187 Galbraith AP 1984:29.

to kill Agamemnon, he has made a decision not to do so. It is Akhilleus, not Athene, who says men should obey the gods; she merely asked him if he would. Agamemnon, however, enjoys no such deference. Nobody, least of all Akhilleus, thinks that it is inherently correct to obey Agamemnon. This is obvious, for else they would not keep trying to justify his (and their own) positions, and he would not need to try to persuade anybody. He could simply give orders and expect to be obeyed. Leadership depends upon others' deference and brute force. For example, when Odysseus is trying to stem the flight to the ships precipitated by Agamemnon's 'testing' suggestion that they all go home (which was an unqualified failure, since they jumped at it), he says

In no way can all of us Akhaians here be basileis.
Rule by many is no good thing. Let there be one ruler,
one basileus, to whom the son of devious-devising Kronos
gives the sceptre and right of judgement, to watch over his
people(188).

This, incidentally, is not what he said to the other leaders; this was what he said to 'some one man of the people', whom he struck on the head with the sceptre first to ensure that he paid attention.

Akhilleus' attitude to Agamemnon is completely different from his attitude to Athene:

Yet why must the Argives fight with the Trojans?
And why was it the son of Atreus assembled and led here
these people? Was it not for the sake of lovely-haired Helen?
Are the sons of Atreus alone among mortal men the ones
who love their bed-fellows? Since any who is good, and careful,
loves her who is his own and cares for her, even as I now
loved this one from my heart, although it was my spear that won
her(189).

They were led to Troy to avenge the very same crime which Agamemnon had now committed against Akhilleus. But it is more complex: it is not just the abduction of a woman, it is a question of woman qua plunder and woman qua daughter as material symbol of honour. Akhilleus rejects these equations:

Let him pick some other Akhaian,

188 Il. II.203-206. Modified Lattimore translation.

189 Il IX.337-343.

one who is to his liking and is 'more basileus' than I am.
 For if the gods keep me alive, and I win homeward,
 Peleus himself will presently arrange a wife for me...
 And the great desire in my heart drives me rather in that place
 to take a wedded wife in marriage, the bride of my fancy,
 to enjoy with her the possessions won by aged Peleus. For not
 worth the value of my life are all the possessions they fable were
 won for Ilion...
 not all that the stone doorsill of the archer holds fast within it
 of Phoibos Apollo in Pytho of the rocks. Of possessions
 cattle and fat sheep are things to be had for the lifting,
 and tripods can be won, and the tawny heads of horses,
 but a man's life cannot come back again, it cannot be lifted
 nor captured again by force, once it has crossed the teeth's
 barrier(190).

They had been gathered to avenge the dishonour done to Menelaos;
 Agamemnon had employed that as the 'flag' around which to rally the
 disparate and autonomous forces under his leadership; and now he had
 dishonoured one of those thus rallied in precisely the same way.
 Moreover, life itself stood in opposition to the 'honour code', the
 conditioned power which differentiated between men (and daughters) and
 justified differential entitlement to allocative and authoritative
 resources. For what? Akhilleus asks - death comes to all, and in
 death all are equal.

Fate is the same for the man who holds back, the same if he fights
 hard.
 We are all held in a single honour, the brave with the weaklings.
 A man dies still if he has done nothing, as one who has done
 much(191).

And so Akhilleus rejects the honour code, the conditioned power which
 drives men to a premature death. He chooses life, and regains his
 individual autonomy. His 'opposite' Hektor instead chooses death over
 dishonour (Il. XXII.107-110). Reason told him to retreat inside the
 walls of Troy, fear of reproaches kept him out(192). And the moral is
 clear to the very last line of the epic(193):

such was their funeral of Hektor, breaker of horses.

190 IX.390-409.

191 Il. IX.318-320. Cf.S.L.Schein 'On Achilles' Speech to Odysseus,
Iliad 9.308-429' Eranos 78(1980)125-131.

192 XXII.99-103. Cf.also L.A.Post 'The Moral Pattern in Homer' TAPA
 70(1939)158-190, esp.166.

193 XXIV.805.

The notion of honour is paradoxical and ironic: its philosophic core is personal autonomy(194), yet those who feel its force most strongly are those who have surrendered their autonomy in the most basic respect - life itself. The phrase 'honour-bound' betrays and belies the bondage of those who express it - they have no choice: they are not autonomous agents. The notion of honour, like the notion of freedom, exists in direct contradistinction to its opposite. Heights are perceived only in respect to depths. Where honour flourishes, so too does dishonour; where freedom is cherished, so too is it denied: like health in the modern Western world, it is cherished most dearly when its absence threatens, standing before its possessor in stark contrast - an alternative radically different future. Homer exposed this paradox and rejected the developing timocratic character;

Such honour is a thing
I need not. I think I am honoured already in Zeus' ordinance(195).

His hero chose life and gained honour and autonomy(196). It had a profound effect. Perikles had to battle against it still in the fifth century:

One's sense of honour is the only thing that does not grow old, and the last pleasure, when one is worn out with age, is not, as the poets said, making money, but having the respect of one's

194 Patterson SSD 1982:80.

195 IX.607f. I cannot agree with Lloyd-Jones' interpretation of the epics. If Zeus was "(defender of) the established order (dike) by punishing mortals whose injustices disturbed it, and at the same time sternly repressing any attempt of men to rise above the humble place where they belong" (The Justice of Zeus 1983:27) why, ~~then~~, did Zeus support Akhilleus, the one man who really upsets 'the social order', defies his superior - to whom Zeus supposedly gave the themistes - and rejects the notion of time as developing amongst his peers and superiors? Lloyd-Jones' interpretation makes Zeus, far from protector of justice (even rough justice), willfully malicious.

196 And, as far as the poem is concerned, he gained life too. The poet knew the legends, the two futures, and he knew that Akhilleus died on the Trojan plain. But he made the hero choose life (reiterated in the Odyssey), he made the death of a sympathetic and warm-hearted friend the motive for Akhilleus return to the field, he brought the hero off the battlefield avenged, and never returned him to it. When the poem ends Akhilleus is alive on the shore before Troy. The death is that of his 'heroic' (truly ideologically 'heroic') alter-ego, Hektor.

fellow men(197).

Perikles needed Hektors, men who would give their lives for their polis. He needed to build up a belief in something more precious than life, or a fear more potent than death(198). He needed men to subordinate their natural, biological will to survive beneath a created, social, conditioned will for the survival of the larger organisation to which they all belonged. Aristotle, champion of the polis, argued the same from a thousand perspectives: the parts are subordinate to the whole, the individual must submit to the purposes of the polis, the polis is the natural living organism in which man can find his highest expression as a human being. Plato's reaction was to exorcise the cancer at root and just ban it from his ideal state.

Homer (perhaps unintentionally, but I think not) provided a rich and powerful resource for the individual man to draw upon for ideological succour and strength if and when his autonomy was threatened and other men tried to persuade him to give his possessions to some allegedly higher person and his life for some allegedly 'higher' purpose. And I submit that this attempt was new - born of the growing bellicosity which went hand-in-hand with the expansion(199) - when Homer felt impelled to compose his sublime epic, because the arguments brought forward against Akhilleus by the proponents of the 'honour code' are so explicit. When social conditioning of any type is well established, the case does not need to be argued, people do not need to be persuaded: the case is assumed. Everyone tries to persuade Akhilleus because the arguments are not well established, they are not assumed or assumable, they have to be stated, reiterated, expanded (usually by Nestor), and developed at length. Akhilleus' position

197 Thukydides 2.44.4

198 Something the Church managed admirably in the concept of Hell.

199 It will surely not have gone unnoticed that the Iliad exemplifies the model developed in the last chapter (a band of Greeks, having set up a base on a foreign shore, plunder the vicinity) and that the setting of the Odyssey is a community in the homelands whose warrior menfolk and leader are away plundering overseas.

needs no defence: it is assumed to be justified, and he can offer hypothetical questions because he and his interlocutors can assume the answers.

His 'opposite' Hektor does not stay outside the walls of Troy because he assumes that it is the proper or the only thing to do. He remains outside because he fears the reproaches of his fellows. The 'honour code' is as yet flaccid as an instrument of conditioned power, and requires rather a lot of stimulation and reinforcement by condign power - the use or threat of public reproach and rebuke - in order to be effective.

Stewart correctly saw that the Odyssey "fundamentally challenges the social ideology of a heroic class"(200), but it is not 'struggling to replace it with a different ideology'. Rather, it is struggling to prevent the development of that ideology. As Donlan perceived,

the poet appears to have made a clear statement that excellence and achievement result not from birth and breeding only but from intrinsic worth. It is most tempting, indeed, to see social commentary in the fact that the real heroes of the second half of the Odyssey are men of the lower class and not aristocrats(201).

Both epics challenge the 'heroic' ideology - the conditioned power by which some men tried (and most at the time of the poems' composition, perhaps successfully) to claim possessions and authority beyond others, and to be entitled to appropriate the deference and possessions of others 'by right', that is, without earning them. Hence Nestor's loquacity; being old and weak he is absolutely dependent on a justification for status which is not dependent on his own strength. Nestor is the chief advocate of the honour code because without that conditioned power, Nestor will be pushed aside by men younger and stronger than he.

200 Op.cit. 1976:18.

201 'The Tradition of Anti-Aristocratic Thought in Early Greek Poetry' Historia 22(1973)153. Cf. also H.G. Robertson's comment, reviewing Finley's very influential World of Odysseus: "the emphasis on class cleavage does a little less than justice to Homer's practice of stressing personal characteristics rather than noble birth" Phoenix 9(1955)189.

The Iliad ends with the vindication and triumph of the literary (and meritorious) hero, and the rejection by him (and by him alone) of the emerging social structure; the social structure which led to Agamemnon's arrogant and overbearing behaviour and Hektor's death(202). Conflict is also what the Odyssey is about, but with a significant difference: in contrast to the Iliad, the Odyssey ends with a reiteration of the community and of Odysseus' leadership of it(203). To return briefly to the archaeological evidence, the Archaic period is the only time during which some effort is made to distinguish the graves of prominent people by the use of a tumulus or life-size statues(204). And it is at the beginning of this period that hero-cults begin: they had already started by Homer's time(205).

- 202 Contra A.L.Motto & J.R.Clark 'Ise Dais: the honour of Akhilleus' Arethusa 2(1969)109-125, although Akhilleus served as an archetype of the cultural hero for generations upon generations, "in the history of every society...some of its cultural heroes have been regarded as heroic precisely because they had the courage and the vision to depart from the norms then obtaining in the group. As we all know, the rebel, revolutionary, nonconformist, individualist, heretic and renegade of an earlier time is often a culture hero of today" R.K.Merton Social Theory 1949:183. And Akhilleus was a culture hero because the values he championed were championed by the society which gave him heroic status. They were not valued by the elitist Plato, whose utopia would be upset by the influence of what he considered to be an irresponsible social critic, cf.I.Murdoch The Fire and the Sun: Why Plato banished the Artists. 1977:1. Plato's utopia, needless to say, was Plato's, not most Greeks'. Burn summed it up thus: "Plato is on most matters excellent evidence for what the ordinary Athenian did not think" The World of Hesiod 1966:xii.
- 203 There is an equally significant similarity between the heroes, that is, the 'literary heroes' of each epic. Akhilleus' bonds with Phoinix and Patroklos are not blood-kin but symbolic ties; the people to whom the hero is closest are not his 'peers', the other agathoi, but to his 'henchmen', his supposed social inferiors (Cf.Ebel op.cit. 87). So in the Odyssey, Eumaios is "the nearest thing Telemakhos has to a father, as confidant, model and guide - obliterating the (supposedly TR) vast distance in their social standing", Stewart op.cit. 1976:92. From the point of view of the current consensus, it is an "unsettling irony" that, on the day Penelope sets the contest of the bow, any strong man, regardless of his name or origins, could have won her (Stewart op.cit. 1976:88).
- 204 Snodgrass ESE 1984:230.
- 205 Cf.T.H.Price 'Hero-Cults and Homer' Historia 22(1973)129-144, R.K.Hack 'Homer and the cult of heroes' TAPA 60(1929)57-74, and P.Damon The Cult of the Epic Heroes and the Evidence of Greek Epic Poetry 1974. Coldstream has restated Farnell's thesis (Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality 1921 (a mine of information)) in

Akhilleus is not the 'deviant' hero, nor 'champion of the people', nor 'defender of the meek'. He does not seek to change the world. He seeks his own freedom; freedom of action, and freedom to live. His creator touched a chord that ran deep in the Greeks, because the world was one that inspired the axiom 'call no man happy until he is dead'. The future was secure for no-one; not Akhilleus, not Agamemnon, not Odysseus, not Priam, not Kroisos, not Solon (after whom the maxim, Hdt.1.32). Even the gods had been overthrown: Kronos, and before him Uranos. During the reign of Zeus security and stability improved, and Zeus remained leader of the pantheon. But for mortals life was always uncertain(206).

3.5 Honour in Homeric society

The development of a timocratic culture was directly related to the expansion of the Greek world, to the fighting involved in the expansion, and to the enslavement that both involved.

In considering the ancient Greeks, we encounter not only one of the two most advanced slave systems of antiquity but, not accidentally, a society in which, on the one hand, the degraded condition of the slave was consciously articulated and, on the other hand, the culture was highly timocratic...in classical Greece, slavery and the timocratic culture were mutually reinforcing(207).

The relationship between constant warfare, large-scale slavery, and the timocratic nature of classical Greek societies is more direct than the position to which Patterson retreated in the wake of Finley's

the light of archaeological evidence since Farnell wrote, that the diffusion of Homeric epic stimulated hero-cults, 'Hero Cults in the Age of Homer' JHS 96(1976)8-17. However, I do not think that this argument is totally incompatible with the anthropologically-informed hypothesis of Snodgrass, ARGS 1977:30-31. I think it really didn't matter to the Greeks who instituted funerary cults whether the incumbent of the grave was a relative or an unknown Mykenian worthy (thus I am collapsing Farnell's distinction between 'cult' and 'tendence' for the period of development). The situation which provoked the composition of the epics also provoked the institution of grave tendence (and of tumuli construction etc.), I believe, and consequently I think they were contemporary, but not directly - and certainly not causally - related phenomena.

206 Cf.eg.Pindar Pythian 3.80-89.

207 Patterson SSD 1982:86f.

arguments(208). Admitting inability to defend him/herself, the slave or his/her ancestor had submitted completely to the will of another person. His/her existence was entirely dependent upon another human being. And,

what the captive or condemned person lost was the master's gain. The real sweetness of mastery for the slaveholder lay not immediately in profit, but in the lightening of the soul that comes with the realization that at one's feet is another human creature who lives and breathes only for one's self, as a surrogate for one's power, as a living embodiment of one's manhood and honour(209).

A leader of autonomous people, like Odysseus vis-a-vis his crew, must persuade. He must earn and maintain other's respect, for it is only by their deference that he can lead at all(210). This is not the case with masters and slaves. The slave was "a ready object for the exercise of (the master's) sense of power" which nurtured his sense of honour, pride and command from the cot to the grave(211). The master was despotes over the slave, and if a leader acted as despotes over free men, the Greeks equated those men with slaves(212). A certain Ktesikles was put to death for hitting a man with his riding whip: the charge was that of treating free men as slaves, of committing an act of hubris(213) - thus strong was the feeling amongst Classical Athenians that the sort of behaviour they regularly inflicted on their

208 Cf. SSD 1982:87, in person as well as in print, cf.p.xii.

209 Patterson SSD 1982:78.

210 Cf.eg. Od. 12.297, "Eurylokhos, I am only one man; you force me to it", says Odysseus. Cf.Rihll art.cit. 1986:89.

211 Patterson SSD 1982:99 and n.121. Cf.also 86-101, esp.88, "a dependence on slaves for childrearing does have some effect on the character formation of the children involved;...in short, it reinforces arrogance and authoritarianism and supports the timocratic syndrome". Cf.also Finley E&S 1983:77, 115; and, on the importance of these roles in antiquity, J.Vogt Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man (trans.T.Wiedemann) 1974:101-114. Odysseus had been raised thus, Od. 19.482f; note his attitude to his old nanny Eurykleia: he "took her by the throat" and threatened her "nurse of mine though you are, I will not spare you when I kill the rest of the serving maids in my halls" (489f).

212 Cf.eg.Aristotle Pol. 1285a. 'On Airs, Waters and Places' 76.17ff, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum.

213 MacDowell Athenian Homicide Law 1963:195. It follows that slaves were outside the moral and legal protection afforded by the concept of hubris, on which see N.R.E.Fisher 'The concept of hubris from Homer to Aristotle' diss.Oxford 1976. Cf.also Aristotle Ethics 1134b8-13.

slaves should not be inflicted on themselves. Similarly, 'overbearing', 'arrogant' and suchlike are the charges brought against agathoi time and again in early Greek literature. The "deep-rooted and self-conscious literary expression of anti-aristocratic opinion" during the archaic period, which can be seen clearly in Hesiod, Arkhilokhos, Tyrtaios, Solon, Kallinos, Phokylides, Anakreon, Hipponax and Alkman(214) is Homer's legacy. (It also undermines the normal assumption that all these people were 'aristocrats'). "The criticism is essentially that the aristocratic values are antisocial"(215). The same is true of some of the Pindaric Odes, carrying their admonitions against excessive pride(216), or the famous inscription on the temple of Apollo at Delphi: Nothing too much. This anti-'aristocratic' feeling is found also in the Classical authors, for example Thukydides' statement that

(the allies) saw no reason to suppose that they would be any better off under the so-called 'great-and-good' (kalous kagathous) than under the democracy, considering that when the democracy had committed crimes it had been at their instigation, under their guidance, and, usually, for the profit of these great-and-good themselves. With these people in control, people could be put to death by violence and without a trial, whereas the democracy offered security to the ordinary man and kept the great-and-good under control (8.48.5-6).

So too Aristotle recognizes that idle hands (ie. the 'leisure class') are not conducive to harmonious relations between folk(217).

During the expansion of the Greek world, when slave-holders were in the minority and those who had personally received the primal act of

214 Donlan art.cit. 1973:146.

215 Ibid. 1973:149. Identified specifically are: arrogance, acquisitiveness at the expense of others, luxury, outward display, and mere appearance. "Explicitly and implicitly the basis for approval and disapproval of value is usefulness (to the polis)". On Arkhilokhos see esp. Rankin op.cit. 1977:45f.

216 For example, Pythian 2. Note too the 'Might is Right' attitude in Nemean 9 (1.15), "The stronger man beats down the dika of old".

217 Pol. 1295a25ff. It was Thorstein Veblen who observed that "the leisure class was not idle; it busily accumulated servants, slaves, women, ornaments, garments and other artefacts of status; but its activities had little to do with the actual creation of wealth through productive labour (in the modern sense TR). In a word, the leisure class was predatory", J.P. Diggins (evaluating Veblen's social theory) The Bard of Savagery 1978:15.

submission - particularly at the point of their spear - were even fewer, those accustomed to ordering other people, viz. their slave(s), to do x, y and z, would be those to whom authority 'came naturally', and on whose shoulders responsibility sat lightly. This created the space for real leadership to emerge: it accustomed some people to authority over other people who were not kin. It is easy to imagine the former occasionally forgetting that 'little man x' was not his (or anybody else's) slave, and treating him accordingly. Odysseus would have been executed in classical Athens for his behaviour toward Thersites. It is equally easy to imagine the resentment of free men treated like slaves, especially if they had no slave of their own to put down in order to restore their sense of honour and dignity. That resentment was developed and resolved by the classical period into a concept close to the Greeks' heart, autarkeia. Gomme writes:

autarkes does not of course mean that the individual does not give anything to, nor receive anything from, another, but that he is in a position to do both(218).

This observation is echoed in Cranston's study of the concept of freedom, cited by Patterson to argue that slavery is the sine qua non of freedom:

Before slavery people simply could not have conceived of the thing we call freedom...(in premodern nonslaveholding societies) happiness was membership; being was belonging; leadership was the ultimate demonstration of these two qualities. It is an abuse of language to refer to membership and belonging as a kind of freedom; freedom is not a faculty or a power to do something...(a man) says he is free to do (something) only when he wants to refer to the absence of the impediments in the way of doing it'(219).

Patterson goes on to suggest that "slaves were the first persons to find themselves in a situation where it was vital to refer to what they wanted in this way". This is perhaps correct of the classical Greek word for 'free', eleutheros, which originally designated a person belonging to a family which forms an integral part of the

218 Comm. II.127 (my emphasis).

219 SSD 1982:340-342, citing M.Cranston Freedom: A New Analysis 1953:19.

community(220). Slaves were first and foremost natally alienated, and membership of a family meant the negation of slavery. When Odysseus offered his slaves freedom, he offered to make them members of the family, brothers of Telemakhos; he did not offer them manumission in the classical sense. However, I suspect that freedom of action, autarkeia, has a slightly different, but related origin. The first people to find themselves in a situation in which it was vital to refer to themselves in this way were the 'little men', the free men treated like the slaves increasingly around them, who needed to point out the difference between themselves and slaves: they were free to act as they liked.

But freedom was guaranteed to no man. He who was free one day could be killed in battle or reduced to slavery the next. This instability inhibited a development which is often associated in the anthropological and sociological literature with the development of organisations, including the state(221): the accumulation of authoritative resources by persons. Constant fighting, between Greeks as well as between Greeks and non-Greeks, and the consequent imperative of success in order to remain alive and free, fostered and nurtured the idea of official, not personal, power.

3.6 Overview

As the expansion overseas brought about an increase in allocative resources, so too did it nurture an increase in authoritative resources. Organisation was required to get a group of men working together for a common purpose. Somebody had to organise expeditions or resistance; somebody had to lead. Leadership required the deference of some men to others, and whilst leaders could use their personal attributes (strength, charisma and so on) or their property

220 Fritz & Kapp Comm.Ath.Pol. 42 ad.loc.

221 Which is, quite understandably, normally based on studies of societies less bellicose and less insecure than the Greeks.

to encourage that deference from their fellows, they had continually to earn their place as leader. As soon as someone stronger than they challenged for the position (or merely withheld that deference) the leader faced imminent demotion. If leaders could convince people that deference to themselves was inherently proper, by arguments such as 'Zeus gave the sceptre to Agamemnon to lead', they would have to toil less to justify their place as leaders. An indirect consequence of this deeper submission would have been an increase in the internal strength of the group, and with it an increase in the group's external strength(222). Higher status generated in one sphere of life tends to be carried over into other spheres, and so the deference accorded to those who led in the fighting, where men's lives were at stake and there had to be leaders, would tend to be carried over and colour people's perception of them in other spheres(223). In order to maintain and reproduce a position of superiority, those who claimed or sought it had to act differently from other people in order to distance themselves. This was achieved particularly through ceremonial rituals, of which the most important for our enquiry was deference to superiors with good grace, promulgating the honour code, and endowing certain ephemera, such as the sceptre and drinking vessels, with special ceremonial significance.

But, believing too much in what they wanted others to believe of them, some leaders were occasionally apt to overstep the bounds of what others would tolerantly defer to. What might have been assumed by the perpetrator as a privilege to which he was entitled, appeared on such occasions to those from whom he assumed it to be an outright appropriation. This is precisely the error Agamemnon makes, and precisely the error the suitors make: errors both only because the person upon whom they each presume can (ultimately) fight back effec-

222 The bimodal symmetry of organisation, see Galbraith AP 1984:54-64.

223 Cf. Goffman 'The nature of deference and demeanor' American Anthropologist 58(1956)473-502.

tively; Akhilleus through the gods, and Telemakhos through his father (with not a little help from Athene).

Fighting external to the group was the condition which led to the acquisition of allocative and authoritative resources by those members of the group who indulged. Fighting internal to the group over the distribution and use of those resources threatened the group as a whole, weakening cohesion and thereby weakening individual and group security in a hostile world. One strategy followed by some communities in order to cope with this, whilst still expanding their resources, was the development of strong, centralised power which, according to Thukydides' review of the early history of Hellas (1.13.1), followed directly upon the Homeric basileis: tyranny. This is the subject to which we shall turn our attention in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: The Generation and Utilisation of Power (I) Wars and
Buildings

Without wars, few of the temples and other
sacred buildings of Greece would have been
built...War not only demolishes states but
also builds them.

W.K.Pritchett

Ancient Greek Military Practices
1971:100.

4.1 Introduction

The cumulative effect of the processes outlined above was beginning to strain the structure of the Greek communities almost to the point of collapse. That collapse, when it came, marked the transition from pre-polis to polis. The nascent state came into being with the permanent endowment of final authority in the roles of leadership; governmental roles in which authority resided in office, not men, and could thus be passed on from one incumbent to the next.

All modern political theorists seem to agree (with greater or lesser emphasis) that the strongest spur to such action was the quest for security: security being best understood as not just safety, but freedom of action(1). Freedom of action was, as we have seen, at the heart of the Greek concept of autarkeia(2). I shall treat as axiomatic the statement that, centralisation of authority in persons occurs when group cohesion is relatively weak and in office when group cohesion is relatively strong. The earliest centralisation of authority in a given group is obviously likely to be personal rather than official, since that is when group cohesion is likely to be weakest(3). But thereafter it would be absurd to suppose that the internal cohesion of any group should strengthen or weaken at a 'regular rate', or that persons invested with centralised power should be perceived according to their place in some kind of political 'progression' from person to office.

In this chapter I shall argue that the original centralisation of power (necessarily in persons) in Greece is best understood as a response to the quest for autarkeia by individuals in the group from other members of the group. Since the emergence of such men, later

1 Cf. E.H. Buehrig The Perversity of Politics 1986:8.

2 Cf. 3.5 above.

3 This is true also of groups teetering on the edge of disintegration, but if the group does splinter one could not say that group cohesion is 'weaker still', because it is no longer one group.

called tyrants, has been associated since the 1950's with 'the hoplite revolution', this is the next issue addressed. I shall argue that the growth of group consciousness, which can be seen as an index of group cohesion, is much more closely related to conflict than commonly assumed. The development of religious locales, particularly the construction and adornment of temples (which are correctly seen as powerful symbols of 'community spirit'), was inherently a product of increasing bellicosity - not only because of ideological considerations, but also because of economic considerations. This argument is rooted in the empirical evidence of the Argolid in the seventh and sixth centuries, since, however inadequate that evidence, each main development of the argument may be illustrated in this one region; it is where the earliest known tyrant (Pheidon) lived, where one of the earliest panoplies (Argos gr.45) was found, and where one of the earliest known temples (the Heraion) is located(4).

4.2 The emergence of tyranny

We begin with two simplifying assumptions: (i) assume a plain dotted with settlements; (ii) assume that those communities have responded to the demographic increase by utilising hitherto vacant and marginal land, to the point that the whole plain is parceled up and possessed by somebody(5). It is plausible to suggest that the larger oikoi will have taken possession of this extra land, because they needed to and because they had sufficient labour-power to use it. They will therefore have access to greater allocative resources, and their oikos-heads to greater authoritative resources, than smaller oikoi. The Greeks did not practice primogeniture (Plato considered unigeniture but, as usual, Plato is untypical and the Greeks practiced

4 My argument would, of course, imply that this is not coincidental.

5 Hesiod's world is one in which a man hopes that he will buy another's land, not they buy his, W&D 340f.

partible inheritance(6)), therefore an oikos made large by a relatively large number of children would not remain a large oikos for long. Thus large oikoi which remained large over several generations must have included a relatively large number of unequal, uninheriting hands, ie., servile labour.

Before the slave trade became established, the major - perhaps only - method of procuring such servile labour was by personal efforts(7). Therefore the enduring larger oikoi were probably headed by that small proportion of the community who left their fields occasionally to hunt, their principal prey being other men and their possessions. Such people would perhaps be emboldened, both by previous successes and by the growth of confidence and self-esteem subsequent upon habitual exercise of greater authority, to encroach on the traditional rights of lesser men within the community. At the same time, their activities might have made sheer emulation, or acquisition of 'replacements' from still lesser men(8), more attractive or tempting options for those who hitherto had indulged in neither. Whether for specific gains, or merely for the enjoyment of its exercise by those so inclined and able, the general escalation in the use or threat of condign power would have weakened community cohesion. And with very few, very serious capstone crimes recognized by the community, much latitude would have existed for 'self-improvement' at other's expense (the Greeks were nothing if not acquisitive) without going so far as to prompt the indignation of those not personally effected. In any potential conflict situation, the larger oikoi were likely to dominate.

The following hypothesis attempts to relate this framework to the

6 See R.Lane Fox's excellent (and thoroughly enjoyable) essay 'Aspects of inheritance in the Greek world' Crux 1985:208-232. But note, the early Korinthian lawgiver known to Aristotle was known to him as Pheidon of Korinth, not Pheidon the Bakkhiad (p.214ff).

7 On debt-bondage in Attika see chapter 5.

8 For example, from one's own slaves, outland men, or others in the community.

appearance of the first known 'tyrant', Pheidon, and to that appearance in the Argolid (qua plain) rather than somewhere else.

Conflict: The first step in the argument is the commonplace in the sociological literature that conflict helps to define group boundaries: it sharpens awareness of who constitutes 'us', as opposed to everyone else, 'them'. It is also widely recognised that conflict strengthens group cohesion - given the important caveat that the whole group recognise themselves as a group ('us') and feel that group worth preserving as a group. That is, conflict strengthens group cohesion given that there are no internal dissensions deep enough to precipitate a secession or dissolution under the stress of that conflict. So too is it generally agreed that conflict intensifies social organisation - some would go so far as to make war indispensable to the formation of the state(9).

Geography: The second step in the argument is the geographical factor: there is no straightforward geographic reason why one region should have been occupied by a plurality of poleis, like the Argolid, whilst another should have been occupied by only one, like Attika(10). Thukydides had a theory to explain it; he attributed Attika's unity to the poverty of her soil:

In the fertile districts (of Greece) it was easier for individuals to secure greater powers than their neighbours: this led to disunity, which often caused the collapse of these states, which in any case were more likely than others to attract the attention of foreign invaders (1.2.3-4).

Foreign invasion is an overhead, a supplementary pressure; the assump-

9 On all the points made, cf.eg. R.Collins Conflict Sociology 1975; L.Coser The Functions of Social Conflict (henceforth FSC) 1956; idem. Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict 1967; L.Kriesberg Social Conflicts 2nd.ed.1982; R.E.Park 'The Social Function of War' in War edd.L.Bramson & G.W.Goethals 1968:230-244; G.Simmel Conflict (trans.K.H.Wolff) 1955.

10 The dramatic natural boundaries offered by the Greek landscape are not as relevant for political geography as often presupposed: see Holladay 'Hoplites and Heresies' JHS (henceforth HH) 102(1982)94-103, p.98.

tion underlying this theory (cf. also 1.2.5-6) is that all members of a community should have roughly equal power, and the development of a marked asymmetry can be sufficient to cause collapse of the community. While wholly consistent with one of the leading hypotheses of this thesis (namely, the egalitarian hypothesis), this theory is somewhat inadequate, because poor soil is the rule rather than the exception in Greece, whereas the size of the Athenian polis was quite exceptional(11). However, Thukydides' association between fertile plains and conflict may be fruitfully developed.

A fertile plain will obviously support a larger population per unit land than an infertile area: the maximum density of population at saturation point is higher in fertile areas. If the population increases, the consequent increase in area under cultivation required to support it will be less than elsewhere, all other things being equal(12), and social interaction will inevitably intensify. Consequently the potential for and likelihood of both cooperation and conflict will also increase. Conflict and cooperation both help to define group boundaries, which might therefore crystallise in a fertile district whilst the actual territory of each group is small, relative to infertile districts. Thus group boundaries may sharpen earlier in time and smaller in space in fertile districts than in infertile ones.

Tyranny: The next step in the argument is to clear some ground on the

11 To be fair to Thukydides, he makes the migration of peoples so displaced from fertile areas to Attika another factor, but this still does not explain why they should have come to Attika rather than to any other equally poverty-stricken and thus presumably stable society.

12 This is an important qualification; not only can methods of cultivation vary in terms of intensive versus extensive, but we must also consider social constraints which may affect local practices, such as attitudes to crowding. I am not aware of any studies on this topic of Greek material; I suspect the evidence available at present is insufficient to warrant one, but as the results come through from intensive surveys such as the Cambridge/Bradford Boiotia Project, it may be possible to make some attempt on these questions.

issue of tyranny. Tyranny was not peculiar to one epoch, one 'stage' in Greek political development or history. It was a constantly recurring phenomenon all over the Greek world until snuffed out by Rome(13). In the historical period it was a type of constitution, a variety of monarchy more "fashionable" than basileia (cf.chap.3), treated by Aristotle along with demokratia, aristokratia and oligarchy(14), and it was accepted by different communities at different times as an adequate, legitimate and desirable type of government(15).

The basic outlines of the history of the word are clear enough, and illuminating: first used by Arkhilokhos of Gyges, King of Lydia c.650(16), first of a Greek leader (Pittakos of Mytilene) by Alkaios, c.600(17). Pittakos, besides being numbered amongst the Seven Sages, was

scarcely more a tyrant in the later accepted sense of the term than was Solon in Athens, who held a similar power for the year of his archonship(18).

Pittakos in fact occupied the office of aisumnetes, which Aristotle described as an elective dictatorship. It was, he said, like basileia in being based on consent and in being elective, and it was unlike basileia in being despotike (Pol. 1285b2-3), by which he meant holding more extensive powers than does a basileus(19). The word

13 Cf.A.Andrewes The Greek Tyrants (henceforth GT) 1956:143-150; Mahaffy Problems 1892:18-20. K.A.Raaflaub's important paper 'Democracy, Oligarchy and the Concept of the 'Free Citizen' in Late Fifth Century Athens' Political Theory 11(1983)517-544 is weakened by oversight of this fact. The political theorists, polemicists and participants railed against tyranny because it was a distinct possibility, not a theoretical convenience - even in Athens, as the 'Thirty Tyrants' were to prove.

14 I leave 'oligarchy' because, unlike democracy and aristocracy, there are, I think, no misleading modern connotations attached to this English term, nor is it as value-laden as the other two.

15 It is too often overlooked that the Athenian ekklesia voted themselves out of power for a narrow oligarchy to take over (however 'hoodwinked' they might have felt, or claimed to be, afterwards).

16 ALG 22.

17 PLF 348.

18 M.White 'Greek Tyranny' Phoenix 9(1955)2.

19 This is clear from comparison with Pol. 1285a16-24, where foreign basileis are compared with tyrannoi and said to be similar in the

tyrannos does not acquire a technical meaning until the fifth century, and "there is no certainty that the tyrants of the seventh and sixth centuries were so called by their contemporaries"(20). Turning to the phenomenon itself (rather than the word which came to be retrojected onto it, complete with odious associations), Aristotle defines four types of route to a tyranny, the last and most common of which was a later development(21).

Type 1: Ambitious basileis overstepped their traditional authority and assumed greater power, like Pheidon and a number of others (unfortunately unnamed).

Type 2: Ambitious men elected to one of the higher magistracies, especially those of long tenure, did likewise (no examples)(22).

Type 3 (specific to oligarchies): Ambitious men appointed to a single supervisory office over the chief magistracies did likewise (no examples).

These three types share the feature that the men later called 'tyrants' were already in possession of authority; the 'tyranny' arose in or developed from the extension of authority already possessed by the 'tyrant'-to-be. To call such extension 'illegitimate' was probably the only way fifth- (and later) century eyes could account for a dramatic extension of the authority of one man, since in their day it would automatically have been perceived to involve the erosion of

degree of power possessed by the monarch (extensive), which is the only common characteristic available for despotike. The differences (what make foreign monarchs basileis rather than tyrannoi) - stability and a bodyguard of subjects (whereas a tyranny is unstable and the bodyguard is composed of mercenaries) - Aristotle puts down to ethnic character: barbarians are more slavish and more tolerant of concentrated centralised power than Greeks.

20 White art.cit. 1955:4.

21 The following is distilled from Pol. 1310b passim.

22 To either type 2 or 3 or both Aristotle offers as examples the 'tyrants of Ionia' and perhaps Phalaris of Akragas - the reference 'other' is not entirely clear. 'Tyrants of Ionia' is so inspecific as to be unhelpful. Phalaris cannot be before about 550, and Akragas had not been founded long. These circumstances make this example rather unusual and probably incomparable with the mainland states with which most studies, this one included, are interested.

others' authority, and would indeed run counter to written laws. However, at the sort of date it occurred^f(23), the only type of authority a basileus possessed was 'traditional', ie. according to the local thesmoi, unwritten and therefore relatively mutable customs about which claims of 'legitimacy' could not, by definition, arise(24). A Homeric basileus' 'authority' outside his own oikos was, as we have seen, based not on law but on the deference of others.

Type 4: The later and more common route was through demagogy, whereby the tyrant-to-be gained power through popular support, because he defended the majority against the notables, for example Kypselos and Peisistratos. Whilst Aristotle's explanation of this fourth type is quite in accord with the overall framework presented in this thesis, I intend to ignore this later type here and retain the focus on Pheidon - or rather, on the type 'basileus who extended his authority' of which he is the only known example. As basileus, which was not an office of state presupposing the prior emergence of governmental roles, this type may predate types 2 and 3.

Despotism: The final step in the argument concerns despotism per se. The association of the emergence of tyranny with deep internal crisis, which all discussions of tyranny accept unquestionably, implicitly recognises that

the occurrence of despotism is inversely related to the strength of internal cohesion; despotism will occur where the conflict situation fails to bring about the cohesion necessary for concerted

23 That is, using our only adequate example (however shadowy) as a guide, whenever Pheidon is thought to have flourished. See endnote 1.

24 Webb's point concerning state formation (viz. "egalitarianism would gradually vanish even as it was being offended, without any awareness of the nature of the change, and the final achievement of absolute control would at that point probably seem merely a minor alteration of established custom", 'The Flag Follows Trade' Ancient Civilisation and Trade edd. J. Sabloff & Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975:185) is, I think, generally true, but not of situations in which 'despots' (for lack of a better word) were deemed necessary. Solon, for example, cannot have been the only Athenian who was acutely aware of the extraordinary power being given to him.

action(25).

The tyrannos was not the only kind of despot to have occurred in ancient Greece, if by despotism we understand all forms of wide-ranging powers invested in one man for a limited or unlimited term (in duration or purpose). One such type, and one of the oddities of Greek civilisation to the modern mind, for example, is the practice of inviting one man (or more rarely, a small group of men) from another state to assume complete or near-complete control in the strife-ridden community in order to rectify its problems(26). For this type of practice to have any rationale, there is at least one necessary condition: no-one (individual or group) in the community can be dominant. Voluntary submission by if not all members then at least by the effective majority(27) to the overarching authority of the despot makes no sense if one individual or group is dominant. Even the effective majority which chooses the despot and can enforce their choice on any dissenters cannot agree on sufficient issues to make the appointment of the despot unnecessary(28).

This could be due to two basic types of situation: either different groups within the community were equally matched, or individuals were equally matched. Current consensus, based on the monarchy-aristocracy-democracy assumption, argues the former: 'the great landholders' versus 'the poor', or gross anachronism like 'the landed aristocracy' versus 'the middle (or hoplite) class'. The framework being developed here, based on the hypothesis of gradual stratifica-

25 Coser FSC 1956:92.

26 This finds a parallel in the podestas of the N.Italian city-states (main period c.1190-1290 AD), cf. Martines Power and Imagination 1983:50-54.

27 By 'effective majority' I mean enough people to impose their collective decision upon all. People are not equal in their ability to make others submit to their will (via any kind or combination of power; condign, compensatory or conditioned), so the effective majority need not be a numerical majority. It may be less, or it may be a great deal more, than 51%.

28 One of the weaknesses in the 'Solon broke the Eupatrid domination in Attika' thesis is that, if the Eupatridai were dominant, why did they let him?

tion from egalitarianism, argues the alternative: there were not, when the first 'tyrants' arose, any cohesive groups larger than the oikos, and no individual oikos could possibly impose its will on every other. On the other side of the coin, there was no group larger than the oikos to prevent one or more oikoi dominating another oikos if they so wished (the situation in Ithaka precisely)(29).

Conclusion: If the situation was as I have envisaged it, then it would seem that the tyrannos appeared not in communities which were 'falling apart' under the growing pressures, but in communities which were being forced to 'come together' in order to survive them. The lack of cohesion which had characterised and was 'natural' (ie. traditional, all living members had ever known) to the Dark Age communities had to be surmounted if the community was to cope with the escalating stresses and pressures from within and from without.

It was a momentous step. Therefore, let us summarize the argument. The use of condign power to satisfy one's material and psychological desires had been steadily escalating; pressure on fertile land had been growing; population density had been increasing and consequently so had the potential for intensification of interaction; social differentiation had been increasing - the bellicose were enlarging their resources (allocative, especially land and people, and authoritative), the less bellicose (whose resources were not so growing) were beginning to find the developing asymmetry intolerable, and the subjugated had lost their resources to a greater or lesser degree; awareness that 'things could be otherwise' was growing, partly through increased interaction and consequent exchange of information, but mostly (quantitatively and especially qualitatively) because of the growing presence of people whose world-view was 'other'-'wise' (ie. imported slaves); the hold of tradition was consequently loosening;

29 Cf. Od. 24.453-462, esp.455 "It is by your own weakness, dear friends, that these things have happened."

the prospects for the individual in this increasingly harsh world were deteriorating, whether he stayed and resisted, or moved out of the risk situation into one of extreme uncertainty; pure caprice, human or divine(30), was coming to play an intolerably large role in a man's fortunes, and the desire to have more control over his environment - social (intracommunity) and physical (intercommunity) - grew(31).

As these processes intensified and more and more people came to find the situation intolerable, something, so to speak, had to give. The community was ripe for sudden, dramatic change. The safety in organised numbers principle, once born in someone's mind and formulated discursively, would find a ready breeding ground and swift dissemination in the climate of intensified interaction; ideas, like microbes, need a suitable environment if they are to 'catch' and flourish. Someone realized that absolute autonomy meant absolute self-reliance: if one person (or oikos) wanted or needed to rely on others, each partner in such an association for mutual benefit had to surrender part of their autonomy: they had to submit to some higher authority in matters of group survival and security(32).

Having found favour with the effective majority, one man - an oikos-head already established in the community as a man of outstanding ability, sense and equity (ie. a basileus)(33) - was selected for and supported in the task of preserving the community. One such community was Argos, and one such man, Pheidon.

30 Personal attack was probably viewed as a 'natural disaster' akin to earthquakes, floods and disease, all of which, of course, had their deities to correspond to Ares. The outcome of any conflict might appear equally capricious. This presented the Greeks with a philosophical spectre which would haunt them long.

31 For those points not discussed in the foregoing sections see chapters 2 and 3.

32 The same sort of thing at a higher (and later) level lies behind the amphiktyones: to prevent one sovereign community dominating a sanctuary important to all, they all agreed to surrender their autonomy in respect of the one 'capstone crime' every amphiktyonic jural community recognized: if and only if the sanctuary was attacked. Why the sanctuary should have been so important will be discussed below.

33 Cf. Aristotle Pol. 1286b8-10, 1288a1f, 15-19.

On this reconstruction the most pressing problem would appear to have been land, and Pheidon's organisational energies seem to have been channeled chiefly into acquiring more for the community, by the community, from other communities (instead of from each other in the community), using the traditional method of taking it by force. What was new was that it was a community effort for the control of surrounding territory(34).

This Argive territorial expansion under strong centralised leadership has been related to the so-called 'hoplite revolution'(35), and it is to this thorny issue that I now turn.

4.3 The 'Hoplite Revolution'

When attacked, every oikos had to defend itself. In any life-threatening situation, that would have involved every available person (whatever rank or role) in whatever capacity he/she could manage, even if, in the case of women and minors, it may have been non-combative roles such as provisioning and praying. When Odysseus' oikos comes under attack, Dolios and his sons - all slaves - arm themselves along with Odysseus, Telemakhos and Laertes, and there is no distinction in equipment(36). No man requires inducement (and few will be prevented by anything short of physical constraint) to fight for his life(37).

34 Unlike, say, Odysseus' crew's plundering forays and unlike the Thessalian or Boiotian prehistoric full-scale invasions, migrations of probably fairly disorganised peoples to new areas, rather than territorial expansion from a particular location, as here.

35 An association first suggested by Andrewes in his inaugural lecture (Proboulesis 1954) and developed by him in GT 1956. It has found fairly widespread support, although questioned in 1965 by Snodgrass 'The Hoplite Reform and History' JHS 85:110-122.

36 "So he spoke, and they sprang up and put on their armour, |Odysseus with his three, and the six sons of Dolios; |and with them Dolios and Laertes put on their armour, |grey though they were, but they were fighters perforce. And now |when all of them in shining bronze had shrouded their bodies, |they opened the doors, and went outside, and Odysseus led them" Od. 24.496-501 (trans.Lattimore).

37 This, like every generalisation, can be qualified. I am referring to people facing imminent murder or enslavement (social death), which only their immediate response may avert.

Every free oikos-member had a 'vested interest'(38) in defending the lives, freedom and property (including human) of the oikos. However, those for whom the impending conflict might be expected to result only in a superficial change (change of master), like Eumaios and Philoitios, might require inducements, or perhaps even cajoling. But every nonfree oikos-member had a 'vested interest' in defending at least his life. With the risk of attack escalating, every oikos had a 'vested interest' in extending the sphere of its 'us' group(39). Potential combatants also had a 'vested interest' in arming themselves as well as possible - so 'vested' indeed that even in relatively peaceful times it would rank very high, if not highest, in the list of priorities. Like the subsistence farmer who must produce enough food to survive the worst, not the average year(40), the oikos must be able to defend itself against the worst, not the average, attack. When the attack was on the community, there is no reason to suppose that things were any different(41).

Prior to the introduction of the phalanx, we may imagine fighting to have been a rather haphazard affair, probably subject to tacit or explicit rules of conduct between combatants who were known to each other(42), in which everyone found a role compatible with his skill, personality, and equipment. As land became more precious and people became less inclined to move off unreluctantly (cf.Thuk.1.2) - perhaps because they were increasingly defending more than just "the day-to-

 38 I put 'vested interest' in apostrophes because much scholarly argument uses the term, though I find it rather fatuous when what is at stake is a person's life, freedom, and health. Being a casualty in a world without modern medicine may have been more painful, physically and psychologically, than slavery or death. Cf.Hesiod's image of the man with shattered spine, W&D 529-535.

39 Within reason; there were limits beyond which it was not thought desirable to go, eg. 5000 citizens.

40 Thus a 'surplus' is normal.

41 Cf.V.D.Hanson Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece (henceforth WACG) 1983, note esp.conclusion p.151 "farmers would usually rush out to fight (to protect their crops), although the real danger was death in battle, not the loss of a livelihood".

42 See Y.Garlan War in the Ancient World (henceforth War) 1975:57-77.

day necessities of life" (idem.), and probably because it was getting increasingly difficult to secure those necessities elsewhere without fighting for them - the conflict probably grew more aggressive, committed and intense(43).

The so-called hoplite 'revolution' was, as Snodgrass has argued from the archaeological evidence(44), a 'piecemeal' affair in terms of weaponry. Whether there was a 'revolutionary' change in tactics, the introduction of the phalanx, depends on what one imagines preceded it. Holladay is right to stress that "it takes a man of fantastic nerve and self-confidence to (risk mens' lives in possibly dangerous innovations)"(45), but this applies equally to the man who 'invented' the phalanx(46) if it was not also a gradual development. Recent work by Pritchett has effectively removed the issue from Greek history, demonstrating conclusively, in my opinion, that the phalanx was already in existence when Greek history opens, and that Near Eastern studies potentially offer the most fertile area for future research on the question of its introduction/adoption in Greece(47).

43 Cf. Pritchett GMP 1971:74, "methods of warfare, so far from improving, became more barbarous as time went on", with pages upon pages of evidence to support it.

44 Early Greek Armour and Weapons 1964, which led him to question the consensus on the issue (a consensus guided by the monarchy-aristocracy-democracy assumption), art.cit. 1965.

45 HH 1982:101. It should perhaps have read more dangerous - warfare by any tactics is not exactly safe.

46 And, we might add, to the men who first played 'guinea-pig' for it.

47 GSW IV(1985)9-11, "in the Greek archaeological literature...a distinction has been drawn between 'hoplite' and 'pre-hoplite' warfare (on the basis of the equipment used) which can be traced back at least to Miss Lorimer's article 'The Hoplite Phalanx' BSA 42(1947)76-138...this archaeological distinction beclouds the issue of mass fighting in Homer; it clearly was not made in antiquity." "It would be a mistake to conclude that the introduction of one type (of shield) (eg.the round) marked the beginning of fighting in mass (ie.hoplite) formation or the introduction of hoplite tactics. Diodorus (5.34.4) explains that the advantage of a small shield is that it may easily be shifted to parry blows. Conversely, the bodyshield of the early period was a weapon, not for scattered, but for mass fighting, in which the enemy is confronted with a hedge of armor" (p.31). "The fundamental fact remains that the pitched battle was the decisive element, and this interpretation of the Homeric battle is confirmed throughout the entire literature down to Eustathios. The general impression created by the poem is one of hoplites fighting in mass formation, and this counts for far

Some scholars seem to find it paradoxical that the phalanx is suited to fighting on plains, yet plains are hardly plentiful in Greece. But the paradox is only apparent. Plains might not be the most common feature of the Greek landscape, but they are the most productive parts of it: indeed, the more scarce they are, the more precious they are. It seems plausible that the phalanx developed or was adopted specifically for 'plains warfare' because fertile agricultural plains was what the most important fighting between communities was about(48). Since plains offer little or no cover, the tactic had to be a defensible arrangement, and since permanent possession was the object(49), speed and manoeuvrability were less important than solidity and stability. And although a reasonably 'standard' tactical arrangement came to find general favour, it was by no means immutable or 'uniform'(50).

more than the effort to create an Ur-Iliad of pre-hoplite warfare with the deletion of the sunaspismos passages" (p.33). "The rule of the game is that you reject what evidence does not conform to your theory; Lorimer is an 'Interpolationsjagerin' in the old tradition" (p.43). "The idea of the creation of the hoplite phalanx at Sparta in the seventh century BC, originating in Lorimer's article, is an archaeological myth, that is, if one means massed fighting in formation" (p.90). Seven years after that paper Andrewes related the myth to the emergence of tyranny (in his inaugural lecture), and thus imported it, in a developed form, from classical archaeology into archaic Greek history.

48 Cf. Snodgrass AG:AE 1980:130.

49 There is little advantage in temporary possession, except to deny others use of the land at crucial times of the year. However, the conclusion of a thorough study of the evidence is that scholars have a tendency to overrate the effectiveness of agricultural devastation, Hanson WACG 1983. Possession only during harvest time is obviously desirable, providing that the cultivators do not get fed up sowing without reaping and move away; alternatively they may give up and accept some form of tithe-paying subservience or serfdom.

50 For example, Herodotos records that during the Athenian-Aiginetan hostilities (just prior to the Persian War) an Argive commander and pentathlete called Eurybates killed his first three Athenian opponents in a series of single combats, and fell to the fourth, a certain Sophanes from Dekelea (6.92.3). The same Sophanes was said to have been the most distinguished Athenian at the battle of Plataia, a major hoplite engagement: "Of his prowess at Plataia two accounts are given: according to one, he carried an iron anchor made fast to the belt of his corslet with a bronze chain; with this he would anchor himself whenever he got near the enemy, to prevent their attacks from shifting him; then, when the enemy retreated, he would up anchor and chase them. According to the other

I shall argue that a significant change in fighting was occasioned not through changes in weaponry, or in tactics (in the normal sense), or in the kind of personnel in the ranks and/or in charge, but through changes in organisation; specifically, in the union and co-ordination of the whole community, brought together to fight together with a common aim and a common purpose(51). It was the unification of the

account,...(he) merely bore the device of an anchor on his shield, which he kept continually spinning round and round" (Hdt.9.73-75) - neither of which accounts are compatible with the current interpretation of 'standard' phalanx tactics. (He is probably the same Sophanes of Dekelea of Plutarch Kim. 8, who exhibits a character appropriate to our hero).

- 51 Hoplites were not, of course, constrained to fight only with and for their communities. The kind of men who were attracted to the more or less 'freelance' kind of fighting (raiding for instance) were not a peculiarity of the 'colonising' period who then disappeared; nor were mercenaries, specialist professional soldiers, who have in most societies at most times been better equipped than the average farmer-citizen-soldier or conscript, and who are neither permanently employed in foreign lands nor otherwise billeted at an ideologically sanitary distance from 'respectable folk'. Garland has argued, rightly in my view, that it was not demand which created the (very plentiful) supply of mercenaries in the Greek world, but that, "at the most, demand gave an orientation to certain social, or rather asocial, types who were already so predisposed", Garland War 1975:101. Cf.eg.Hdt.8.26.1 (I owe this reference to B.Qviller). If mercenaries appear to disappear for about a hundred years after 525 BC (Garland War 1975:94) is that not a reflection on our sources rather than on what was happening around the Mediterranean at the time? Is it not due to the fact that, for example, a man performing essentially the same action is called a 'mercenary' when employed by another, an 'adventurer' or 'pirate' or 'plunderer' when self-employed, and a 'soldier' when serving his community? To the fact that the Celts above Liguria did not possess a bureaucratic empire? (I suggested in chapter 2 that there were strong constraints and incentives for Greek 'colonizers' in the east and Egypt to become mercenaries rather than 'colonise' in the way that they could and did against the less organised peoples of the north and west. Even if some did become 'mercenaries' in the technical sense, the peoples of north and west did not keep literary records which might have survived to us to indicate it, unlike those in the East and Egypt.) What were the 10,000 doing in 402? What would we have known of the 10,000 odd mercenaries operating in Asia in 401/0 if one of them had not happened to have a proclivity for letters (and the vagaries of time had not been so kind to those letters)? How many mercenaries in the year 500 BC (contemporaries of a young Pindar and writing about fifteen years before Herodotos was born) are likely to have (i) been literate to an extent greater than the ability to vandalise foreign monuments by scratching upon them a brief (and often misspelled) curriculum vitae; (ii) thought their activities worth writing about, and did so in a personal way which could not become misinterpreted as a 'literary motif' ('heroic' for example) or the invective of a disgruntled and exiled 'aristocrat'; and (iii) been of sufficient calibre to survive transmission to the present day ?

community which produced what might be called, for the first time, an 'army' and a 'government'. Materially, that unification produced larger fighting units. But a much more important (non-material) product was greater group cohesion and greater deference to the leader(s) (ie. discipline); 'less chiefs and more indians'. As a result it engendered a stronger group which presented a united front to the rest of the world. An organised group of people will, in most circumstances, get the better of an unorganised group of people, even if that group is considerably larger. The truth of this can be seen not only in countless events of history (especially military), but also in the discipline apparent in every successful organisation - military, religious, economic or political. The 'advance' was fusion of the group, a fusion which was strong enough to withstand internal 'political' disagreements: if the leader was disliked, dissenters attempted to replace the leader with another leader. They did not - because the fusion was so strong that they could not - simply ignore him and do as they pleased(52). That fusion, which was lacking in Odyssean Ithaka, was encouraged in Athens by law: Solon's law quoted in the last chapter. The organisation and discipline which characterizes a cohesive group and which signifies that at least a critical mass in the group have fused their interests is what spawned the emergence of governmental roles. It is what renders intelligible the incessant stasis of early Greek states; what forced dissenting and unsuccessful subgroups to leave and establish themselves elsewhere;

52 This fusion is, I think, what Aristotle meant (Pol. 1297b22-28) when he 'explained' why the early states were called democracies despite their strongly centralised rule. The latter he explained by pointing out their small size and lack of organisation. But they were 'democracies' because, for the first time, they possessed the 'essential criterion' (so to speak) of democracy, viz. many people shared in the politeia. Now this is usually taken in the sense that many people were citizens for the first time because many people hitherto excluded from the politeia were now admitted to it. But I think Aristotle meant rather that many people were citizens for the first time because there was a politeia for the first time. There were no 'citizens' before, because there was no politeia before.

and it is what demonstrates that the group constitutes a single, fused whole.

One of the most visible signs of that disciplined organisation is in the group's dealings with the outside world. One of the most visible aspects of that is its success in war, and the most visible evidence of success in war was the development of public locales. Public locales displayed and proclaimed the strength of the community vis-a-vis the external world, and in so doing they helped to deepen the cohesion which made the community strong. This was still the case as late as the eighteenth century; Galbraith illustrates the point by reference to Adam Smith's order of priorities in The Wealth of Nations (1776) for the functions of the state:

The building and maintenance of public institutions and public works...was surpassed in importance only by provision for the common defence and the administration of justice(53).

He goes on to elucidate:

By their magnificence, these structures proclaimed the power, wealth, ability to confiscate wealth and, on frequent occasions, the good taste of (the owners)...(it was felt that) the public building should be a little larger than life - certainly a lot larger than necessary...(it was part of) its function to proclaim the dignity and majesty of the state...Buildings, in brief, were the best proof of nationhood, sovereignty and progress. And, on the whole, the more expensive the building, the stronger the proof(54).

Snodgrass suggested nearly ten years ago that the building of temples might usefully be seen as an index of the emergence of the polis(55), and the rest of this chapter will be concerned with expanding and developing that suggestion.

4.4 The development of religious locales

The earliest and greatest public works, public locales, and public 'roads' (including bridges) in ancient Greece were inherently associ-

53 Economics, Peace and Laughter 1975:125.

54 Ibid. pp.125-127. Cf.also Tomlinson From marble halls to mud huts Inaugural lecture 1972:3 (Birmingham).

55 ARGS 1977:24.

ated with religion. There had been a "huge increase in activity at interstate sanctuaries (in the eighth century)"(56) - of which one very important aspect was building(57), and religious locales were at the heart of the city. Yet despite the central importance of religion in Greek life, meagre attention has been paid to the social context in which religious locales were developed(58), to the activities which took place at them(59), and to the sources of funding for these developments(60). These are questions to which classical archaeologists and students of ancient religion have not, on the whole, addressed themselves. What follows, I hasten to add, does not pretend to be a proper study. The materials are massive - archaeological and literary - and it would be quite beyond the scope of this thesis to examine them thoroughly. Rather, what follows aspires to offer only a very provisional map of currently underexplored territory.

For the purpose of analysis I am going to distinguish between two basic types of religious locale: those which are part of a settlement, and those which are not. The Larisa, for example, is part of the settlement of Argos in a way that the Heraion is not. I will distinguish the former by referring to them as precinct locales(61). As a simplifying premiss, let all akropoleis fall into this category. Precinct locales, being part (usually the most defensible part) of a settlement, can be expected to show signs of activity throughout the occupation of the site, although the kind of activity signified may be

56 Snodgrass ARGS 1977:32.

57 Archaic architectural efforts seem to have been devoted almost entirely to sanctuaries although (currently) "there is no theoretical reason why this should be so" (Coulton pers.comm.).

58 Cf. Snodgrass ARGS 1977:32.

59 Cf. Snodgrass ESE 1984:227.

60 Cf. A.M. Burford 'The Economics of Greek Temple Building' (henceforth EGTB) PCPS 11(1965)21.

61 'Religious' understood. I have avoided the words 'region' and 'regionalisation' of locales (as Giddens) because of the potential for confusion between scales, which does not bother Giddens, but bothers me. 'Region' as used here is always meant in the normal geographic sense. I have ignored another special category of nonprecinct locale, the peak sanctuary.

manifold. Religious locales are generally known to be 'religious' a posteriori, and there is a danger of reading back what we are pleased to call 'religious activity' into contexts which might not justify such classification. We must also remember that the distinction between sacred and secular upon which this classification is made was drawn sharply only in the late nineteenth century(62), and it needs to be stressed

that there is no clear line between religious and secular in Greek architecture, any more than in Greek life(63).

Perhaps necessarily, it is often where finds are made, not what they happen to be, which guides their interpretation as 'votive', 'dedication', or even 'temple'. However, if the assemblage suggests that a site is a religious locale, it should not, I think, thereafter be assumed that every single item found there is of 'religious' character in the modern sense. The category 'votive' is particularly omnivorous, and it is only the most obtuse objects which defiantly resist being swallowed whole:

In the altar area there were votives consisting of parts of doors: How could we imagine doors as being votive? (R.Hagg)(64).

With great difficulty, though it can be done(65). In this case, it wasn't. The discussion tailed off leaving the question even more

62 By the atheist Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life Eng.trans.1915. Cf.E.E.Evans Pritchard Theories of Primitive Religion 1966, R.A.Nisbet The Sociological Tradition 1970 chap.5, M.E.Spiro 'Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation' Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion (ed.M.Banton) 1968:85-126, K.Thompson & J.Tunstall (edd) Sociological Perspectives 1971 part 4, R.Towler Homo Religiosus: Sociological studies in the study of religion 1974, and H.Butterfield The Origins of History 1981 chap.8.

63 Wycherley How the Greeks Built Cities (henceforth HGBC) 1962:86, emphasis in original.

64 Discussion in Hagg (ed.) GR 1983:147.

65 "It is obvious that the Greeks dedicated the strangest things to the deity" (R.Felsch) idem. However, even in this case it may be rightly so: although rather cumbersome, doors were occasionally taken as plunder (cf.Hanson WACG 1983:91f (literary evidence)). I shall argue below that this was in primary or secondary form (ie. 'raw' or converted) one of the main sources of objects found at religious locales. My aim is to 'get behind' the votive and try to find out what it meant, what act(s) it commemorated and signified.

obtuse, because there is a tendency to assume that, if part of a door was dedicated, then it was necessarily dedicated by a person who made or acquired it through non-violent and 'honest' means. Modern religion, viz. Christianity for most scholars, engenders a tendency to equate 'pious' with 'peaceful'. The Greeks were neither Christians nor peaceful. Osborne observes (in a very different context) that "doors, at least, seem to have been regarded as moveable property not just here (temple estates inventories) but regularly in leases and sales"(66). However, some valuable and relevant points were made during the discussion, from which I excerpt: Hagg commented that all the metal objects shown (from Philia, workshop on site) seemed to be "of every-day use; even the arrowheads"(67), but we were assured that, by comparison with Delphi, Olympia and the Argive Heraion, the numbers of iron weapons (real, utilitarian ones) were not "excessive". Kilian remarked that there was bronze production at temple sites such as "Olympia, Samos, Kalapodi, Asea, Sparta, and Gela", and that the deities there venerated were not 'the goddess of craftsmen'(68), so the production of iron at Philia was not unusual, even if unexplained(69). And Bergquist pointed out that in later periods terracottas and vases were made at the sanctuaries "probably for sale on festivals", which is a very plausible suggestion, "for worshippers to buy for use in the cult", which is an unnecessary conjecture(70).

66 'Buildings and Residence on the Land in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: the contribution of epigraphy' BSA 80(1985)121.

67 R.Hagg. This was confirmed by K.Kilian.

68 Typically overlooked, Athena was also the 'goddess of booty', Homer Il. X.460, and was recognised as such at Olympia, Paus. 5.14.5.

69 There are also traces of iron-smelting in the archaic period at Bassai, Snodgrass AG:AE 1980:139f.

70 Manufacturing at religious locales is comparable not only with the Mykenaian period (as mentioned, with debated relevance, in the discussion) but also with the early Medieval period monasteries: workshops at Jarrow, glass kilns at Burgh Castle and Glastonbury, kilns at Nendrum (Ireland) and slag at Skellig Michael (Ireland), cf.R.Hodges Dark Age Economics: the origins of towns and trade AD 600-1000 1982:55f. Our local Fountains Abbey was one of the wealthiest Cistercian monasteries in medieval England, owning more than 20,000 sheep (grazed on more than 400,000 hectares) for wool production, R.Reid Designing for Commerce 1977 (no pagination).

Earlier in the discussion Murray had suggested the possibility that the temple functioned as a centre for a market(71). This draws attention to the wider social context within which Greek religion was embedded. There are, I think, five major aspects of Greek religious locales which must be kept in mind at all times:

1. Ownership: They were public spaces, built it would seem on land owned by the people/deity/temple. In Homeric society temene were given by the people to basileis for services rendered (in particular, for military services). The sanctuary temenos was probably of the same essential character; a piece of public land cut off (the meaning of temenos), but given to the deity.

2. Income: Their income was derived from (i) aparkhe, that is, 'first fruits'; animal or vegetable biodegradable matter(72), or less easily degraded mineral matter(73). (ii) Donations, thank offerings and the like. Probably mineral on the whole(74). (iii) Dekate, that is, one tenth of the spoils of war (or other forms of acquisition by force which would not be classified as 'war' in normal usage). This is a special case of 'first fruits'. Modern discussions tend to overemphasize the first and second, even to the complete exclusion of the third, and to confuse dedications of weaponry (skula), which are type

71 Reiterated later by Coldstream, same vol.p.165. Kilian's reply (that not all production was associated with sanctuaries; rarely workshops were found in settlements) should, to my mind, have made Murray's comment all the more salient. The fact that workshops existed in settlements hardly undermines the point, and the fact that they are rare in such contexts makes their presence at sanctuaries more significant. But the discussion turned back to 'votives' and the point was lost.

72 Which previous generations of classical archaeologists did not want and/or did not have the tools to record (except 'ash', usually unanalysed) and of which, given the long and intense attention paid to such places by them, little if any trace is likely to remain for present generations with current technology.

73 For example, clays, metals, or stones, given by people somehow involved in their transformation from part of the natural environment into artefacts, such as pots, sculptures or jewellery.

74 Here the first question should be, thanks for what? Occasionally we are told by inscription on the object, but not usually.

(i) or (ii), with - if they consider it at all - dekate(75).

There are two additional sources from which objects found at a religious locale may have come: (iv) intentional disposal of rubbish and (v) unintentional loss. It is, I think, a little optimistic (or naive) to assume that every artefact found in a sanctuary was a 'votive', which was either deliberately buried because it got broken accidentally, or found its way into the record because it was thrown out to 'make room' for new votives(76). The rubbish deposits currently interpreted as evidence of 'periodic spring cleans' or by-products of demolition before rebuilding might equally well be taken at face value and interpreted to be what they appear to be: rubbish tips. Some of the rubbish might have been ex-votives, but we need not assume all of it was, especially pots, the tin-cans of antiquity. The lack of a clear stratigraphy which characterizes such 'dumps' could arise from the process of disposal during the life of the tip and/or from the process of closing it, which probably occurred then - as now - when the tip became unstable, unsightly, a health hazard or whatever. The latest find within the deposit thereby indicates only the date of the closure, and this cannot be considered sufficient evidence to support inferences about rebuilding and so on.

Our sources were not, on the whole, interested in pots (dedicated or otherwise). They were sometimes interested in metallic and stone dedications however, and their evidence on these often contradicts a related assumption generally made of finds at sanctuaries: that any item made at place x and found at religious locale not at x was dedicated by a 'visiting worshipper' from x. Using the Greeks' own generic categories, such artefacts are (i) skula (armour taken off

75 Cf. Pritchett GMP 1971:94 n.9 and 55f. Pritchett has a study of dekate in GMP (chap.5), and of skula in GSW 1979(3) chap.8.

76 Those cases where we are clearly dealing with a trench in which objects have been carefully laid side by side, 'class by class, excepted (eg. Orchomenos, R.A. Higgins Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum 1954:8).

slain enemy) (ii) spoils generally, laphura(77), in both of which cases the dedicatee was almost certainly from anywhere but x, or (iii) dekate which, if not converted, suggests the same as (i) and (ii) or, if converted(78), then it may indeed have been dedicated by visitors from x, or it may have been merely commissioned from people at x by the dedicatees who again were not from x(79).

You see the god completely surrounded by choice offerings and tithes from murders, wars, and plunderings, and his temple crowded with spoils and booty from the Greeks...upon the beautiful votive offerings you read the most disgraceful inscriptions: 'Brasidas and the Akanthians from the Athenians', and 'The Athenians from the Korinthians', and 'The Phokians from the Thessalians', and 'The Orneatans from the Sikyonians,' and 'The Amphiktyons from the Phokians'(80).

In the Geometric and Archaic period we rarely have such literary evidence, but it seems reasonable to suppose that things were essentially no different - only younger and simpler and smaller in scale(81). In the mid-seventh century Kolaios converted the dekate from Tartessos into a wine-bowl (Argive-shaped it so happens) to go on

77 Which could extend to doors and other woodwork.

78 Into, for example, a golden shield, eg.Paus.5.10.4.

79 Eg.Paus.6.19.14. A more telling example from the fourth century: 1000 breastplates and 10,000 shields collected from the Karthaginians after the battle of Krimisos (340/39 BC) were dedicated in temples throughout Sicily - and even sent to the temple of Poseidon at Korinth (Pritchett GMP 1971:94 n.9). Suppose such a shield was found at the temple at Korinth. Because in this instance it is of non-Greek manufacture and because we know from literary sources that the Karthaginians and Syrakusans were at war at the time, no-one, I think, would assume that the shield was dedicated by a pious Karthaginian visiting Korinth. But if a Greek, for example, an Athenian shield was found instead..? Literary evidence tells us that the Athenians had assisted the Korinthians when Philip tried to intervene in Epiros in 343/2 (cf.C.Mosse Athens in Decline 1973:52f.) and I suspect that many would make the usual assumption.

80 Plutarch De Pythiae Oraculis (Moralia 401c-d), cited from Pritchett GMP 1971:100. I am not aware of any Classical Greek source who found this 'disgraceful' or in any way disagreeable. (Plutarch might be a Greek, but he is a primary source only for history and society around the turn of the first century AD.)

81 Amongst inscriptions of sixth and fifth century date from the Athenian akropolis Raubitschek lists (DAA 1949) fifty-three as dekate. Many of them are private dedications and should probably be interpreted as derived from independent acquisition by violence, rather than as individual dedications over and above the group dedication of community action (cf.Pritchett GSW III(1979)249).

display at the Samian Heraion(82), and the only visual clue to the kind of success it commemorated was the legs: three kneeling submissive figures. So, in the fifth century, marble Persians supported a bronze tripod dedicated in the Olympion at Athens(83), and the Stoa Persike at Sparta had statues of Persians in place of pillars to support the roof(84).

3. Social Role: They were places of meeting and exchange (of information and goods). As Tawney pointed out, "what requires explanation is not the view that (economic relations and social organisation) are part of the province of religion, but the view that they are not"(85). In the late Geometric/early Archaic period (and, to a lesser extent, later), festivals would have been the main, if not the only, occasions on which the community assembled en masse. It was not only an obvious place for exchange (of information and goods) to take place; it was often the only place. In order to meet, people not normally in contact with one another must have a place and a time to meet, and the sanctuary and the festival provided that spatio-temporal location.

82 Herodotos 4.152.4.

83 Paus.1.18.7.

84 Vitruvius I.1.6.

85 Religion and the Rise of Capitalism 1972:272. Whilst the precise relevance may be disputed by Classical scholars (as with Mykenian comparisons, above n.70), a great number of religious meeting places became nuclei for markets and shops in different societies at different times: "to the cathedral city the farmers would bring their calves, grain, fruits or wool" and in a great many the markets were held actually within the cathedral close (as still in Dinan, Brittany), E.A.J.Johnson The Organisation of Space in Developing Countries 1970:9f. Similarly, Johnson continues, the great mosques of the Islamic world have attracted a wide range of mercantile and light manufacturing enterprises. Cf.also E.Lipinski (ed.) State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East 1979, and B.Stein 'The Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple' Journ.Asian Studies 19(1960)163-76. In ancient Greece some buildings in and near sanctuaries are clearly shops, dining rooms, workshops etc. (eg.Pheidias' workshop at Olympia, on which cf.E.Kunze 'Olympia' in Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen 1959:277-295) and literary evidence reports in addition, for example (Thuk.3.68) the building of an hotel; two floors and 200 feet in circuit. Note the use of the Plataians' doors amongst other items plundered. The mysterious 'oikos complex' (the West Building) at the Heraion is probably of this sort of character (dining rooms).

And here we should note another change brought about with the emergence of the state: the Greek poleis can have begun regulating their festivals by the civil, rather than the natural, year only when the state had already come into being. That the festivals were regulated by the civil not the natural year is, as Bickerman pointed out, the most significant fact to grasp for a proper understanding of Greek religion(86).

4. Visibility: Religious locales were highly visible places by virtue of (3). That is, as public meeting places they were major, if not the only, 'broadcasting stations' in a world without mass media. Communication was essentially oral and visual, and if the vision could be made to last, the message could be broadcast over much greater distances in time.

Excursus on public monuments and publicity: It is, I think, significant that (i) building is not one of the liturgical duties(87); (ii) the strict authoritarianism exhibited by state officials for the construction of public buildings in the Classical and Hellenistic period(88) implies that "the contractor was very much at the building commission's mercy"(89); (iii) there seems to have been an upper limit for private donations to public building funds(90); (iv) the money did

86 Chronology of the Ancient World 1980:28. Another is that "in Greek theogonies divine power does not create the world out of nothing, but shapes what exists independently of mind", G.A.Cohen Karl Marx's Theory of History 1982:11f.

87 There seems to be no Greek equivalent (before Alexander) to the Roman practice of naming public works after the official (or private benefactor) responsible for their construction, such as the Via Appia, the Basileia Aemilia, or the Theatres of Pompey or Scaurus (cf. Pliny NH 36.113-115 for criticism of this practice with reference to the latter). This was perhaps not unintentional, but a conscious 'policy' developed by some Greek states at least; cf. eg. Plutarch Kimón 4, and below.

88 For example "the contractor shall work all day and every day,...with at least five workmen,...shall use a toothed chisel for such-and-such a process,...shall be fined for bad work, and so on" A.M.Burford EGTB 1965:31.

89 Idem.

90 For example, the women of Tanagra were not allowed to contribute more than 5 dr. a head for the new temple of Demeter and Kore (late

not have to come from public funds. Known private individuals in the fifth and fourth centuries could have(91) financed the building of a temple in its entirety from their private fortunes "if they had been so inclined"(92), or, perhaps more plausibly, if they had been allowed to on terms that they would have accepted (see v); (v) private offers to pay for public buildings were sometimes rejected. For example, the Ephesians rejected Alexander's offer to pay for the temple of Artemis because his name would be inscribed on it(93); and (vi) perfectly good buildings were wholly or partially demolished for no obvious reason; that is, no obvious structural (qua engineering), functional or economic reason(94). If we remember the broadcasting and storage potential of a building or stone construction, however, a reason does present itself. The Alkmeonidai can have made few decisions of greater import than that to have the facade of the temple of Apollo at Delphi done in marble instead of limestone (as contracted) at their own expense. It broadcast their name not only in their own community but right across the Greek world and beyond (including to our own day) as the Rocke[^]fellers of Ancient Greece(95). It set them apart - in a different league - from the Dikaiopolises of the communities; it was a strong, silent and enduring statement that these were powerful men.

We can at once appreciate that this sort of statement could not be ignored if political leadership was at stake. Other equally, perhaps

3rd.cent.), Burford EGTB 1965:26.

91 And did, but so infrequently that Burford missed them. See below.

92 Burford EGTB 1965:26.

93 Coulton GAW 1982:18.

94 Apart from instances of known deliberate demolition, we may suspect some cases of arson; Philokhoros records a legend that the Peisistratidai set fire to the temple of Apollo of Delphi (FGH 328 F 115), although Jacoby thought the charge 'nonsensical' (IIIB2:358f at n.8). If it is true, however (and Jacoby gives no reason for his summary dismissal), then the Alkmeonidai gained more political mileage through the way in which they undertook the rebuilding contract.

95 Cf. Pindar Pythian 7.9-12 (Dissen) for Megakles the Alkmeonid (486), "In every city the tale is an intimate thing | of the citizens of Erechtheus. At holy Pytho, Apollo, | they made magnificent the front of your templed house" (trans.Lattimore).

more powerful men would have needed to compete, or needed to stop it:

Thukydides and his friends were constantly denouncing Perikles for squandering resources and letting the revenue go to waste (on the public buildings commissioned at this time) and so Perikles appealed to the people in the ekklesia to declare whether in their opinion he had spent too much. 'Far too much', was their reply, whereupon Perikles answered, 'Very well then, do not let it be charged to the public account but to my own, and I will dedicate all the public buildings in my name'...They raised an uproar and told him to draw freely on the public funds(96).

Not only other wealthy men, but the people at large did not want private individuals to spend (and particularly to build) their way to distinction, particularly to lasting, conspicuously visible distinction(97).

This practice, we may reasonably infer, had become not only more prevalent, but actually made possible by increasing wealth and increasing differentials in wealth. Through the creation of governmental roles authoritative resources had increased potentially to an even greater extent, and they were perhaps considered by many to be the 'prize' or 'return' for private material outlay on 'public' works. But the authoritative resources of both status and office were potential. The variance of potential available to an individual citizen from tenure of a governmental office could be registered on a scale from despotism, through elected annual magistrates, to short-term office by sortition. Pure sortition for a plethora of short-term offices minimizes the potential for any incumbent, election to a dearth of long-term offices maximizes it. If the sum total of power available to 'government' was fixed, the development from the latter

96 Plutarch Per. 14, trans.I.Scott-Kilvert (modified). Perikles name is restored on the 'Spring House Decree' IG I2 54, cf.H.B.Mattingly Historia 10(1961)164f, which is very much concerned with minimising the cost of this project.

97 On an earlier and smaller scale, Kimon was allowed by special privilege to erect three herms, but was expressly forbidden to inscribe his name on them, Plutarch Kimon 7. These three herms were regarded by his contemporaries, says Plutarch (chap.8), "as a supreme mark of honour for him", of which neither Miltiades (general of Marathon) nor Themistokles (admiral of Salamis) were thought worthy. Note the "by yourself" of Sophanes' (of Dekelea) reply. The Pythia refused to accept Themistokles' private dedication of spoils, Paus.10.14.3.

to the former would rightly be interpreted as a process of increasing 'democratisation', as it has been generally since Aristotle. However, power is not static; it is not a commodity. The resources (allocative and authoritative) which are drawn upon and reproduced in the generation and exercise of power are not static.

Purely for illustration, suppose that resources could be measured in units(98), and power could be measured in units(99). Suppose further that every office possessed equal resources, and every officeholder realized the full potential available to him. Then, if

Resources (alloc)(auth)	Power potential	No.equal offices	the Power per office would be
4 + 4	8	1	8
4 + 4	8	2	4
4 + 4	8	4	2

This is the sort of framework the 'increasing democratisation' idea assumes: the level of resources is static, power is static, the number of offices to share that power between increases, therefore the power 'held' in each office decreases. But in real life, especially in ancient Greece between the eighth and the fifth centuries, resources vastly increased, and the framework should look rather more like

Resources (alloc)(auth)	Power potential	No.equal offices	Power per office
1 + 1	2	1	2
3 + 5	8	2	4
12 + 20	32	4	8

What the Athenians did (essentially) was to try to keep the power available to any individual officeholder as stable as possible(100) while resources increased and the potential power of any individual officeholder increased. They did this by (i) increasing the number of offices; (ii) decreasing the term of office; (iii) restricting reap-

98 Allocative partially can, authoritative cannot in real life with current techniques and methodologies - it is only a hypothetical exercise.

99 Like authoritative resources, power cannot (yet) be 'measured' in real life.

100 For instance, say here the nominal figure of 4. Offices are not, of course, equal, nor are all incumbents equally able to (or desirous of) exploit(ing) the potential of any office to the full.

pointment (by election or sortition) to office; and (iv) lowering the qualifications of eligibility for office. That is, they constantly monitored the resources-power-office system and regulated it, as and when necessary, to try to preserve homeostasis of office power. But they did not try to preserve homeostasis of resources; these they fairly constantly sought to increase(101).

That monitoring is responsible, in part, for the enormous amount of 'publishing' undertaken by the Athenians - in which they were unique in ancient Greece. The practice was, as Finley pointed out, "intimately bound up with the nature of the political system"(102). Related to this 'political' monitoring was a sort of 'social monitoring' of those who sought the prize of status rather than (or in addition to) office. As wealth increased and wealth differentials increased, a few (the wealthiest on the whole) began to try to establish a system of proportional rights (viz. aristokratia), whilst the rest tried to preserve the notion of equality between citizens (viz. demokratia). This came out politically in the ideological battles of the fifth century(103) but it had a social side too. The aspiring aristoi had to spend(104); they had to announce the superiority to which they aspired by privately financing something which would go on public display (visual or oral), and would broadcast their names across the miles and the years, as the Alkmeonidai had done. They

101 There were, of course, important exceptions, notably the strategoi. When one's life depended on a competent general/admiral, this monitoring understandably had to be compromised to some degree.

102 AH 1985:37.

103 On which cf. Raaflaub art.cit. 1983, Cohen's important paper 'Justice, Interest and Political Deliberation in Thucydides' Quad.Urb.di Cult.Classica 45(1984)35-60, and Graham & Forsythe art.cit 1984. Another ideological area affected was science and philosophy, see B. Farrington Science and Politics in the Ancient World 1939.

104 "Historians have not always been sensitive to the logic of large-scale aristocratic expenditure. If lavish display was so constantly indulged in, it was in large part a matter of meeting the community's expectations of how great families should live" Powis Aristocracy 1984:4f, and chap.2 passim.

might, for example, dedicate a statue; try to win a panhellenic athletic contest; commission a poem; or build. Some required merit, others could simply be bought, and the most important amongst the latter were buildings. The Athenians harnessed this aspiration through the development of the liturgy system, and ostentatious spending outside this sphere (conspicuous consumption) they tried to counteract partly by prohibition(105), partly by defamation(106), and partly by competition - using public funds to commission things which would go on public display, broadcasting either the name of the whole community, or the names of 'ordinary folk'; for example, the fallen in another year of interminable warfare(107), the lot-selected citizens who happened to be on official duty any day a decree was passed in the ekklesia, and the orphans of those who died restoring the democracy in 403/2(108).

That monitoring may also be responsible in part for the relative stability and freedom from stasis enjoyed by the Athenians, which, we may infer, was a consequence of her political and social system. But from this it does not follow that conflicts did not arise:

As the development of law and custom discourages and renders unnecessary the bodily combat of individuals, this gives place to the collective combat of communities and the more refined forms of combat within communities. It is observable that, when a

105 For example, Solon's laws on funerary activities (Plutarch Sol. 21), which are probably to be associated with the decline of ostentatious burials in Attika, an archaeologically attested phenomenon confined to the archaic period.

106 For example, when Themistokles built a temple of Artemis Aristoboule, the people were offended, and their umbrage found appropriate expression later when they used the place as a dump for the bodies of executed criminals and the clothes and halters of suicides, Plutarch Themistokles 22. The temple has been found, cf.Boersma ABP 1970 no.41. The sentiment against this sort of thing weakened as time went on, but Demosthenes complained about the deterioration (23. Aristocr. 686); for example, Konon built a sanctuary to Aphrodite in the Piraeos, apparently without such an outcry, Paus.1.1.3.

107 Eg.Meiggs-Lewis GHI no.48 (pp.125-28). We could add here the reaction to Pausanias' name on the tripod at Delphi - not only was it erased, but the names of all the Greek states which had fought at Plataia and Salamis were inscribed, Thuk.1.132.

108 Eg.R.Stroud Hesp. 40(1971)280-301. The words demokratia and oligarkhia occur here for the first time on stone in Athens.

pugnacious people is forcibly brought under a system of civilised legality, its members are apt to display an extreme and, to our minds, absurd degree of litigiousness(109).

This observation, although written in 1915 with the modern European colonising experience clearly in mind, nevertheless strikes a chord with Aristophanes' 'wasps' and similar references to the Athenians' fondness for litigation one can find scattered through the sources. The Athenians, of course, brought themselves to a system of 'civilised legality', it was not forced upon them(110). Conflict fought with and settled by words, rather than spears, must also have stimulated record keeping, the 'police function' of documents suggested by Finley(111). This brings us to the fifth point about religious locales (and terminates the excursus).

5. Stores: They were 'storage containers': war museums, armouries and treasuries(112). Religious locales stored material resources, such as money and shields; paintings, sculptures and trophies, which exhibited history (usually what we would call military history); shrines and cult ephemera, which carried the rituals there celebrated across time. The need to store some of these things visibly and securely probably prompted the construction of buildings to house and display them(113).

109 W.McDougall 'The Instinct of Pugnacity' in War 1968:33. On the forcible prevention of fighting the instinct may find alternative outlets, the potlatch for example - "An indian said; 'When I was young I have seen streams of blood shed in war. But since that time the white man came and stopped up that stream of blood with wealth. Now we are fighting with our wealth", Lienhardt Social Anthropology p.81. Cf. also I.M.Lewis Anthropology in Perspective 1981:206, who cites cricket as another example. The agonistic games are the most obvious example of ritualised intercommunity conflict and 'domesticated' violence in Ancient Greece (whence 'agony').

110 Which is not to say that they did not force it upon others, as the history of 'the Athenians and their allies' clearly demonstrates.

111 AH 1985:32f.

112 Snodgrass AG:AE 1980:63.

113 As a construction to house the cult statue, which is the usual motive attributed to the building of temples, it should not be overlooked that the expensive statues which replaced the old wooden plank or suchlike, as well as the building itself (see below), were frequently funded from the spoils of war. There are dozens of examples in Rouse Greek Votive Offerings (henceforth GVO) 1902:125-129. Note especially a statue of Zeus at Olympia

Precinct locales in particular also stored records of some of the rules obtaining in that settlement, such as laws(114), and non-precinct locales stored records of different types of rule supposedly followed in most of the societies frequenting it, such as the manumission acts recorded at Delphi(115). Also to be included here are those less tangible things we call 'atmosphere' and the like, which contribute (powerfully) to a religious locale's 'colour' - the setting which affects the activities which take place there. As a ruin, Delphi inspires awe; Olympia, serenity; the Athenian akropolis, grandeur. Alive, cluttered and bustling, the landscape, the buildings and their associated artefacts provided the mise-en-scene for the spirit of the place, which was very different to that of today(116). And although 'atmosphere' is something we cannot 'catch' in the evidence (literary or archaeological), we can try to reconstruct the connotations attaching to the physical setting (landscape, buildings and artefacts).

Each of these points requires and repays development; let us then return to the Argive plain and try to relate them to the development of one particular religious locale, the Argive Heraion.

4.5 The Argive Heraion

We assumed that all the land on the plain was possessed by somebody.

dedicated by the Spartans from Messenian spoils, Paus.5.24.3; the base has been found and the letterforms are dated to the sixth, not seventh century, cf.Rouse p.126. Note also of an archaic bronze in Boiotia that, not only is there "no indication that it was a trade-tithe" (Rouse p.128), but that there is a specific indication that it was a war-tithe - the word dekate. Cf.also Pritchett GMP 1971:99.

- 114 Drakon's and Solon's were originally stored on the akropolis, R.Stroud The Axones and Kyrbeis of Drakon and Solon 1979:42.
- 115 Most of the 800 odd inscriptions on the Athenian stoa there are such, Petsas Delphi 1981:41.
- 116 "No student of ancient architecture should disregard the fact of the cluttered nature of the stoas" Pritchett GMP 1971:95 - cluttered with arms and armour that is; enough to make the Theban uprising against the Spartan garrison on the Kadmeia successful, Xen. Hell. 5.4.8, Plutarch Pelopidas 12, Moralia 598d.

Certain pockets of land in and around a settlement may have been collectively possessed - the akropolis, the 'proto-agera'(117) and probably a cemetery area(118). It is such sites which might be developed into precinct locales. Since these seem, generally speaking, to have been developed later than non-precinct locales, and non-precinct locales stand in greater need of explanation (not being part of a settlement), it is upon the latter that I shall concentrate.

If the Argives wanted to possess the land of their neighbours then there was no alternative to either expelling their neighbours or enslaving them. The latter had the obvious advantage of exploitation (physical and psychological). Archaeology demonstrates that Asine was thoroughly destroyed c.700 BC, whilst literary evidence preserves a tradition that refugees from Asine settled in Messenia(119). Asine was deserted for several centuries after 700, but Argives lived in the surrounding district(120). Since Asine lies further from Argos than Tiryns, Nauplia and Midea, and none of them exhibit growth in any way comparable (qualitatively or quantitatively) to Argos in the Archaic period, it would seem reasonable to infer that these settlements were subjugated before (perhaps a fairly short time before) Asine was devastated(121). The Argives had a servile population, who were

117 The 'proto-agera' is already in existence in the Odyssey, as is the conceptual dichotomy of public/private property, specifically with respect to buildings: "This house does not belong to the people, but it belongs to Odysseus; he acquired it; this makes it mine" 20.264-266.

118 "All the evidence from early Greece (suggests that) the elite and the remainder of the community lived and were buried in close proximity to one another" T.W.Gallant 'Agricultural systems, land tenure, and the reforms of Solon' BSA 77(1982)118 - another example of the complete lack of evidence for the assumed existence of an 'elite'. Cf. also the evidence discussed by Gallant on p.119.

119 Pausanias 4.14.3, 2.36.4.

120 Tomlinson A&A 1972:42.

121 Mykenai and Tiryns were independent during the Persian wars; they sent men to Thermopylai and Plataia, whilst Argos remained neutral. This would seem to be a brief resurgence of independence following the catastrophic defeat of the Argives at Sep^{cia} (probably in 494), and thus the period to which Strabo refers when he says (8.6.11) that Asine, Nauplia, Tiryns and another settlement whose name is lost from the manuscript (but was perhaps Midea) were destroyed by Argos 'for disobedience'. IG pots found at

equated by the ancient sources with the Spartan helots, whether called douloi(122), 'perioikoi in the Kretan sense'(123), gymnetes(124), or gymnesioi(125), and perhaps, like the helots, publicly owned. In view of the destruction of Asine, of the dramatic population rise and growth of the settlement at Argos, and of the neighbouring communities' 'failure to thrive' in the Archaic period, it is reasonable to suppose that the Argives' servile population was composed in large part of the survivors of these (and, no doubt, other smaller) communities which were conquered by the Argives. Since these communities were either not or only tenuously united(126), there was probably little pressure at this time to export some of them outside the plain, although that might have changed within a generation(127). If the Argives did not suffer the Spartan problem of helot revolts, it was because they managed to prevent the growth of community feeling amongst their servile population. This is most simply and most effectively achieved by denying family and community structures: by splitting up families and moving individuals so that the servile population is always composed of individuals who have as little as possible 'in common'(128).

There is some evidence to support this argument from theory. The

Mykenai are the same style as those found at Argos, Tiryns and Nauplia without variation, and some vases have even been identified as coming from the same Argive workshop, Coldstream GG 1977:152.

122 As Herodotos, 8.148.

123 As Aristotle, Pol 1303a6, with 1271b41ff.

124 As Pollux, 3.83.

125 As Steph.Byz.s.v.Khioi.

126 That is, they had either not taken the decision to unify as the Argive community had done, or they had done so but were defeated anyway. After defeat both the decimation of population and the fact of defeat would have undermined any nascent and tender cohesion which may have existed.

127 Argos' long friendship with the Aiginetans (slavers par excellence) is probably to be associated with this pressure, as is 'the Argives' refusal to help Aigina in the first decade of the fifth century - precisely the time when 'the slaves' had taken over the government of Argos after the disastrous defeat at Sep ϵ ia.

128 It is no linguistic accident that 'community' is derived from in communis.

60-odd 'seals' found at the Argive Heraion are clearly derived from N.Syria(129). They, or their makers, probably came to the Argolid via Al-Mina or one of the other Greek camps on the coast. Other fragments similar to those found at Al-Mina have been found at Ischia and Megara Hyblaia (Sicily), both probably heavily involved with the nascent slave 'trade'. It is also significant that the only two impressions from such 'seals' - both the identical impression - have been found at Ischia and at the Samian Heraion. Samos was identified in chapter two as another major slaver(130). Similar 'seals' have also turned up in smaller quantities at Mykenai, Megara (prodigious 'colonizer' of backward areas), Aigina (slaver), Sparta(131), and Melos(132), and at the sanctuaries of Olympia and Perakhora where, if they were dedicated rather than lost, they could have been dedicated by practically anybody (except perhaps a N.Syrian slave).

The distribution of Argive pots of the period point in similar directions: "Argive (?)" pottery forms one of the main classes at Al-Mina in the seventh century(133). They have also been found at Melos (again), Megara Hyblaia (again), sanctuary of Aiphaia on Aigina (again, pins found here also), and Korinth (slaver). There are pots which may be Argive at Kerkyra (very probably slaver), Aetos on Ithaka (en route between the last two), Kythera, the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (pins here also), and Knossos(134). Notice that the first,

129 Coldstream GG 1977:151f.

130 Incidentally, if all these 'seals' were meant to be and were used as such (and it has been questioned), this must be a coincidence of astronomical proportions. Cf.Coldstream GG 1977:229 fig.75d for illustration: the image is of a warrior carrying a man over his shoulder.

131 Note the quantity of Spartan goods at Naukratis and Samos, Boardman GO 1980:124f, 144, 147 (Egypt), 74, 76f (East). It seems to me unwise to exclude the possibility that the Spartans acquired foreign slaves and/or exchange helots for foreign slaves in the Archaic period. Cf.eg.Theognis 1000ff.

132 Which we know also to have experienced a 'population boom' in the LG period.

133 Boardman GO 1980:47.

134 Note also that the firedogs in Argos gr.45 are known otherwise only from Krete and Kypros. Cf.P.Courbin BCH 81(1957)322-386.

second, third, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth and tenth places all presuppose communication by sea (as do the ship-shape firedogs). We may not hear of Argos "as a sea power" after the eighth century(135), but Argos is sorely neglected in surviving literary sources, and Coldstream overlooks one important piece of literary evidence: the early fifth century Aiginetan call to Argos for help(136). This presupposes an Argive navy every bit as much as the undateable but earlier request recorded by Herodotos (5.86). This second request was officially refused, but about a thousand Argive volunteers (including the pentathlete Eurybates, who fell to Sophanes of Dekelea), went to Aigina, and most, like Eurybates, fell there and never returned to Argos. We might also note that c.450 the Argives were involved with Knossos (again) and Tylissos on Krete (in a treaty largely about plunder rights) which also presupposes Argive maritime activity(137).

As the successful new community-army achieved its objectives of land acquisition and security, any land it acquired in the process was probably considered, at least in the first instance, as common property. It might then be divided up between members, and portions given permanently (ie. it became their private property) or temporarily (ie. it became theirs to use, not to own) to individuals or individual oikoi within the community(138). We may postulate that they

 135 Coldstream GG 1977:154.

136 Herodotos 6.92, cf.n.127 above.

137 Meiggs-Lewis GHI no.42 (pp.99-105). Regarding the point about calendars, note that this treaty involves starting the months in different places at the same time. Without this agreement it would have been impossible for them to meet at the place and time appointed in the preceding and succeeding clauses.

138 I suspect that the latter is the more ancient practice - though the two systems need not be mutually exclusive. Recent work by Steve Hodkinson (publication forthcoming) has thoroughly demonstrated that the ancient portion of the double system at Sparta was either very small or was subject to partible inheritance like the Spartan's other landholdings. The Spartans treated their human booty, 'captives' (ie. helots) as public property of which community members had the usufruct, and this practice probably goes back to their earliest conquests as a community. It seems reasonable to postulate that land acquired at that time was subject to the same rules of distribution (inalienable because it was not theirs to alienate) and since land acquired at this time

had divided the spoils at natural intervals (ie. after each 'campaign') until they felt secure, and had finally settled down to enjoy the fruits of their labour(139). This would seem to be the most plausible time for a general marshalling and organisation of the territorial resources, and was perhaps the time at which the army was organised into lokhoi and pentekostyes based on residence(140).

Subjugation of the neighbouring communities did not, however, free the Argives from having to earn their livelihood from agriculture, piracy, hunting (including men) or fishing, as it probably did not the Spartans until a very large territory and a very large servile population had been acquired. The Argives could afford to support only one lokhos from public resources(141) in the fifth century(142), whose members were thereby freed to devote themselves to military training. The bulk of the Argive farmer-citizen-soldier population worked, except when required to fight which, it would seem, was not very often in the seventh century and, insofar as major battles of the sixth

would be relatively (perhaps absolutely) small in extent, this would account for why the ancient portion was small. Why the system should have changed with respect to land (to allow private landholdings) and not to captives I do not know. Perhaps because people reproduce and land does not. Hodkinson's results leave the structure and function of the helot system even more inscrutable than it was before; hopefully future research will elucidate the issue. More generally, if the (later) practice of permanent once-and-for-all division came to be considered 'natural', it is easy to understand why in later times people called for a redistribution of land: they assumed that most (if not all) the land had originally been allocated - on egalitarian principles, note - to all members of the community.

139 All major battles involving the Argive army in the pre-Persian war period of which we know were fought in or on the borders of the Argolid, either between communities in the plain or against the Spartans, in which case they are clearly defensive. Since I would date the battle of Hysiai sometime during Peisistratos' tyranny (see endnote 1) this belongs I think to the sixth century.

140 5 lokhoi, with 10 pentekostyes per lokhos, Thuk.5.67. Cf. Tomlinson A&A 1972:176-180 (on the select sixth lokhos see below). It is perhaps not coincidental that the major towns of Argive territory number five (Argos, Asine, Midea, Nauplia and Tiryns).

141 Implying regular food income either from a tithe of some sort; or from publicly farmed (ie. by publicly owned slaves), publicly owned land; or from a reliable and well developed market system.

142 Bringing the total to six lokhoi, cf. Tomlinson A&A 1972:181.

century are concerned, only in defence of their plain from Spartan aggression(143). A servile population and relative security probably did allow them to go about their tasks in a rather more leisurely fashion however, allowing reallocation of time budgets for other activities, including more hands engaged in non-food producing tasks(144). For example, it probably nurtured the 'domestication' of women, freeing them from (regular or seasonal) labour in the fields to engage in home-based activities such as textile production(145), and perhaps food gathering (nuts, berries, acorns, herbs and so on). It also would have allowed more farmers to become part-time hunters. And it would have allowed more people to engage in craft and metal production; those so occupied being predominantly involuntary, I suggest. The later Greek attitude to agriculture versus other occupations did not appear overnight nor on somebody's whim, and this suggestion seems to me to make that attitude's development explicable. It is also consistent with the hypothesis in chapter 2 on the 'orientalising phase' and innovatory techniques in the decorative arts.

Some land, however, was put aside for public non-agricultural use. By making the public space officially the property of a deity, powerful sanctions were brought against its appropriation by private individuals - of the community or from without. There may have been no conscious or unconscious formulation of this point, but it would certainly have aborted any tendency for leaders holding public land in trust to convert such to their private property; there was probably a good reason why temene began to be given to deities, rather than

143 This probably prompted the development of the 'select lokhos'.

144 Cf. T. Carlstein 'Innovation, Time Allocation and Time-Space Packing' in Making Sense of Time 1978(2)146-159.

145 Increasing presence of female slaves would have released them from the heavier and more unpleasant tasks such as flour grinding, water fetching, wood collecting/chopping, food preparation and child-rearing. Cf. Hesiod's advice on women: get an unmarried slave (slavery was not yet institutionalised to the extent that the family structure was denied slaves, likewise Homeric society) rather than a free woman, so that she can help in the fields W&D 405f. Contrast his image of the soft-skinned free girl, ll.519ff.

entrusted to basileis(146). The sanctioning power of deity is not well developed in the Homeric poems, but it is being nurtured in the Hesiodic corpus, and the bequeathing of public places to deities can only have strengthened this development. When developed, deity provides an authority higher than any man, and is a concept exercising powerful influence even over disbelievers: only a very confident person can break religious sanctions and taboos and not become haunted - however occasionally - by the spectre of divine retribution(147).

In the selection of such a piece of land several factors may have played a part. If, as suggested above, pressure on agricultural land had been the main stimulus for the conflict and conquering process, then it seems unlikely that good agricultural land would have been 'wasted' in this way. At the same time, the site chosen would have to be relatively accessible to people now spread over a larger territory if it was to be used for public gatherings. A spot on the slopes of Mt.Eubolia at the NE end of the Argive plain was selected for the new public space. A rather rocky and dry site, it was marginal land as far as food production was concerned, and the aspect - looking out across the plain SW towards Argos (c.4.5 - 5 miles), S towards Tiryns (c.6 miles) and beyond her to Nauplia (c.8 miles) was ideal(148).

146 The basileus (arkhon) in Athens was instead entrusted with overseeing the land belonging to the gods, and for leasing the temene for periods of ten years, Ath.Pol. 47.4.

147 This, however, did not prevent people plundering temples on occasion; cf.Pritchett GMP 1971:77 n.166, citing as examples of such behaviour Hdt.8.32.2-33, 9.116; Xen. Hell. 7.4.33ff; Diod.15.82.1; Polybios 4.62.2, 4.67.3, 5.9, 31.9, 32.15.11; Livy 31.30.

148 Although Mykenai is closer (c.3 miles N by NE) it cannot be seen from the Heraion (nor the Heraion from it) because of the hills. What made the site ideal as a religious locale in these circumstances might have made it ideal as a settlement in different (earlier) conditions; it is unnecessary to suppose that the choice was determined either by perceiving the location to be a 'home of heroes' of past ages, else arbitrarily chosen, 'landing' on that particular spot by pure chance (as J.C.Wright 'The old temple terrace at the Argive Heraion and the early cult of Hera in the Argolid' JHS 102(1982)200). The tombs might have been discovered during the course of the development and, as Hagg has shown (DGDA 1974, see also 'Burial customs and social differentiation in eighth century Argos' GR 1983:27-31), the Argive attitude to old

Another consideration was the visibility factor. Those who had won this extra land would want to show off their achievement, parade their prowess by siting the new public space somewhere conspicuous. That might mean on or close to the new border, as it would seem to be in this case(149).

About the time Asine was destroyed, the slope was terraced by levelling the N side, building the massive 'cyclopean' walls on the E, S and W sides(150), infilling where necessary, and roughly and partially paving the surface of the terrace with irregular slabs of stone (see fig.4.1, the period's construction heavily outlined). Below the SE corner similar walls were constructed, apparently for a ramp up to the terrace(151). This was probably required for the actual building; carting or otherwise transporting blocks, rubble and paving slabs up to the terrace, long before it became useful for "processions of worshippers"(152), if indeed it was ever used for that purpose(153).

As for the remains on the terrace, they are far too scanty either to date or to reconstruct a building.

tombs was to respect them rather than re-use them.

149 Another example is the Athenians' sacred orgas on the Megarian border; the original meaning of the word is a lush, fertile piece of land, F.Sokolowski Lois sacrees des cites grecques 1969:32 n.1. The demonstration of power here was not least that the Athenians could afford to 'waste' agricultural land which the Megarians would have liked to, perhaps needed to, and certainly did cultivate - sparking off at least one war between the two states. It is perhaps also worth noting the geographic positions of Elis, Olympia and Pisa in this respect; the Pisatan 'take-overs' of Olympia from Elian control were fought on Pisa's, not Elis', doorstep.

150 "Perhaps the most massive to have survived from Geometric Greece" Coldstream GG 1977:145.

151 Tomlinson A&A 1972:232.

152 Idem.

153 Bergquist's main argument against an early date for the N and NE stoas is that they completely block access to the ramp (The Archaic Greek Temenos (henceforth AGT)19-22): if the ramp was built (inspired by Egyptian or Asian slaves?) in order to build the terrace and was superfluous afterwards, the positioning of the NE stoa in particular is not so inexplicable.

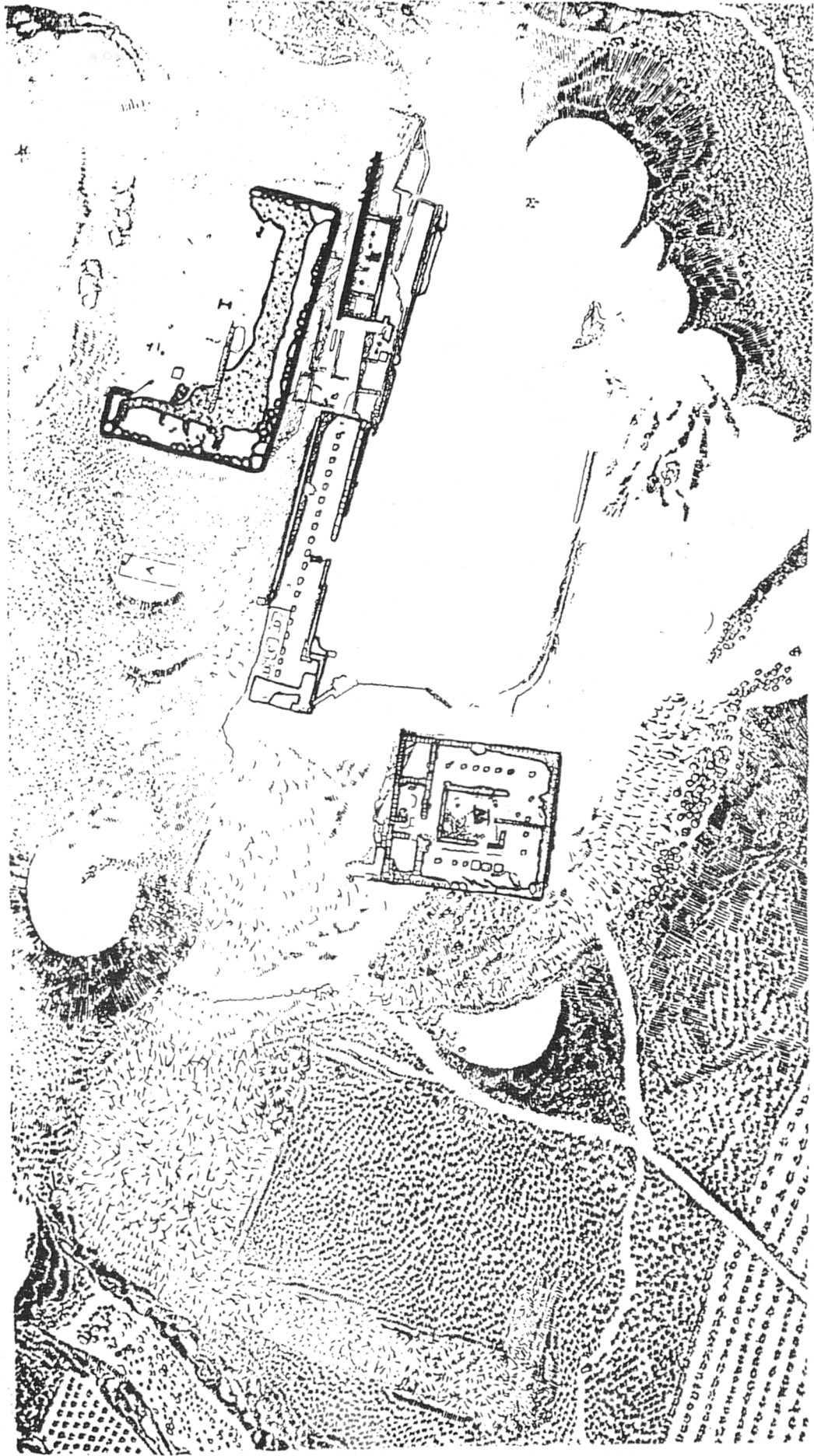


Figure 4.1. I Old Terrace c.700. II North Stoa c.600. III North-East Stoa C.6.
IV West Building c.550. Stylobate not earlier than 650.

From Waldstein,
The Argive Heraion
fig.2.

Whether whatever was built on the Heraion terrace was constructed immediately after the terrace itself was laid is equally impossible to say, but its flimsiness does suggest an early date¹⁵⁴, especially in comparison with the stylobate, which was laid not earlier than c.650 (that is, at the earliest about two generations after the terrace). On the other hand, the addition of a portico to a pre-existing 'hall' has been questioned in the case of the Samian Heraion¹⁶⁰, and one has to add a few extra posits to explain the diameter of the hollows

154 The Architecture of Ancient Greece (henceforth ArchAG) 1975:33 .
See fig.4.2 for explanation of the technical terminology.

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160 Mallwitz AA 1981. I wish to thank Dr.Coulton for this reference.

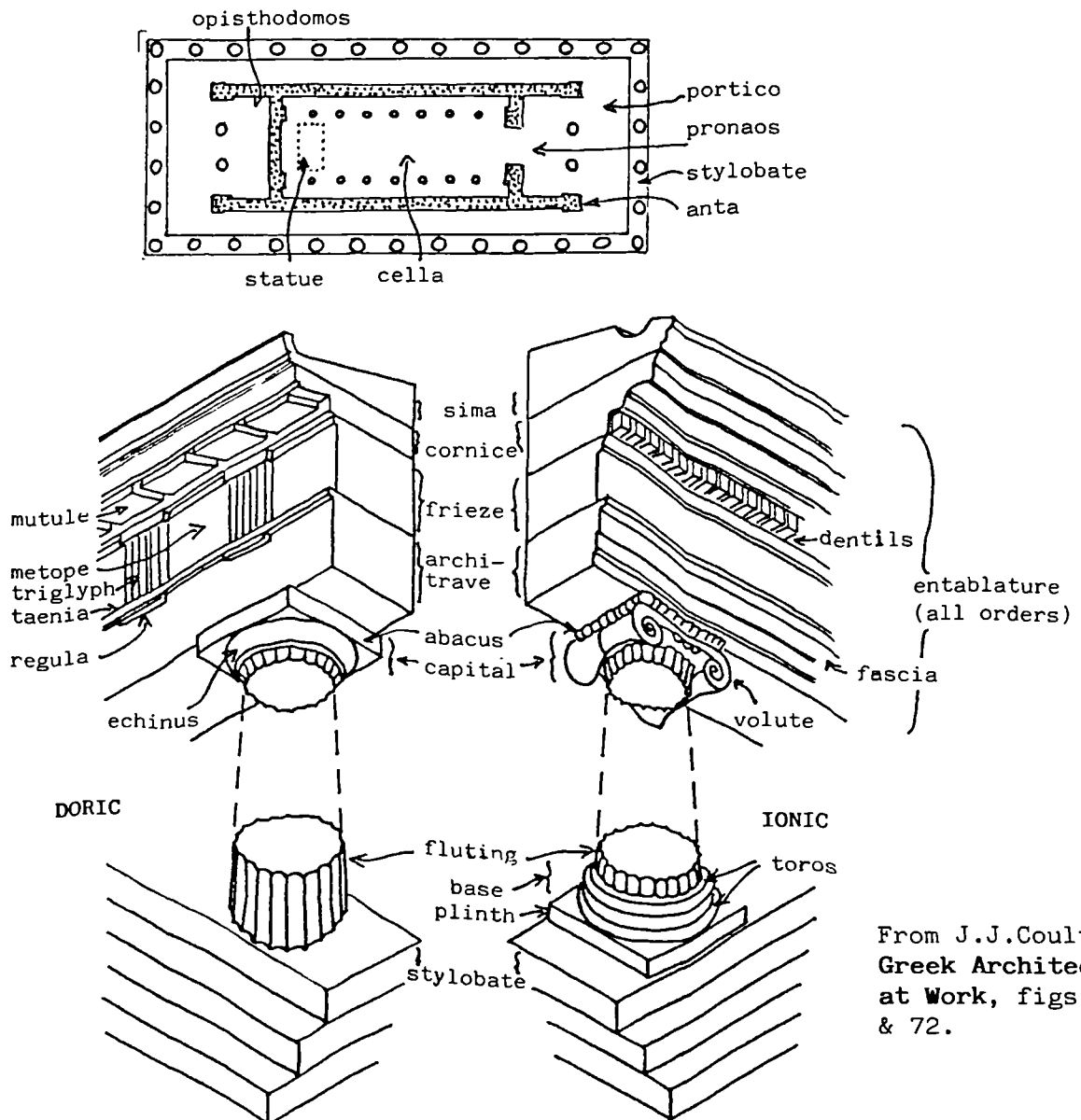


Figure 4.2

in the stylobate versus the probable intercolumniation(161). We may note that no trace of an altar (stone or ash) has been found on this terrace.

Although we cannot reconstruct the artificial physical setting beyond the terrace, we can at least say with some certainty that this locale saw a dramatic surge in activity from c.700(162). Some of this

161 Viz. wooden columns resting on stone bases resting on the hollows, cf. Tomlinson A&A 1972:234-236.

162 Some finds which were given high dates by the excavators, for instance the pins, are now thought not likely to predate c.700, Coldstream GG 1977:149 - which makes the table in Snodgrass AG:AE

should be associated with the actual building of the terrace, which probably took a considerable time. The platform is certainly larger than required to provide a level surface for whatever was erected upon it, but a large level open space is intrinsically multifunctional (like a stoa) so we need not assume that any one type of activity (eg. ritual) dominated its inspiration or design. As for who actually built it - provided the muscle power rather than the plan - and how it was paid for(163), as a public monument in a public space it was probably 'supplied' in a similar way on the whole: from the common fund, consisting of the profits of community acquisition not divided up and distributed between the members(164). The resources required to build the terrace were in any case mostly authoritative; the greatest 'cost' would have been manpower to quarry, cut and transport the stone and rubble(165). The recently enslaved local population would seem to be the most obvious candidates.

4.6 The social context: festivals, fairs, and the development of markets

Communal gatherings would have occurred periodically right through the Dark Ages, on occasions such as celebration of the agricultural cycle and rites of passage, and there was nothing inevitable about either the development of such venues into sanctuaries, or the exchange of goods taking place at such gatherings. I cannot imagine participants spontaneously bringing products they happened to have spare along with them to such gatherings on the offchance that somebody else, equally spontaneously, would have done likewise, and both brought something(s)

1980:53 even more significant. The site is, however, hard by an earlier settlement (ancient Prosymna), so some finds are genuinely early. Cf. Hagg DGDA 1974 and note p.13 tab.1 for 2 possibly G date burials.

163 A religious locale might be developed because of belief, but it is not built of them; it cost somebody manpower and materials.

164 See excursus, above.

165 Quarrystone seems to have cost nothing: "labour and transport costs made up the price", Burford EGTB 1965:29.

the other wanted. And it is difficult to see how agricultural produce might have been involved, since most regions defined by the distance people can transport themselves and their produce in less than half a day are not sufficiently heterogeneous to favour the cultivation of widely different types of agricultural product. It might have happened, but even if it did it would have been so erratic that it is difficult to explain how a market might have arisen from it: markets do not grow 'automatically' from ad hoc exchanges on a barter basis. This is obvious not only from the fact that people had lived gregarious and communal lives for millennia before the first market appeared, but also from the fact that some modern communities are very resilient to modern efforts to 'develop' them - capitalism, government aid and considerable technical expertise in agricultural and commercial fields notwithstanding. Farmers will not produce more food than the family can consume, and thus have a surplus to dispose of(166), unless that surplus can be converted. Consequently, "throughout economic history it has been the proffer of nonagricultural commodities which has induced farmers to produce more"(167).

It is easy to overlook the implicit here: nonagricultural goods must be available not only in the sense that they exist, but also in the sense that farmers know they exist and know where and when they may be obtained. For their existence, I am driven back (at the risk of being boring) for the only satisfactory explanation I can find, to war. The new community army acquired more than land; it acquired all property (fixed and movable) on and all inhabitants of that land. Like the land, these spoils would have been divided up, including a portion for Hera Argeie, the victors' benevolent deity. In these circumstances - which were of course radically new - the newly allotted public/deity space would seem a rather appropriate spot for

166 Over and above the surplus generated in an average year.

167 Johnson op.cit. 1970:187.

that collection and division to take place: appropriate for two principal reasons, one social, and one geographic.

It would be socially neutral ground, avoiding any favoritism of some members of the tenuously united and perhaps very recently strife-ridden community. It would also actually nurture the growth of community cohesion in other (probably at first unintended) ways. Hera Argeie was transformed from a generalised protecting deity into a symbol of the community of Argos. Her portion of land, her sanctuary, proclaimed the givers identity, sovereignty, and power. As such she was a symbol which commanded respect and loyalty from all members. Irrespective of what one believed, an act which insulted her, which disrespected her property, insulted the community whose symbol she was(168). Existing customary practices would have been modified, institutionalised and supplemented at the locale, stimulating the development of a powerful ritual complex around the place and the occasions. The temenos was developed; buildings appropriate to the new functions and new aspirations were constructed(169); processions were inaugurated or developed; sacrifices and offerings, dress and demeanor were regulated; and so on. In due course would come theatres(170) and stadiums(171). One of the first customary practices to undergo this ritual institutionalisation was conflict, giving rise to

168 It is this distinction between belief and act, and this association between deity and symbol of community, which alone renders comprehensible, for example, the prosecution of Sokrates. The 'first and greatest reason' why the Athenians would not come to terms with Persia was that Xerxes had burnt the temples and agal-mata of the gods (Hdt.8.144.2).

169 Buildings were not 'functional' in the utilitarian sense alone: "a modest structure at modest cost would have provided durable and hygienic protection for the mortal remains of Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan" (Galbraith Economics, Peace and Laughter 1975:130f) instead of which we have the Taj Mahal. It is for the same sort of reason - but not the same reason - that we have the Parthenon, the Colosseum, and the L'arc de triumph.

170 Ancient dramatic performances were, of course, festivals of Dionysos and, before him, of something/one in which ritual the goat had some sort of significance (tragoidia =tragedy=goat song)

171 Athletic games were festivals, as were musical and lyrical contests, which often took place at the same festivals as athletics, and are as often apt to get overlooked.

the agonistic games; a memory of their deadly predecessors is often preserved in associated legend(172).

The spot would be appropriate geographically because it was relatively accessible and relatively prominent; those were, after all, factors affecting its selection in the first place. And this provides the second element of availability. One the greatest consequences of this accessibility and prominence was that the benefits(173) of this innovation(174) were conspicuously visible to a relatively large number of people. The Argives could see that their gamble - both in individually surrendering part of their autonomy to the community leader and in jointly attacking neighbouring communities - paid off. It worked, perhaps better than anybody had hoped or imagined. This can only have helped consolidate that innovatory union. Their subjugated neighbours could see that it worked; it had cost them their land, their freedom and, some of them, their relatives' lives. And, being sited on or close to the border, the Argives' unsubjugated neighbours could see that it worked, they could visibly see the benefits of intensified social organisation, community cohesion, and governmental role(s). They could also see the dangers of not instituting the same sort of changes in their own communities, before their other neighbours did, or before the Argives arrived.

Now, when it came to dividing up the spoils other than land, there would almost certainly not be an equally or easily divisible number of everything. Nor, in all likelihood, would all members want a portion of every type of spoil. Thus we can expect a fair amount of proferring - of nonagricultural goods; in particular of slaves. Slaves were the one 'product' of personal labour for which there was a strong

172 For example, that of Pelops, Oinomaos and Hippodameia, cf. Paus. 5.10.6-7, 6.21.9-11; Morford & Lenardon Classical Mythology 1977:300-303.

173 Viz. acquisition of land on a relatively large scale plus all remaining occupants and property on it.

174 Viz. community-army arising from community sovereignty plus governmental role(s).

pressure to dispose of surplus, and they were probably the most numerous, valuable and useful type of spoil at first, from Greek communities as well as from the 'barbarian' peoples around the Mediterranean at this early date. It does not strain the imagination to see this developing into a kind of periodic market. For distributionary and celebratory meetings at the locale need not have occurred many times(175) before the place became established as an exchange point: the exchange point (there was, after all, at this time no other place in the area to 'compete' for recognition as such). The other free communities in the region (eg. Korinthians?) would come to recognise the locale as a place where they could acquire, by bargaining and bartering, nonagricultural products not (or not easily) available in their home communities(176). It would also have become a place where independent hunters and hunting parties could exchange some of the fruits of their labour for other goods.

A small periodic market would develop at the event, making the word 'fair' perhaps more appropriate(177). The periodicity would fluctuate

175 And the whole territory was probably not taken in one continuous campaign with one gigantic distribution afterwards.

176 The different groups participating probably tended to congregate in different areas of the locale; for example, the Korinthian 'patch' was probably the area where the majority of late C.8 to early C.6 pots are Korinthian, cf. Salmon WC 1984:107. (Other areas have no Korinthian at all.) The earliest were probably brought by Korinthians for their own use (cf. Hdt. 5.88.2, which strongly implies that drinking vessels at least were for participants' own use) and those found at the site were probably either accidentally damaged, or thrown away at the end of the festivities; toward the sixth century some might have been brought by traders and broken in transit or on display (see below).

177 Exchange would still be by barter, and the word 'market' is not meant to be taken as signifying market principles, institutions etc.. In her study of archaic Greek temene, Bergquist excluded temene which lacked a boundary, an entrance to the enclosed or otherwise delimited area, an altar and a temple within this area, "and the altar and/or temple of an early undifferentiated, profane as well as sacred civic centre, being both an agora and temenos at the same time" (AGT 1967:6) (as well as those outside the Greek mainland and those dedicated to anything other than Olympian deities) leaving the residue which is, as she pointed out, the narrower meaning of the word usually given to the term by modern scholars. There is, however, one important exception to this scholarly practice, namely, any reference to income from temene, eg. Ath. Pol. 47.4: (he misthosis) kataballetai d'epi tes th

according to participants' means and motives. If things got too crowded or tempestuous(178), an additional festival-fair might be inaugurated; eligibility to attend might be restricted on the basis of location, sex, age, or status; and/or the festival-fair could be extended in time(179). There would also be the constraint of other such festival-fairs in other places to consider. It is likely that an attempt was made to avoid 'clashing', certainly between amicable neighbours and between different districts within a territorially dispersed community.

The concept of adoption rent is helpful here. This refers to the benefits accruing to adopters of an innovation over time. On the whole, early adopters reap larger benefits from the innovation than later adopters, because when the innovation is more common whatever benefits it confers are enjoyed by more people. The 'large benefit' which often accrues to early adopters is called a 'windfall

prytaneias, dio kai pleista khremata epi tautes sullegetai tes prytaneias, in which cases it is usually assumed to refer to lands owned by a temple and rented out for grazing. This exception is probably due to a Christian parable now engraved on modern hearts and minds - I refer, of course, to Christ's expulsion of traders from the temple. I need hardly add that Greeks were neither Christian nor Jew, and that we are dealing with a culture which flourished some centuries before Jesus said it was wrong to trade in temples. It seems to me not improbable that some of this tidy income from temene was derived from the rent for oikoi or stalls or space within the temenos, and perhaps entrance fees. Osborne art.cit. has given some consideration to this matter, but his interest is clearly with agriculture. Regarding what a kleision was, the facts that (i) it always has a door (ii) it is regularly listed (in inventories) after the courtyard gate which, as Osborne notes (p.122) may imply something about its usual location; and (iii) its name, which is almost certainly derived from kleis, kleio, suggests to me that it was a guardhouse. That it is the only building listed for every single estate is also consistent with this interpretation.

178 The gathering of large groups of people not accustomed to each other's company nor simply to being in such a large crowd (especially if they were bargaining and bartering) would have increased the likelihood of conflict considerably, cf. comparative evidence in R.Lee 'The Intensification of Social Life among the !Kung Bushmen' in Population Growth: Anthropological Implications 1972:343-345 esp..

179 Notice that the first eight days of every month (except Pyanopsia) of the Athenian calendar are festival days.

gain'(180). For example, the current hypothesis that the first army organised on phalanx lines swept all before it - although never expressed in terms of adoption rent - clearly embodies the idea of a windfall gain. So too the subsequent adoption of the idea by other communities - made imperative in order to survive, and yet not giving them as much advantage as the first adopters - also echoes the concept. However, in some cases there can be penalties for adopting too early, and maximum benefits are reaped by the 'second generation' adopters. For example, those who first used iron weapons and found them for one reason or another inferior to bronze might have paid with their lives. The literature on adoption rent awakens us to the fact that some communities might have been very ill-suited to the adoption of any particular innovation, whilst the social, economic, locational and institutional circumstances of others may have made adoption much easier. This is because the diffusion of an innovation is nearly always affected by the systemic biases (however slight) of that innovation.

The Argive Heraion might not have been the first or only religious locale in the area(181) but it was the first to be consciously and ostentatiously developed; the physical environment was dramatically enhanced by artificial human creation. Archaeological and literary evidence would suggest that it consequently enjoyed a windfall gain,

180 Cf. L.A. Brown Innovation Diffusion 1981 esp. 230-240. It is important to recognise that "a given innovation is not adopted in isolation of one's social, economic, locational or institutional context" (p. 239). This is related to the major theme of The Social Shaping of Technology (ed. D. MacKenzie and J. Wajcman) 1985, which argues that technological development is not an independent variable: innovations do not take place in Heaven and drop out of a clear blue sky onto earth (or water). Note esp. p. 20, "War and its preparation have probably been on a par with economic considerations as factors in the history of technology". The pentekonter, for example, presupposes a social structure in which a hundred fit men working as a team would want a long, fast, sleek ship - a warship.

181 Pausanias' comment (2.17.5) that the xoanon of Hera was taken from Tiryns to the Heraion when the former was conquered suggests that it was not.

becoming pre-eminent in the Argolid and, in its earliest days when 'competitors' were few, in the Greek world. Consequently later adopters of the festival-fair idea would have had to arrange their meetings around the Heraion's already established and known schedule so as not to compete(182). This is not to suggest that the early schedule was either 'busy' or 'fixed', and 'compete' does not refer to 'the same day': geographic data on periodic markets suggests that, in general, additional events would probably have been staged to fall midway between established 'fixtures'(183). The agricultural cycle, with its seasonal deities and rituals, would of course set constraints on this (becoming slightly mitigated as a real market system developed), as also might superstitious beliefs on 'good' and 'bad' days for various activities in the lunar/solar year(184).

The relationship between festival-fairs, as spatio-temporal locations for meetings of the community, and the development of calendars, which abstract the temporal dimension from the spatial dimension, is quite clear from the names of the months in Greek calendars; for they are those of the principal festival held during that month in a given state. Assuming the adoption rent mechanism we may infer that the principal festival was one of, if not the, earliest to be instituted in the given state during that lunar cycle.

All this is not to postulate the sudden emergence of a full-scale market system. These festival/fairs were just that, they were not markets. But they provided the structure within which markets could develop and from which, in time, they would 'hive off'. Nor did this process 'just happen'. It was stimulated and nurtured by the conscious development (although the consequences were almost certainly

182 As the later established panhellenic games did not attempt to compete with the Olympics.

183 Cf. Wanmali Periodic Markets and Rural Development in India 1981:62-77. Cf. also n.32 chap.5 below.

184 Hesiod offers ample examples of the latter. Note, his advice pertains to the natural, not the civic/calendar year. Askra, at least, had not got its civic year yet.

in part unintentional) of the agora alongside (more often, downhill of) the religious locale(185). The agora then 'slid' further away, in discontinuous fashion and with deliberate human encouragement and intervention(186). In the case of some non-precinct locales, the 'hiving off' seems to have involved a relocation of the 'market' aspect to a nearby settlement, as seems to have happened to the Argive Heraion(187).

In the case of other nonprecinct locales the periodicity of festivals was so long that there is scarcely a trace of the communal and social activities which took place in their early histories. The dearth of pottery at Olympia, for example - a dearth so striking that the site has been compared to a Hamlet without a prince by one commentator(188) - is surely better explained as a consequence of the infrequency of occasions on which pots (brought for one's own use) might get broken being staged there at the time, than as an erratic aberration of the behaviour of Greeks who dedicated pots in their local and any other religious locale they frequented - and which did not apply to metalwork.

185 Such as the earliest Athenian agora, on the saddle between the akropolis and the Pnyx.

186 Cf.eg. Peisistratos' efforts to develop the 'new' agora, Boersma ABP 1970:15-18.

187 Wanmali has observed that the growth of the largest regional centre (Argos in this case) seems to 'suck in' small periodic markets around it (1981:21). It seems to me likely that, when the 'market' aspect of activities at the Heraion became differentiated out, it was decided to hold these activities at the settlement rather than the Heraion. This is why, I would suggest, the material record at the Argive Heraion declines rather rapidly at the end of the Archaic period. Compared with the vast numbers of pre-classical finds, the paucity of objects from the Classical and later periods is "striking", Waldstein TAH 1902:39. On the consciousness of such differentiation, cf. Aristotle's comments on separating out the activities which went on in the agora in his day, and establishing a new 'free' agora which was to be divested of the 'market' aspect. What I am suggesting is the same process in an earlier period, giving rise to the agora and the sanctuary after the multifunction locale and festival-fair. That is, I am proposing that there was a 'sanctification' of religious locales, exemplified by, eg., the 'purification' of Delos. In the purely 'intellectual' sphere, this process manifested itself in eg. the 'deification' of Homer's all-too-human gods and goddesses.

188 P.Cartledge JHS 101(1981)289.

4.7 Religious locales as storage containers

Activities at religious locales can be broadly differentiated into those which regularly contribute to and extend the storage capacity of the locale, and those which do not. Activities which involve the visible deposition of objects, which remain as a record of that activity, contribute to the sum storage capacity of the locale vastly more than activities which leave no visible trace. Consider, for example, the activity of wishing at a well: the presence of coins in a well 'stores' the activity, informing the passer-by who is familiar with the practice that the activity of wishing takes place at this well. If wishers did not leave coins the passer-by would pass by without knowing. The coins 'store' a belief in the well's special status, and record the activity of throwing coins into wells - though they do not obviously 'store' the association between the activity of throwing coins and the activity of wishing(189). Of the activities mentioned so far, markets inevitably leave a quantity of assorted rubbish and debris from waste, breakage and spoilage. Feasts leave animal and vegetable residues(190), and no doubt a few broken utensils. *Treaties, calendars and accounts may leave inscriptions.*

But these did not make the greatest contribution to the locale's storage capacity: they were not the chief determinants of its setting. The most capacious and enduring stores were buildings, and the most numerous and 'loud' stores were stone and metal dedications (especially large and expensive ones, often painted in primary colours).

189 This is another major bugbear besetting the reconstruction of social totalities from archaeological evidence alone. For example, even in the relatively clear case of deliberate deposition, funerary goods, we cannot recover the significance of such actions. Cf. Piggott in Man, Settlement and Urbanism (edd. Ucko et.al.) 1972:950, and more generally E.J. Pader Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains 1982.

190 Although very little was probably discarded, certainly in the case of animals: thigh bones were burnt as offerings (leaving ash debris, archaeologically identifiable) and other bones could be turned into needles, combs, toggles etc., skin into leather, gut into thongs, hair into rugs and so on.

It is the activities which are implied by these things which deserve the greatest attention and consideration. For they, more than anything else (with the exception of literary sources), have stored 'Greek civilisation' to the present day. They are mute, but they are impressive: generations have seen them, been inspired by them, and have speculated upon the activities which might be associated with them. Until recently, those speculations have largely been confined to the art-history branch of classical scholarship and questions such as: how were they made, who made them, and to commemorate what. That is, the questions posed generally 'look back' into the past from the point in time at which the work was finished; they do not look forward from that time, to ask what 'contribution' the work made to the future. As coins in a well tell those 'in the know' that people have wished here, that this well is believed to be 'lucky', what did dedications and buildings tell the Greeks who made them, used them and saw them?

The story any locale might tell at any one time was constrained partly by what had been built or left there by previous users(191), and partly - more importantly - by the stories attached to such things by current users(192). Over time some locales came to be recognised as 'panhellenic', some as regional, some as subregional, and some as strictly local. The development of such a hierarchy was accompanied by a degree of differentiation; some locales became recognized chiefly as oracular, some as agonistic, and some as therapeutic, for example. The stratification and differentiation which ultimately produced the distinguishable 'types' of religious locale just identified probably developed through competition at an earlier time between undifferenti-

191 No panhellenic sanctuary possessed an 'international reputation' from the first - a point which those considering early finds from foreign and/or distant lands should consider before attributing their presence to 'pious worshippers' from such places.

192 This applies to natural, as well as man-made things, eg. the marks of Poseidon's trident on the Athenian akropolis.

ated 'religious locales' of the type we have been considering. They were all, in a sense, symbols of community, whether that community be the basic social unit, the oikos (the family shrine locale), the sovereign social unit (the akropolis locale in most cases), the jural community of neighbouring sovereign groups (the amphiktyonic locale eg. the Panionian sanctuary), or the 'cultural' or 'ethnic' unit (eg. the panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia). A religious locale was a sort of epiphany of the community, and how a particular community perceived itself influenced (and was itself influenced by) the way in which that locale was developed from its beginnings to its current form at any one time.

The single most conspicuous, most extensive development in a locale's storage capacity was monumental buildings. In 1965 Burford said she knew

of less than half a dozen literary references to anything as specific as the total cost of a temple, and of even fewer to what one might call the economics of temple building(193)

none of which, as was apparent from the quotation of four such, shed much light on the questions of 'how did the Greeks build their temples', and 'how did they pay for them', to which she addressed herself in this pioneering paper. She was, it is true, after specific details of the kind found in the building accounts of the Erechtheion at Athens and the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros(194). But this caused her to overlook or ignore more general statements on the source of funding not only of temples, but also of (practically indistinguishable) treasuries, stoas, and other public buildings.

The subject is still one which "has scarcely been given the attention it deserves in modern discussions"(195), and it is no coincidence that "no full-scale study of booty has ever been published".

193 EGTB 1965:22.

194 On the second of which she was preparing a book, and consequently used to make inferences about temple building in general.

195 Burford EGTB 1965:21.

Pritchett's three chapters in Ancient Greek Military Practices (1971:3-5), which open with that observation and close with the statement chosen as an epigram for this chapter, merely began the task. He added another chapter on private dedications of armour, and another on skula, in the third volume of The Greek State at War (1979:7 & 8); some 55 pages of very condensed text and tables. Snodgrass recently asserted that warfare was the most significant 'economic activity' after agriculture(196) and, appropriately enough, identified religious cult as the third most significant activity: "over the centuries, the major inter-state sanctuaries amassed vast quantities of war-booty"(197). In the absence of a comprehensive treatment, the following tables, which list pre-fourth century buildings funded from the spoils of war, are compiled chiefly from Rouse(198) and

196 AG:AE 1980:130. I would reverse the order with respect to income. Buying, or otherwise acquiring, land has been too long confused with land as a profit-making enterprise. Of course there were profits to be made in agriculture, but that was not where the 'real' money was made. Land was, first and foremost, a 'safe investment', rather than a method of making money. Unlike everything else (with the partial exception of buildings, see Hanson WACG 1983 on the dismantling of buildings and removal of timber, metals (from walls) and even tiles on occasion during and after warfare, and see Osborne art.cit. 1985:123f for in peacetime too; buildings could of course be demolished outright or burnt to the ground), land could only be lost permanently through conquest and occupation subsequent upon war (not just the Spartans; the Athenian klerukhies too). Most wars (which means most of the time) did not result in permanent conquest, but in chronic movement of possessions and people as plunder and spoils. Of course, land could be lost through litigation in the more 'civilised' conflicts between citizens; it could be bought and sold; and it could be transferred through marriage and inheritance. But in perspective this was insignificant; compared to other 'commodities' it was incomparably 'safer' as a store of one's wealth. That, not its 'profit-making' potential, was what made it so attractive. Wealth, real wealth, derived from war: even that paragon of 'manufacturing magnates', Kephalos, derived his wealth from war - it was a shield 'factory'. Cf. his son Lysias' speech (12) Against Eratosthenes.

197 AG:AE 1980:131.

198 GVO 1902 chap.3 (fifty-three pages of condensed text). Rouse lists nineteen index entries (page no.s) for 'Things dedicated: temple and shrine'. Unfortunately he does not distinguish between temples and shrines, which "are very far from being synonyms" (R.E.Wycherley HGBC 1976:89) - not only in the index but also in his reading of the sources. We should not pass over Pritchett's comment that "no recent study of Athenian finance has accounted for the source of the money which resulted in the buildings at

Pritchett(199). Temples are given in table 4.1.

Date	Deity (if known)	Location	Built by	From spoils of
A Solon	Ares	Salamis	Athenians	Megarians
B 480	Demeter & Kore	Syrakuse	Syrakusans	Karthaginians
C 480		Etna	Etnans	Karthaginians
D 480	Eukleia	Athens	Athenians	Persians
E 479	Athena Areia	Plataia	Plataians	Persians
F 470-457	Zeus	Olympia	Elians	Pisatans
G 457(?)	Nike	Athens	Athenians	Oinophyta(?)
H 427	Hera	Plataia	Spartans	Plataians

Table 4.1
(200).

Date	Location	Built by	From spoils of
A Kypselos	Delphi	Korinthians	(inferred)
B early c.6	Delphi	Sikyonians	(inferred)
C c.550	Delphi	Knidians	Unknown
D later c.6	Olympia	Megarians	Korinthians
E 540-500	Olympia	Syrakusans	Karthaginians(?)
F 490	Delphi	Athenians	Persians
G ?	Delphi	Massaliots	(inferred)
H ?	Delphi	Spinaians	(inferred)
I 424?	Delphi	Brasidas & Akanthians	Athenians
J 413	Delphi	Syrakusans	Athenians

Table 4.2

(201). While considering treasuries (tab.4.2), note Pritchett's salutary warning that Pausanias mentions eight treasuries at Delphi; seven

Eleusis, Rhamnous, and Sounion, or of the temples of Ares and Hephaistos, as well as in military fortifications, including the long walls to the sea and installations at Sounion, Rhamnous, Phyle, Panakton, and various places in Attika" GMP 1971:101 n.2 (the reference is to the state of the Athenian treasury from the end of the Persian wars to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war). Note that the south wall of the akropolis was singled out by Plutarch (Kimón 13) as one of the public works funded from the spoils of Eurymedon in 469.

199 With a couple of epigraphic references from Boersma, ABP 1970.

200 (A) Plut. Solon 9. (B, C) Diod.Sic.11.26. (D) Paus.1.14.4, cf.Boersma ABP 1970 no.57. (E) Plut. Aristeides 20, Paus.9.4.1. (F) Paus.5.10.1, cf.M.Andronicos Olympia 1976:18 and W.B.Dinsmoor ArchAG 1975:151 for date. (G) See Rouse GVO 1902:120, all Nikai are from spoils of war. (H) Thuk.3.68.

201 (A) Paus.10.13.3, Hdt.1.14, cf.Rouse GVO 1902:124. (B) Paus.10.11.1, cf.Rouse GVO 1902:124. (C) Paus.10.11.5, his uncertainty settled Fouilles de Delphi 3.1.289 (built from dekate). (D) Paus.6.19.12-13, cf.Rouse GVO 1902:122. (E) Paus.6.19.7, cf.Dinsmoor Arch.AG 1975:116 for date. (F) Paus.10.11.5. (G) Diod.Sic.14.93, cf.Rouse GVO 1902:124. (H) Cf.Rouse GVO 1902:124. (I) Plut. Lysander 1; De Pyth.Orac. 14, 15. (J) Paus.10.11.5.

more are known from other sources, the foundations of twenty-three have been excavated, and the Pausanias reports "what he saw about AD 170 after the site was plundered by the Phokians, Sulla, and Nero, among others"(202). Miscellaneous other buildings are given in table 4.3.

Date	Building	Location	Built by	From spoils of
A 480	Stoa(Persike)	Sparta	Spartans	Persians
B c.478	Stoa	Delphi	Athenians	Persians
C c.475	Sekos of Theseus	Athens	Athenians	Skyros (inferred)
D 469	S.wall akropolis	Athens	Athenians	Phoenicians
E 434	Dockyards & walls	Athens	Athenians	Samians(?)
F 430	Waterworks	Athens	Athenians	Unknown
G 424	Stoa(Great)	Thebes	Thebans	Athenians

Table 4.3
(203).

Public buildings in Greek cities and sanctuaries were not just war museums; they were monuments to war, celebrations of war (past and present), armouries, and treasuries stocked in preparation for war. Temples, stoas, even walls were built on the profits of war and

202 GMP 1971:99.

203 (A) Paus.3.11.3. (B) Cf.discussion in Pritchett GSW III(1979)281f., and Petsas Delphi 1981:41. (C) Plut. Kimón 8. (D) Plut. Kimón 13, cf.Rouse GVO 1902:106 (Eurymedon). (E) Boersma ABP 1970 no.s 129 and 6, inscriptional details that they were built "after the tithe of the gods had been paid". On surrender in 439, the Samians were forced to pay an indemnity besides any booty the Athenians may have acquired at the time, cf.Thuk.1.115-117. Walls were the most massive public monument an ancient city possessed, and the way in which walls are cited as not the true sign of a polis (eg.Thuk.7.77.7, Aristotle Pol. 1276a26-34) suggests that for many they did indeed symbolise it. They too were not just 'utilitarian': Wycherley's response is not anachronistic - "On many sites, where now hardly anything else is to be seen, the walls still stand to a considerable height and create a deep impression of grandeur and beauty" (HGBC 1976:38). They did not possess the sacred significance of the Roman city walls (on which cf.Rykwert The Idea of a Town 1976) but they did 'mark off' the city space and helped to reinforce the 'storage container' aspect of the pre-modern city (on which cf. Mumford The City in History 1966:142-238 and Giddens CC 1981:94-101, 144-149). When defeated communities were forced to pull down their walls or had them razed, the intention was not merely one of military expediency (likewise the installation of a garrison on the akropolis). (F) Boersma no.138 (for same reason as E). (G) Diod.12.70.5, cf.Pritchett GMP 1971:62 n.61 (Delion).

shrouded with weapons and memorials of war, flaunting the community's power, wealth, and ability to confiscate not only wealth, but freedom (the shackles(204)) and life from other communities. And, to a lesser extent (depending upon how much potential booty the attackers brought on their backs and in their baggage), they were memorials to their ability to defend their own. As Pritchett pointed out,

students of the akropolis rarely convey any idea of the enormous amount of military equipment, from catapult machines to boat sails, which was stored there(205).

Wealth and war were intimately connected: the latter was the main source of the former ('real' wealth that is)(206). Public building was the most expensive undertaking the communities regularly indulged: without wars few could have been built, and their community's success in war was what they commemorated. And since war was an inter- not an intra- community activity, there was an obvious strategic logic behind commemorating that capability at an interregional sanctuary (chiefly Delphi and Olympia once the hierarchy was established) in addition to one's own, where it fuelled the pride, confidence and morale of its builders, users and heirs: a visible proof of their power. Only an intellect of Thukydides' stature resisted the automatic equation of appearance with reality:

Suppose, for example, that the city of Sparta...(207).

204 Cf. Herodotos 5.77.3-4, and Pritchett GSW III(1979)282 n.27.

205 GSW III(1979)280. For example, Ferguson suggests that the Opisthodomos was the main Athenian arsenal for arrows in the C.4, 318 cases of such being stored there, Treasurers of Athena 1932:131 and 129 n.1.

206 Cf. Polanyi LM 1977:127, "booty remained perhaps the greatest single means of enrichment throughout the classical period". This source could be compared with the discovery of new gold mines, after and from which the Siphnians built their treasury at Delphi (Hdt.3.57, Paus.10.11.2). This was not a common phenomenon - war was.

207 1.10.

Endnote 1: Pheidon cannot be dated securely, although most scholars are now prepared to admit him to two rather than three centuries. I would place him in the last decades of the eighth/first of the seventh for the following reasons: Pheidon was remembered chiefly and vaguely for 'restoring the lot of Temenos'. 'Restoring' is an ideological synonym for 'conquering', so whatever it actually involved, in fact or in the myth created/developed to justify the fact, Pheidon was associated with a period of Argive conquest. Asine was destroyed very thoroughly c.700 BC (current chronology), and it seems reasonable to associate the two. Secondly, of all the more or less dateable events with which Pheidon is associated in the scattered and often very late sources, two are pre-eminent in modern discussions. One is the intervention at Olympia, the other the battle of Hysiai, and the dating of both rests on the Olympionikai lists. The first as given in all MSS. produces a BC date of 748, which few (if any) scholars would accept these days. Consequently the text is generally considered corrupt; it should have read the 28th, not the 8th Olympiad, producing a BC equivalent of 668. This is jolly convenient, because it is only one year later than the date arrived at for the battle of Hysiai, 669 BC. Most other dateable events fall or can be suitably juggled to fall within a generation or so of this biennial, and those which cannot be rejected as corrupt texts, anachronisms or author error.

However, in the same passage in which Herodotos says Pheidon helped the Pisatans to assume control of the Olympic Games, he also says that Pheidon's son was a suitor of Agariste, which suit cannot have taken place much, if at all, before 570. If Pheidon was about 30 when he got involved at Olympia and his son was courting at about the same age, Pheidon would have fathered his son at the age of about 170, or 100 on massaged manuscript dates. Now, I have more confidence in Herodotos' evidence than in the Olympionikai - which is not to say that I have much confidence in either. But the 'method' which is applied to splice this one Herodotean sentence into two halves, one of which is considered 'evidence', and the other of which is rejected as 'confusion', has not, to my knowledge, been adequately elucidated by any scholar writing on the subject. It seems to be based on the fact that one half can be related, with suitable twiddling, to a larger group of similarly finitely adjustable 'facts' (especially the Olympionikai 'dates') than can the other half.

The other star in this amorphous mass is the battle of Hysiai. Pheidon is not actually associated in any ancient source, however late, with this battle. He should, I think, be dissociated in the secondary literature to suit. For all the significance heaped on the battle of Hysiai (something of an edifice with ramifications far beyond Pheidon) the only source amongst the whole surviving corpus of classical literature who thought it worth mentioning - and then only in passing - is Pausanias, writing some EIGHT CENTURIES after the alleged event. Even that apart, I am unsatisfied with the methodology which has been employed to give the date 669 BC. Many people have been unhappy about dating by Olympionikai, from Plutarch (Numa 1) onwards. Mahaffy and Jacoby have both reiterated Plutarch very forcefully(1). Mahaffy draws attention, for example, to Aristotle's Peploi, of which the only surviving fragment (apud Aristides, frg.594 Rose) concerns the order of establishment of various festivals and games. The Olympics come seventh after, amongst others, the Eleusinia (1st), the Panathenaia (2nd) and a festival at Argos (3rd), and before Patroklos' funeral games. This was probably a result of fourth century rationalising; Herakles preceded the Trojan War, and Herakles founded the Olympics, therefore the Olympics must have been instituted

 1 Problems 1892 chap.3 and appendix; FGH IIIB (Supp.) 1:381f, and on Eratosthenes (241) F 1-8..

before Patroklos' funeral Games took place. The legendary date of 776 then became not the date of the first ever games, but the date of the first recording of the stadion winner, *ie.* the Olympionikai. If this were true, however, and stadion winners were eponyms for their respective games in the eighth, seventh, sixth or even fifth centuries, one might reasonably expect Pindar to have registered the fact, if not to have written an ode for such an honoured victor, instead of singing the praises of tethrippon winners, pankratists and the like. Likewise, one would have expected Thukydides or Herodotos to have offered some evidence for the special esteem of stadion winners, instead of according it to tethrippon winners in particular and pankratists and pentathletes less frequently. This is very damning evidence against Olympionikai: dates and legends.

Consequently, one would expect the Olympionikai lists to be used by modern scholars only as a last resort. In this case, however, for some reason unknown to me the Olympionikai - and one has to assume that Pausanias' Eurybotos is the same man as Dionysios of Halikarnassos' Eurybates even to do that - has been given preference over the other reference Pausanias offers, the existence of which, for some reason also unknown to me, is very rarely even acknowledged in the modern literature. Pausanias says

I found this struggle took place when Peisistratos was ruling Athens in the 4th year of the Olympiad when Eurybotos of Athens won the running

(2.24.8). "When Peisistratos was ruling Athens" is in appearance less precise than "the 4th year of the Olympiad". But if in fact those Olympiads are imprecise, then it is not. By 'Peisistratos' Pausanias almost certainly meant the Peisistratos(2). That would then bring this 'significant battle' with an undetectable consequence(3), or 'struggle' (in Pausanias' less histrionic terms) down to somewhere between 560 and 528. It could now fit with Herodotos' statement that Sparta and Argos were at odds over the Thyreatis c.550 (1.82). Moreover, since Atheno-Argive relations during the reign of Peisistratos are quite well attested(4) it would not be odd for Pausanias' source to have dated the event by reference to the Athenian tyrant. If, on the other hand, Pausanias did not mean the Peisistratos, and the 669 date is retained, it remains to be explained how and why his source (presumably but not necessarily Argive) had available Athenian archon-lists extending back a full 75 years before Solon took office and a mere 12 years after Kreon (traditionally the first archon) held it.

The battle of Phigaleia is similar in many respects: Pausanias is again the only source, and says it took place "when Miltiades was governor of Athens, the year after the thirtieth Olympiad when Khionis of Lakonia won for the third time" (8.39.3). The historical Miltiades was ep.archon in 524/3, and he is the only ep.archon Miltiades, excepting his spurious predecessor of 659 (when Khionis of Lakonia won...). The battle of Phigaleia belongs, as Parke argued (Delphic Oracle 1956(2)15) to the Arkadian wars of the sixth century.

It is upon the battle of Phigaleia, on the struggle for Hysiai, and on Pheidon's intervention in Olympia, that the 'international' part of

2 Instead of which we now have an otherwise unattested Peisistratos as archon in 669 (when Eurybotos/bates won the running) who by deft (or unaware) reasoning then becomes 'evidence' to suggest or support the inference that the Peisistratos might have come from a family of long political acquaintance! (eg.Sealey 1976:94).

3 Looking for such around 669 that is, cf.eg.Tomlinson A&A 1972:83.

4 Argives were amongst the mercenaries who helped him regain the tyranny for the third time (Hdt.1.61) and if he wasn't married to an Argive woman, he certainly had a child by her (Hegestratos).

the edifice of reconstructed early archaic Spartan history (particularly Spartan-Argive foreign relations in the seventh century) perches precariously.

Endnote 2: Reconstructing population from mortuary data (especially archaeological) is a speculative affair, no matter what proportion of a settlement's cemeteries is thought to have been recovered⁵. It rests in large part on the average life-span assumed. I am unaware of any thorough survey of Greek skeletons of one of the extensive MG/LG cemeteries which might establish some sort of guideline. By analogy with C.18 France and C.19 England, Snodgrass suggested (AG:AE 1980:18) that 30 years might be a reasonable guess - perhaps even generous. Hollingsworth (Historical Demography 1969:343) suggests that mortality rates before 1800 (in Europe) may have been significantly different from those thereafter, however, and that the best evidence from pre-1700 produces an expectation of life at birth falling from 43 at age 5 to 24 at age 50. That is, from the number of survivors at age 5, the average life expectancy at birth is computed to be 43; from the number of survivors at age 50, the average has dropped to 24. These rates are for the ruling families of Europe, who probably had better life expectancy than the less wealthy in general terms (better food, better hygiene etc.), but the males' expectancy may have been lowered considerably by the relatively high chance of meeting with violent death - about 19% of all males over 15 in the sixteenth century, p.344 and n.1. Consequently the figures indicate a much sharper mortality increase than a life-table (constructed on post-1800 data) would suggest.

On the other hand, and based on literary evidence for Classical Greece (more specifically, Athens), Kitto pointed out in a memorable passage (The Greeks 1957:32f) that extraordinary longevity with extraordinary vigour seems to have been not uncommon: for example, age at death (some premature eg. drowning) - Aischylos 71, Aristophanes at least 60, Euripides 78, Gorgias 95 (?), Isokrates 98, Plato 87, Protagoras about 70, Sophokles 91, Xenophon 76. He adds that Agesilaos was campaigning hard in the field (as a mercenary) at 80, and that the great Greek literary and philosophical figures were still at the height of their powers at death. Note too that Solon (frg.19) considered a man 'trained in all things' at 35-42; at his best between 42 and 49; still able, but on the decline, at 49-63; and if he lives till 70 "he will not meet the fate of Death untimely" (trans. Edmonds). Slavery might have made a noticeable impact here too, although I know of no test that can distinguish a slave's bones from a free man's, so it would be impossible to demonstrate scientifically. Herodotos seems to have reckoned a generation as 39 years (cf. Burn Lyric Age appendix) but note that if we compute a generation as 28 years, the 8th and 7th generations before 480 (to which period the Greeks attributed all major developments) is 704-676. The only way real progress will be made on this whole question is through skeletal analysis. In the meantime see Hassan Demographic Archaeology 1981, and Sanders 'Reassessing Ancient Populations' BSA 79(1984)251-262.

5 Snodgrass' main point is however completely valid; it is the relative growth which is significant and requires explanation. I would reiterate the argument of chapter 2 that at least part - I would say the majority in the period MG-LG - was due to an influx of slaves.

Chapter 5: The Generation and Utilisation of Power (II) Laws

In the work of any human legislator there are bound to be imperfections that need to be remedied in the light of experience.

R.F.Stalley

An Introduction to Plato's Laws
1983:83.

5.1 Introduction

The theme of this chapter is laws, although the actual content of laws is not my principal concern. Rather, I shall focus on the social situation which prompted them and was affected by them. The argument so far, especially that there was no 'aristocratic stage' in Greek history, demands reconsideration of the situation in early Attika, particularly during the period between Drakon and Solon, and especially of the institution of hektemorage. This period is still one for which there is precious little contemporary or near contemporary evidence, but with Drakon we have - at last - a chronological 'fix' floating in decades rather than centuries. The traditional date for his homicide law, 621/0, has been vigorously defended by Stroud(1), followed by Gagarin(2), and is accepted here without further ado.

The crises involved in the transformation of Greek societies from Dark Age obscurity to Classical 'splendour' were tackled by the Argives through territorial expansion and subjection of neighbouring communities. The Athenians followed a different course - their situation was different(3), and the type of solution they pursued was different(4). And, in the short term at least, the Athenians' attempted solutions were less successful(5). Within a generation after Drakon they would face another (much more serious) crisis and give another man (Solon) extraordinary powers to try to resolve it; within another generation of further trouble and strife they would (after two previous rejections) yield up despotic authority to another man, who would hold it for life (Peisistratos). And after yet more strife, stasis, major political reform and a severe external threat (Persia), they too would attempt to establish dominion over other

1 Drakon's Law on Homicide (henceforth DLH) 1968:66-70.

2 Drakon and Early Athenian Homicide Law (henceforth DE AHL) 1981:1.

3 Attika was not a fertile plain for a start.

4 The Athenians also seem to have reached 'breaking point' about three generations later than the Argives in terms of absolute chronology.

5 If by 'success' we understand averting further internal crises.

communities, this time dominion by sea. Our interest is the earliest of those crises, and with the earliest known attempts to solve them.

In chapter 3 I deferred discussion of the Athenian eupatridai. It is necessary to discuss this factoid(6) which "plays no part whatsoever in Athenian history"(7) before proceeding.

5.2 The Eupatridai

To appreciate the dismal paucity of 'evidence' for the eupatridai one has only to glance at Wade-Gery's classic essay(8). The factoid is "Except for the Eupatridai, there was no other Nobility of birth in Athens, and the Eupatridai lost the bulk of their privileges by Solon's legislation" (p.86). Since Solon does not mention the eupatridai, one wonders on what evidence this statement claims the status of 'fact'. Wade-Gery was replying to Wilamowitz, who denied that "there was ever any definite status of Nobility" because "Solon says nothing of such a thing", which argument Wade-Gery labelled as "silentio and very dangerous" (idem). But this argument is not nearly as dangerous as that which claims that

the Eupatrid aristocracy of Athens probably became fixed in its membership in the late seventh and early sixth centuries...the Eupatrid families of archaic and classical Athens were the families which before Solon's reforms held the monopoly of political and religious offices...the Eupatrids were the aristocrats of the seventh and sixth centuries, no doubt mostly men whose land lay near the city of Athens and who had ready access to the seat of power...It must be true, both of what actually happened and of what was believed by later Greeks to have happened, that the

6 A 'factoid' is a speculation or guess repeated so often that it comes to be taken as 'hard fact'. Factoids have a tendency to get stronger the longer they live, and they are especially prevalent in areas on which the evidence is appallingly scanty. Cf. F.G. Maier 'Factoids in Ancient History: the case of fifth-century Cyprus' JHS 105(1985)32-39, and chapter 3 above.

7 Rhodes Comm. 1981:72. Almost the whole subject area of this chapter falls within that covered by Rhodes in his Commentary on the Athenaiion Politeia, where discussion of most of the important secondary literature (with the notable exception of Roussel Tribu et Cite) to 1980 can be found. For ease of reference I have therefore referred to Rhodes alone whenever possible.

8 'Eupatridai, Archons, and Areopagus' CQ 1931, reprinted in Essays in Greek History 1958, to which the page numbers given here refer.

Eupatrids were always a narrower circle...(9).

For these statements rest on the complete and utter silence not only of Solon, but of Homer, Hesiod, the lyric poets en masse, Herodotos, Thukydidēs, Aischylos and, significantly, Pindar, the so-called silver tongue of aristocratic values. That is, of every single source, including the major literary sources of Greek archaic, classical and 'prestigious' history who were nearest in time to the supposed 'Eupatrid' domination, not one mentions the eupatridai.

Against this, as 'proof'(10) that "(in fact) a remnant of Privilege of Nobility survived into the fourth century at least", Wade-Gery cites Pollux 8.111 (idem). Capital letters, of which Wade-Gery was fond, do not compensate for evidence. Not only was Pollux a rhetor rather than a historian, but he lived in the second century AD. As an 'authority' he ranks a little below that required to get a mention in the Penguin Companion to Literature(11).

The earliest literary source for the word eupatrides is Sophokles(12) and then Euripides(13) who both use the adjective in its natural sense of 'well-born' (LSJ). So too is that its meaning in the Leipsydrion skolion (as Wade-Gery recognises, p.108), which T.J.Figueira cites as one of the two (note, two) archaic period sources of the word in a review of the history of the term(14). If this skolion was composed immediately after the battle it commemo-

9 Rhodes Comm. 1981:75f. The development, quoted here in order, from "probably" to "it must be true" adequately demonstrates the characteristics of factoids. The source of infection is also clearly exposed in the last line: "both of what actually happened and of what was believed by later Greeks to have happened".

10 "This puts it beyond question".

11 Vol.4, either under his real name, Polydeukes, or historians' preferred form Pollux. One can find him, of course, in Der Kleine Pauly (4.980,41 - 981,21).

12 Elektra 162, 859, 1081 - the last is the word eupatris. Aischylos uses eupator with the same sense. Where we might expect eupatrides, for example, Thukydidēs 1.6.3 (the passage about 'golden grasshoppers') we do not find it; here Thukydidēs uses hoi eudaimones, translated by Rex Warner as "the rich families".

13 Hipp. 152, Alk. 920.

14 'The Ten Archontes of 579/8 at Athens' Hesp. 53(1984)454f.

rates, it scrapes into the archaic period by a whole thirteen years at most. The other source is a tombstone from Eretria(15). Even if all the 'mights' and 'maybes' required to link this man with Alkimakhos in a father-son relationship are valid, since dead men do not write tombstones we might well wonder why the son did not call himself eupatrides(16) if the word was anything but a honorific adjective akin to esthlos.

The principal sources for eupatrides (the word; the aristocracy are a purely modern invention) are Xenophon(17), Isokrates(18), Aristotle(19), Plutarch(20), and assorted scholiasts and lexicographers: fourth century or later to a man, and the 'main' sources merely refer to certain men, namely THREE men (Kallias, Alkibiades and Andokides (for the last the source is Plutarch, not even fourth century)), not to political or any other kind of history(21). If this term has any significance at all, it is fourth century significance. The 'Eupatrids' did not "survive into the fourth century at least"; the supposed 'privilege' construed from the sources (which amounts to claims to superiority) is not a "remnant", but an exordium of an unsuccessful and aborted development which began in the late fifth century.

15 IG XII, 9, 296.

16 esthlo de patros hus may be "functionally equivalent" to eupatrides (Figueira art.cit. 1984:454f) but that completely misses (and misunderstands) the significance of a "noble" name.

17 Symp. 8.40.

18 16.25.

19 Ath.Pol. 13.2.

20 Thes. 25, 32 and Mor. 834b.

21 In a relatively sane treatment of the eupatrids, Sealey suggested that during the Peloponnesian War "a snobbish circle, including Callias, put forward a claim to hereditary social distinction and called themselves eupatrids. They did not have much success...The only privilege (the eupatrids) are known to have enjoyed was that of providing phylobasileis, (that 'information' comes solely from Pollux, C.2 AD) and except for religious duties (IG II2 1357, the sacrificial calendar, on which more below), the only known function of the phylobasileis was to sit with the king in judgement on animals and inanimate objects accused of homicide", 'Regionalism in Archaic Athens' (App.2 'Eupatrids') Historia 9(1960)180. "This view", he correctly continues, "indeed goes beyond the evidence" - never was there a better case of ignotum per ignotius.

Let us then continue our theme. The first thing to consider is the broad structure of early Attik society, and in particular, the political framework.

5.3 Political Organisation in Early Attika: Overview

Sovereignty belonged originally to the oikos and over time was transferred to the polis. In the case of a huge polis like that of the Athenians this probably involved more than one intermediate stage for at least some of the uniting communities. For example the Tetrapolis, whose name implies a previous synoikism of the four neighbouring communities of Marathon, Oinoe, Probalinthos and Trikorynthos(22), and which united community possessed a nonprecinct communal sanctuary, the Herakleion(23). Legend records that the synoikism of Attika involved twelve poleis, of which the Tetrapolis was one, and the Tetrakomai another(24). Since there were more than 28 settlements in Attika at the time(25), most, if not all, the synoikising poleis had probably already undergone a previous stage of unification(26). It is worth noting that the average territory of these poleis is approximately the same as that of an average Greek polis(27). This is plausible if circumstantial evidence for dating the synoikism of the enormous Athenian polis to approximately the same period as (if not slightly later than) poleis were being created elsewhere, ie. in the late eighth/early seventh century(28).

22 Note the pre-Greek -nthos of the latter two.

23 Cf. Jacoby FGH IIIB (Supp.) 1:354 and nn.9-12 (on Philokhoros frg.73).

24 Peiraios, Phaleron, Xypete and Thymoitadai; cf. Jacoby FGH IIIB (Supp.) 1:392f and nn.8 and 9.

25 That is, 10 plus the tetrapolis and tetrakomai fours. For discussion of date see below.

26 Although they were probably subsumed under one name, as the twelve were to be subsumed under the one name of the Athenians.

27 The synoikized Athenian polis covered c.1000 sq.miles; divided by twelve equals c.83 sq.miles. The average polis had a territory of c.70 sq.miles. It is to preserve this perspective that the twelve Attik synoikizers should be called, as they are in the Strabonian source (9.1.20) poleis, not 'towns'.

28 Cf. Snodgrass ARGS 1977:16-21.

Further evidence for a relatively late date is suggested by the inclusion of Eleusis in the list of synoikisers. Eleusis was brought into the Athenian polis by conquest. We may dismiss Erasthenes' date(29), but there is no reason to dismiss the legend of a war between Athens and Eleusis(30). For it is very similar to the incorporation of Salamis, not only because it too involved conquest, but also because both involved religious accommodation and adoption as a means of maintaining that incorporation. The first Telesterion at Eleusis was built c.600(31), which is approximately the same time that the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (which tells of the revelation of the Eleusinian mysteries) was composed. The first literary connection between Athens and Eleusis is Solon's codification of the sacrificial calendar(32), and Solon was the man (at least partly) responsible for the Athenian conquest of Salamis(33). Whilst not suggesting that Solon was involved with the original conquest of Eleusis, I do think it highly unlikely that these two conquests followed by religious accommodation are completely unrelated and widely separated in time(34). However, Salamis was not counted amongst the synoikising poleis, and this suggests that we might be dealing with a gap of perhaps one generation at least. During that generation the Athenians

29 It works out as 1487/6 - 1438/7 in BC terms, cf. Rhodes Comm. 1981:66.

30 On which cf. eg. Hdt. 1.30; Thuk. 2.15.1; Paus. 1.38.1-3.

31 Travlos in Melas (ed) Temples and Sanctuaries of Ancient Greece 1973:83. See site app. for further references.

32 Cf. Burkert, Homo Necans 1983:146-149. Solon certainly had something to do with the institution of the Lesser Eleusinia in Athens (held in the spring, whereas the Great (ie. the original) were held in Eleusis in the autumn). From 403/2 the Lesser Eleusinia were held every other year, the Greater every fourth year (on the alternative series, ie. the pattern over several years would be Greater, Lesser, vacat, Lesser, Greater, ...). This may reflect an increase in the number of Lesser Eleusinia on restoration of the democracy; see S. Dow 'The Athenian Calendar of Sacrifices' Historia 9(1960)288-291.

33 Cf. eg. Solon ALG 2, and Diog. Laert. 1.2.2.

34 In about another generation Peisistratos would institute the important cult of Artemis at Brauron in Athens, as Solon had transferred the Salaminioi and perhaps instituted the cult of Aias in Athens; cf. M. P. Nilsson Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece 1951.

progressively expanded towards Megarian territory, and to legitimate that expansion they indulged in rampant myth-making(35). To what extent this affected the figure of Eumolpos, who was said to be the leader of the Eleusinians in the war against Athens and to whom the mysteries were revealed, is difficult to say. But he was said to be of Thracian origin, which suggests that either the war or the myth-making should be dated not before the Thracian region began to receive the attention of expansionist Greeks(36).

Whenever the Athenian polis was created the pre-existing communities would have been organised into administrative units. In this sort of situation there would be minimal, if any, tampering with existing ties and loyalties between communities; the object would be to build, reinforce and extend loyalties, not to rend them asunder. Therefore I think it is reasonable to assume that, however the organisation was structured (top-down), the basic entities were as before. Let us begin our examination of this structure with the largest entities, the phulai.

The Attik phulai: The Athenian 'king' Erechtheus, who supposedly renamed the Attik phulai after the four sons of a foreigner who helped them in the war against Eleusis (Ion), supposedly called one Hopletes(37). Not only is the interpretation of these phulai names as occupational classes "likely to be a product of fifth and fourth

35 Cf. Rhodes Comm. 1981:66, Andrewes CAH III.3.372-374.

36 Theseus, similarly cast far back into the mists of time by the Atthidographers and (especially) the later chronographers, also has considerable involvements with the Black Sea region: Theseus is, of course, the man traditionally responsible for the synoikism of Athens.

37 Cf. Rhodes Comm. 1981:67. The other three names are Aigikoreis, Argadeis and Geleontes (in theory anyway). These four phulai names are thought to be the 'traditional' names on the strength of one statement in Herodotos (5.66.2) and Euripides' Ion 1575-1581. Jacoby has well shown how ignorant of, and how disinterested in Athenian society before Kleisthenes Herodotos was (FGH IIIB (Supp.) 1:29 and 2:33 (on Hellanikos frg.6)), and how he contradicts himself on the derivation of the Athenians' claim to be 'Ionian'; cf.2:45 n.12.

century philosophy"(38), but since the word Hopletes itself was not current much, if at all, before the fifth century(39), it is quite possible that the whole story of Erechtheus' phulai is a product of fifth and fourth century 'philosophy'. The story of Ion

is in fact largely an artificial myth composed to explain a historical fact, that is, the colonisation of Ionia by mainland Greeks(40).

It stems almost entirely from Euripides' play of the same name(41) and has considerable propagandist overtones. It has not gone unnoticed that this legend is intimately related to Athenian imperialism(42); by claiming to be the (foster) mother-city of the Ionian 'colonies' - if they could make the claim stick - the Athenians might also claim from those 'colonies' the rights and respect due to a mother-city from dutiful daughter-cities.

The invention of the eponym Ion belongs well into the historical period - so historical in fact that the Athenian 'king lists' had not only already been invented but even written down. Consequently Ion could not be quietly slipped in. So he was made son-in-law of 'king' Erechtheus with the status of 'leader of the armies'. He was not a particularly successful mythological creation in terms of his impact on the 'Ion-ian' peoples, as we shall see below. His superimposition onto local (Athenian) political matters belongs even later, and was even less successful. The fourth century historian Phanodemos first drafted Ion into political 'history' when his ideological enemies Kleidemos and Androiton were busy presenting Theseus in alternative lights, according to their own political persuasions(43). Since Ion

38 Rhodes Comm. 1981:68.

39 Aischylos and Pindar are the earliest sources for it; cf. Snodgrass EGAW 1964:204 and n.51.

40 M. Morford & R. Lenardon Classical Mythology 1977:383.

41 Produced sometime between 420 and 410.

42 Eg. J. P. Barron 'Religious Propaganda of the Delian League' JHS 84(1964)35-45.

43 Schneider Aristotle and Perikles 1965:22. Cf. also Jacoby FGH IIIB (Supp.) 1:310-312 on Philokhoros frg.19 - note that it is to Euripides (again) that the refurbished image of Theseus may be traced.

supposedly preceded Theseus, Phanodemos could try to claim a legitimacy even greater than that of 'the constitution according to Theseus' for his 'constitution according to Ion'. But by now the technique of pushing back ever further into the murk of time and tradition strained even the Athenians' credulity. Ion failed to penetrate the mainstream tradition, never mind dominate it, and seems to have been the last (and therefore supposedly chronologically earliest) of the great Athenian 'state-makers', jostling unhappily with Theseus for the leading role.

I venture to suggest that the historicity of the 'four Ionian phulai' is as fictitious as that of a person Ion. Roussel pointed out that according to Euripides' Ion (ll.1579-1588)

on s'attendrait a trouver aussi dans les Cyclades des phulai portant les noms des fils d'Ion. Mais, Delos mise a part, nous n'en trouvons pas trace dans les documents qui nous sont parvenus, ce qui ne prouve evidemment pas qu'elles n'aient jamais existe a Naxos, a Tenos ou ailleurs. Il faut enfin signaler l'existence ici ou la dans le monde ionien d'organisations en phulai dans lesquelles on ne retrouve pas la moindre trace des vieux noms des fils d'Ion(44).

In fact, the four-fold Ion-ic phulai system is attested nowhere but in the 'histories' (*ie.* not contemporary sources) of Athens. Of the twelve poleis in Ionia which apparently admitted the label 'Ionian' - and even of these twelve Herodotos said most were ashamed of the title(45) - Geleontes is known as a phule name at Teos, and Hopletes and Argadeis are known likewise at Miletos. That is the limit of the correlation between what is accepted by modern scholars as the 'traditional' names for the 'four Ionic phulai', based wholly on one of the traditions for Athens, and those of the poleis of Ionia. At Teos we know of no other phule name; at Miletos there were two more phulai, but they were called Oinopes and Boreis.

The complete list of places at which any of these 'Ionic' names is

44 Tribu 1976:212. Argadeis is attested at Delos, which island was, of course, dominated by the Athenians from Peisistratid times.

45 1.143.2-3. This could of course be interpreted as the said states' more or less reluctant acceptance of a powerful state's propaganda.

attested as a phule name (besides the two 'Ion-ian' places above) is as follows.

Geleontes: Kyzikos and Perinthos (both in the Propontis area).

Hopletes: Kyzikos.

Aigikoreis: Kyzikos, Perinthos, Tomis and Istros (the latter two on the northern Euxine shore of Thrace).

Argadeis: Kyzikos and Tomis.

One of the two non-Attik phulai names attested at Miletos, Oinopes, is known at Tomis; the other, Boreis, at Perinthos; and both are found at Kyzikos. All six names are known at Ephesos, but they are known as the names of khiliastyes (subdivisions) of one of five (note, five) phulai. Oinopes is known as the name of one khiliasty at Samos. Other phulai names (that is, non-'Ion-ic' either of the Attik or the Miletos varieties) attested in these places or other supposedly 'Ionic' states are: Astypalaia and Khersia at Samos (Astypalaia was the name of the Samian akropolis and Khersia was a town in west Samos); four Thracian names at Perinthos; two non-Ionic, possibly non-Greek names at Phokaia; Khalkis (which is known by inscription to be a locality) at Erythrai. Other khiliastyes names attested at Ephesos are Lebedeioi and Salaminioid, which also have an obvious geographic reference(46).

We know that Erythrai had three, and only three, phulai, and Ephesos had five. We know that phulai could be reorganised into smaller or larger phulai, increasing or reducing the number, and could be renamed (Aristotle recommends both as an important part of consti-

46 It should be clear from this that there is no justification for making inferences about the number or names of phulai in the mothercity on the basis of knowledge of those in apoikia, which is anyway theoretically problematic in the case of joint foundations. We may assume that most, if not all apoikia 'founded' by prodigious 'colonising' states, like Miletos, were of this mixed character, either originally or became so during development.

47 Pol. 1319b19-26.

tutional reform(47)). We know that the names could be eponymous(48) (or an eponym invented for them), geographic, and even native. In short, we realize that the 'four Ionic phulai' are Attik propaganda, not fact(49). Let us then return to Attika.

There was an alternative tradition about the division of Attika which Atthidography more or less erased in its efforts to rationalise and systematise the myths and legends which earlier generations had created and embroidered: that of Pandion(50). This tradition can be dated back at least to Sophokles, and Jacoby argues, rightly in my opinion, that it was created in the late seventh/early sixth century when Athens and Megara were at odds over Eleusis, Salamis and even Megara itself. This tradition, naturally enough, laid claim to Megara, which was the fourth part of 'Attika' divided between the (necessarily four) sons of Pandion. The propaganda is not our concern; what is significant is that Attika proper (that is, deleting the claim to Megara) consisted of three parts: the land around the city (he para ten polin khora), Paralia and Diakria(51). This trichotomy of the country was an historical reality:

though the 'parties' of the paralioi, pediakoi and diakrioi are mentioned only once in the sixties of the sixth century, nobody will doubt that this antagonism had developed and asserted itself for two or three generations(52).

48 E.g. the Perikleidai at Lampsakos, Roebuck 'Tribal Organisation in Ionia' TAPA 92(1961)501 n.14.

49 Cf. RE 21(1941)1000,1-1001,35; C.Roebuck art.cit. 1961; D.Roussel Tribu 1976 for references. It should be noted that Aigikoreis probably derives from aix, aigos 'waves' (LSJ) plus koreo 'to sweep', ie.wave-swept, or 'coast', and Argadeis derives more probably from argeo, 'to lay idle', 'fallow', 'be fruitless', than from the hypothetical verb ergo 'to do work', and thus refers to uncultivated land, 'hill' or 'marsh' etc. as the local geography rendered appropriate. See further below.

50 Cf. Jacoby FGH IIIB (Supp.) 1:431.

51 This, Jacoby correctly sees (idem) "gives the impression of being earlier than Kleisthenes' division into astu, paralia and mesogeia" and that "these three parts of Attica never were either political or even mythological units, perhaps differing in this from the four phylai of 'Ion'" (idem.) - though we shall have cause to dispute the assertion that they were never political units.

52 Jacoby idem. Rhodes (Comm. 1981:73) gives a misleading impression of Jacoby's views - he was in no doubt that Philokhoros (frg.107) followed this tradition: "what follows from the statement about the

We do not need to get involved in the labyrinth of the various traditions and their development, to which Jacoby is incomparably the best guide(53). What we must recognise is that his statement - "the division of Attica into four districts by Pandion stands in no connexion whatever with the distribution of its inhabitants into four (personal) phylai by Ion" (IIIB1:430) is based on the argument that "Euripides was not properly informed about the four old phylai the personal character of which is now certain" (IIIB2:333 n.22). Thirty-four years on, the only thing considered certain about the phulai is that they were not personal. And since Euripides seems to have been one of the main creators of the 'four old phylai', we should credit him with being rather better informed on them than ourselves. As for Jacoby's objection that Euripides refers to the sons of Ion, not the sons of Pandion (idem, end n.22), he elsewhere drew attention to the 'Ion' in Pandion's name (IIIB2:335 n.27), and this tiny adaption of legend is well within Euripides' creative capabilities.

Pollux claimed to know two other sets of four phulai names (8.109), which each include one fairly glaring (ideological) incongruity: 'Autokhthon' amongst the Kekropid set, and 'Atthis' among the Kranaos set. The eponymous phulai Kekropis and Kranaoi do, however, have clear, easily traceable roots in classical sources; according to Herodotos (8.44) Kranaoi was an early name for the Athenians, and Aischylos (Eum. 1011) calls the Athenians "Kranaou paides", while

demarcation of Nisos' realm is that Ph.(ilokhoros) narrated the whole story of Pandion's division of the inheritance, and we should have expected anyhow that he did so because it was one of the chief proofs of the dependence of Megara on Athens" (IIIB1:429). This political purpose explains why Philokhoros "could not say pedion or mesogeia, and why he mentions districts, while Aristotle (ie.the author of the Ath.Pol.) speaks of the 'parties' which had their members in these districts" (IIIB2:332 n.15, but see nn.54 and 103 below), and that is also why the scholiast on Aristophanes' Lysistrata "called two of the really Attic parts of the country Paralia and Diakria, describing the third by he para (peri) to astu mekhri tou Pythiou" (IIIB1:429, with last ref.).

53 Although, chiefly owing to the nature of the material, he is not easy.

Kekropis seems to have been an old name for the akropolis and city around it (Thuk.2.15). The remaining two phulai names are Aktaia and Paralia in the Kekropid set, Mesogeia and Diakria in the Kranaos set. Now, some years after Solon's legislation, when Attika was again (perhaps 'still' is more apposite) strife-ridden, we are told that the contending leaders represented three groups. They were the Paraliioi, 'those of the coast', the Pedioi, 'those of the plain', and the Diakrioi, 'those of the hills'(54). Two of these names are exactly the names of the supposed 'tribes', and the third is a synonym of another (pedion = mesogeia). Moreover, when Kleisthenes reorganised the system he started with a geographic framework of asty, paralia and mesogeia(55): the same two names again, with asty serving as Kekropia, Kranaoi and pedion sometimes did, to designate Athens and environs(56). Taken together then, the evidence suggests that the fourth phule never existed except in the 'histories' of the Athenian history/myth-makers (especially the tragic poets) - and there were ten by the time they were writing, named after heroes of legend, like Ion.

The political framework in early Attika: Let us then consider the possibility that the original organisation of a newly-unified Attika (perhaps minus Eleusis) involved only three 'regions' (= phulai). It is perhaps not coincidental that each phule seems to have been

54 Ath.Pol. 13.4. Another label for the third (Herodotos' label) is Huperakrioi, 'those from beyond the hills' (1.59.3). Note that Herodotos, the earliest source on this, gives only regional characteristics. By Aristotle (Pol. 1305a23-24, followed by Plutarch) political affiliations, viz. rich v. poor, had been accreted to the story. Cf. Rhodes Comm. 1981:185f.

55 Ath.Pol. 21.4. We might also note that, just prior to this, Kleomenes had attempted to dismiss the boule and to entrust power to 300 supporters of Isagoras (Hdt.5.72.1): this may have been intended as no more than a change of personnel. 300 is 3 x 100, the figure probably computed as 100 from each of the three phulai before the fourth phule was invented, in the same way as the Solonian boule was computed to be 400, 100 from each of the 'four' phulai.

56 By the time the tradition reached Pollux it was confused; the Kekropid set has two terms for coast, no hills and no plain, while the Kranaos set has no term for the coast.

composed of three trittues, and each trittus composed of three phratries(57). If a phule is a region and a phratry is a 'constituency' (for lack of a better word), then a trittus is in all likelihood a district(58). This would produce an original organisation of three regions, nine districts, and twenty-seven constituencies after the synoikism ((3 x 3) x 3).

This might seem 'too' neat, but just because something is neat it is not necessarily implausible. The phratry was not the basic entity (see below, 5.3), and there is no reason to object to a solution simply on the grounds that it is mathematically regular. The Greeks were fond of mathematical regularity, and the Kleisthenic organisation is a model of such on a decadic system. The Greeks believed that the

57 Three phratries per trittus is Humphrey's very plausible suggestion, AAG 1978:195, since trittus should mean 'the sum of three somethings', rather than a third. For discussion see Rhodes Comm. 1981:68, Roussel Tribu 1976:196.

58 The objection to trittues as local units on the basis of one known name (Leukotainaioi) is hardly damning. In the first place, the religious calendar from which it is known is dated 403/2 (J.H.Oliver Hesp. 4(1935)21 (no.2 11.31-50)), and whilst Oliver argued that this was a republication of the sacred laws of Solon, he inferred a great deal on the basis of the one supposedly pre-Kleisthenic phule name to which this trittus belonged, which is actually written Gleontis whereas it should be Geleontes (and there was a third version, Teleontes, usually 'restored' by editors to Geleontes; cf. discussion in Jacoby FGH IIIB (Supp.) 2:292 (on Philokhoros frg.94)), one of the 'Ion-ic' set (of which Hopletes was another phule name) and is thus almost certainly a fifth century creation. Second, this stone is extremely carefully cut, on a well-dressed marble, by one hand (after the multiple hands of earlier, less handsome slabs in the series), subsequent upon an extremely careful and lengthy investigation of sacrifices and sacred law (about 3.5 years), which renders "carelessness" a unlikely explanation for this 'mis' spelling. Third, Dow argued that since the Synoikia (the relevant festival) were annual, whereas the sacrifices outlined in the laws are trieteric (ie. every other year), this was "probably an instance of 'old' sacrifices being cut down. They are now few and cheap", art.cit. 1960:288. Since the sacrificial calendar was revised - and however much it is thought to exaggerate, Lysias (30) Against Nikomakhos would not otherwise exist - and was not just 'republished', it needs to be proved that any particular section is a faithful reproduction of pre-403/2 law and practice. Fourth, the translation of Leukotainaioi as 'white-ribboned' is not self-evident. Literally it means white/light/bright-strip (derived from tanuo, to stretch, extend). (I need hardly remind the reader of the cape called Tainaron.) Pentelikon marble was renowned for its whiteness, and the 4.5 mile long range running NW-SE encloses the Attik plain to the NE.

synoikism was a creative human act, not an unstructured gradual 'growth', and thus it had a creator, whom the Athenians (on the whole) believed in their own case to be Theseus. Since city-state organisation is not common in human history and is not properly accommodated in any current political typology of continuous (or even discontinuous) development, the Greeks' beliefs cannot be summarily dismissed and should be given the benefit of the doubt. If the polis had a creator, we might expect the organisation at the higher levels to have a regular framework, since it would have been constructed top-down. Only at the lower levels, which had 'grown' over time and would have involved a series of ad hoc subsumptions, might we expect a messy arrangement. However, if the reader is not persuaded, I would ask only for a suspension of disbelief until this argument is presented in full.

Suppose each phratry was represented by two men. That would give a total of fifty-four officials (27 x 2). Suppose that originally they were all called basileis(59). Suppose that from amongst these men one was chosen from each phule to be the regional leader(60). Fifty-four minus three equals fifty-one, which happens to be the number of ephetai. It would follow then that the basileis who led the phulai were nominally distinguished as 'higher officers' by the creation of a new title, derived from ephiemi (LSJ), meaning 'commanders', for the 'lesser' basileis.

To explain this I want to introduce the concept of precipitation. In chemistry, precipitation refers to the separation of substances in solution by the process of deposition at the bottom of the vessel. In

59 The first step would have been to make the traditional title for leaders an official title for leaders, restricted to those holding office. We have to try to explain the transition from a plethora of basileis in Homer, Hesiod and, note, a plurality in Drakon and Solon, to the single basileus plus a host of other titles in the historic period. See further below.

60 Cf. Aristotle Ath.Pol. 8.3 (bearing in mind that there were, I suggest, 3 not 4 phulai).

solution the constituent substances are mixed up and not identifiable. By precipitation one such substance is deposited at the bottom and it thus becomes identifiable as a distinct substance in the compound solution. This process may continue until all constituent substances in the solution have been precipitated out, and all the constituent elements are differentiated and separated. This is, I think, what happened in the development of the title for leaders. The original 'compound solution' was the word basileus. This was the traditional title for leaders. When positions of leadership began to be ranked, and different titles were required to distinguish different offices, the old name would have had greater authority simply because it was old. Therefore new titles were created for the lower position (in each differentiation), not the higher position. The old title would therefore be gaining in stature each time such a precipitation took place. That is, new offices created beneath a position 'push' that position up, although its title and holders may remain the same. Thus were coined ephetai, thesmothetai, phylobasileis, prytaneis etcetera, each pushing up what offices existed above it. If these new offices were filled from the pool of existing leaders, that is, if new offices were not filled by appointing more people *but by giving new titles to* those who already occupied positions, then it is easy to see how the process could have reduced the number of positions officially entitled basileus until there was left only one: the basileus.

The three basileis who led the phulai represented not only their region but also, inherently, three different districts (trittues). This, albeit unintentionally, would leave six trittues unrepresented amongst the higher offices. Six is precisely the number of thesmothetai, the 'lesser' and later of the nine chief magistracies(61). These offices were probably established at the same time as or later

61 Thus the nine archons would each represent one trittus (compare Ath.Pol. 8.1).

than the three phulai basileis were differentiated into basileus, archon and polemarch, because the thesmothetai's responsibilities are rather miscellaneous. They seem to take charge of anything not falling easily into the sphere of one of the three major offices(62). In Drakon's law on homicide and Solon's amnesty (8th) law (apud Plutarch Solon 19) only basileis and ephetai are mentioned. At this time the fifty-four basileis probably constituted the oldest governing body of the Athenian state, those who met on the hill of Ares(63).

This sketch, based on numerical regularities but yet to be properly related to the evidence, does then provide a coherent framework for Attik social organisation from the synoikism (perhaps minus Eleusis) to a period between Drakon and Solon(64). It was based on territorial principles and involved: twenty-seven constituencies (phratries)(65), organised into nine districts (trittues), within three regions (phulai). A body of fifty-four men, two from each phratry, were recognised as the 'official' state leaders.

5.4 Drakon's legislation

Current orthodoxy is that Drakon codified existing practice: his law was concerned with procedure rather than machinery(66). But Gagarin

62 Cf.Harrison TLA 1971:12-17. The phulobasileis were, I suspect, a later development. That is, the offices I have distinguished as the basileis who led the phulai are not meant to be synonymous with the phulobasileis, which office (and title) was probably created after the phulai basileis had been differentiated into the basileus, archon and polemarch.

63 On current interpretations the evidence for whether the ephetai were Areopagites is equivocal: Bonner & Smith The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle 1930:99f, Harrison TLA 1971:41f, and Rhodes Comm 1981:647 favour the view that they were. The argument here would easily explain why the main passage usually taken to suggest the contrary, Dem.23.37, "apparently uses the name Ephetai to designate the whole Areopagus" (Gagarin DEAHL 1981:134): the Ephetai were "a 'committee'" of practically the whole Areopagus.

64 Say c.600 for the sake of a chronological handle.

65 A constituency need not be taken 1:1 with discrete settlements. It could, for example, be composed of several neighbouring hamlets with a long tradition of mutual co-operation and co-activities. See below on naukraries.

66 Cf.Gagarin DEAHL 1981:161f, cf.also p.15.

and Stroud both fail to stress what the text of the lawcode continually stresses, which is something very pertinent to the argument in chapter 3:

and the one who opposes aidesasthai(67) is to prevail.

The law is on the side of Akhilleus, Meleagros et.al. that the victim has the right to refuse compensation and accommodation. It repeatedly states that one such refusal amongst the relatives or, if there are no relatives, the friends of the deceased, outweighs any number of acceptances. This law is precisely what Akhilleus was groping for, and its bias is what he was arguing for.

Within the framework presented above the references in Drakon's first axone to basileis(68) and ephetai will need to be reinterpreted. The first two sentences of the law are:

Even if a man not intentionally kills another, he is exiled. The basileis are to adjudge responsible for homicide...(69).

- 67 Normally translated 'to pardon', Martin Ostwald pointed out that the precise meaning of this word is 'to respect the person of' (ref.n.130 below). The slave is quintessentially a person whose person is not respected, which supports the logical argument (below) that slavery was an alternative to death or exile for the atimos.
- 68 Normally taken, on the basis of extremely slight evidence from the fourth century or later, as the single officer basileus plus (four Ionic) phylobasileis, eg. Gagarin DEAHL 1981:46f. Even if this evidence is correctly interpreted for the fourth century, practices current when Classical Greek civilisation was nearing its end cannot be uncritically accepted as reasonable evidence for the situation three centuries earlier, when that civilisation was being created.
- 69 Trans.Gagarin DEAHL 1981:xvi; cf.also Stroud DLH 1968:6. Bearing in mind that "all supplements in this line must be exempli gratia" (Stroud p.47, re:after the word 'homicide', where 17 letters have been lost from the text), I would like to draw attention to AITIO(N), as currently restored (the second iota is dotted), favoured by Stroud and Gagarin and translated (as here) 'responsible'. This is an extremely problematic word, however accented (cf.Gagarin DEAHL 1981:37-40 for discussion). In his epigraphical commentary on the stone, Stroud said that "in the twenty-second stoichos (ie. the second iota) only the bottom tip of a centred vertical has survived" (p.9). But on the drawing which he produced by tracing the letters from squeezes, this does not seem to be quite accurate: the vertical is distinctly left of centre. If this letter is not iota, then new possibilities arise. For example, if it is epsilon, then the word may well be the verb aiteo (if the omicron and restored nu must be retained, then it is in the Ionic dialect (impf.tense)), with acc.+inf. construction (many examples in LSJ), and should be rendered "I (Drakon) ask(ed) the basileis to

In the belief that there was only one basileus (the basileus archon) in Drakonian Athens, scholars have been greatly troubled by the plural basileis in this law(70). If, however, we do not assume that the title basileus had fully precipitated out by Drakon's time, and there were many basileis, the plural is no longer a problem. The other major difficulty which concerns us is the distinction between the activity of the basileis, and the activity of the ephetai, who, I have argued, are a large subset of the basileis. The basileis are to dikazein, present infinitive; the ephetai are to diagronai, aorist infinitive (ll.11-13). Whilst the precise meaning of each verb here is much disputed, there is general agreement that this antithesis signifies two different actions (chiefly, I suspect, because they are presumed to be undertaken by two different groups of people). The former is, or should be in view of the tense, perceived as an ongoing activity, the latter as a single event. But the sense usually given to the verbs, viz. dikazein signifies the act of pronouncing sentence, diagronai signifies the act of deciding, contradicts this grammatical distinction(71). If, however, the ephetai are a subset of the basileis, the antithesis may be overdrawn. The first may be a categorical statement of procedure: the basileis (rather than any unofficial person(s)) are to adjudge for homicides. The second may be a refine-

adjudge for homicide...". "With verbs of judicial action the genitive denotes the crime", Smyth-Messing Greek Grammar 1963:325, cf.nos. 1375-9, and Stroud DHL 1968:43 (citing the law in Dem.23.22) so there is no problem with phono, and we have a second categorical statement like the first of the law. The first states the penalty, the second states the procedure, before the author moves on to discuss conditions in which these pronouncements may be qualified.

70 It has been explained as referring to the basileus plus the phylobasileis, or to the archon basileus in successive years, neither of which are very happy suggestions, nor are free from creating further difficulties. Some scholars have thus preferred to remain aloof from the problem, eg. MacDowell AHL 1963:87f.

71 Giving rise to imaginative but highly artificial and implausible statements such as "it is possible that the act of pronouncing a man guilty was thought to persist in its effects whereas the judicial decision was seen as a momentary act" Gagarin DEAHL 1981:47 n.47.

ment of this formal statement: the particular basileis charged with this duty(72) are the fifty-one ephetai. Let us then move on to the substance of the text.

If immediate male relatives (father, brother(s), son(s)) unanimously agree that the person of the killer is to be respected, so be it: else the killer is atimos, at least (or best), exiled(73). If there are no immediate male kin, the same applies to cousins and first-cousins once removed. If none of these survives, the ephetai are to choose ten phratry members (viz. of the deceased) of good character to bring the case to court(74). On the hypothesis above, two of the ephetai and all the phratry members so chosen would have been neighbours of the dead (wo)man - those most close to him/her after kin(75).

Fixing the number of ephetai(76), if they were appointed as suggested above, would have had a considerable (unintended) conse-

72 If this law is to be meshed with Solon's amnesty law ("by the Areopagus, or by the Ephetai, or by the Prytaneion" with the parallel complement of "on the charges of murder, or manslaughter, or setting up a tyranny", it is perhaps necessary to restore the rest of line 12 to produce the sense 'in cases where the murder was not premeditated', whereas premeditated homicides went before the entire complement of basileis on the hill of Ares. For an admittedly speculative discussion of Kylon's coup and Solon's (?) tyranny law, see Gagarin 'The Thesmothetai and the Earliest Athenian Tyranny Law' TAPA 111(1981)71-77.

73 Assuming that exile was preferable to death or slavery.

74 Gagarin's interpretation (after Stroud DHL 1968:50) is self-contradictory between line 11 sq., "Even if a man not intentionally kills another, he is exiled", and line 16 sq., "if he killed unintentionally...let ten phratry members admit (him to the country)", which suppositions about time sequences (p.49f) do not answer satisfactorily. Moreover, line 16 sq. so interpreted also contradicts line 19 sq., where the phratry members are specifically said to share in the prosecution. esesth(o)n is better taken as 'to bring (the case to court)', not 'to admit (into the country)' as Stroud and Gagarin. This, incidentally, puts Solon's law allowing anybody to bring a case to court on behalf of another (Plut. Sol. 18) into a context of development.

75 Or, in some cases, closer than kin, cf. Hesiod.

76 If there is any significance in the unexplained fact that they are sometimes called "the fifty-one, the ephetai" and sometimes just "the fifty-one", it is perhaps that Drakon wanted to preserve the number of officers: it is the number which is ever-present, not the title. This would preserve equal representation for each phratry (regardless of size) and would prevent any unofficial 'promotions'.

quence: any new settlement would have had to align with a pre-existing phratry if it wanted to be represented in the governing body. Since the ephetai continued in existence and as fifty-one in number until long after our period, we can at least squarely open the hypothesis to refutation. Should it ever be demonstrated that there were more than twenty-seven phratries during the existence of the fifty-one ephetai, the hypothesis is almost certainly wrong in whole or in part.

If the hypotheses above are accepted as 'working hypotheses', it is perhaps in this direction that we should look to understand why Kleisthenes reformed the system yet preserved the phratries. The demes may have been the answer to the (perhaps dramatic) asymmetries which must have developed over about four generations of settlement growth and centralisation, including a vast expansion of the city of Athens since Drakon's time. Proportional representation is the hallmark of Kleisthenes' reforms(77). The system he inherited (and reformed) *as hypothesised above involved an equal number of officers* from now probably distinctly unequal-sized phratries, and may have been anything but proportional. The demes were principally new units in the political infrastructure, hence only adult males were registered on the deme rolls(78). The phratries continued as organisa-

77 Proportional in whose interests (if anybody's) is a different question. For a recent reconstruction of partisan proportionality, see G.R.Stanton 'The Tribal Reform of Kleisthenes the Alkmeonid' Chiron 14(1984)1-41.

78 The demes seem also to have been fixed with respect to the bouletic quotas; not in the absolutely equivalent sense that the phratries were on the hypothesis above, but having established proportional quotas for the situation in Kleisthenes' time, they then became fixed for the future, cf.Whitehead Demes 1986:21. However, *contra* Whitehead (n.73 p.21f) as regards size, we have every reason "to suppose that over a lengthy period, some demes grew or shrank more than others": demographic fluctuation is the norm, not the exception, cf.Hollingsworth Historical Demography 1969:329-335. Moreover, if Kleisthenes (or anybody else at the time) had realised this (which I very much doubt; cf.Stalley op.cit. 1983:83 on Plato's failure to recognise that law must change itself to meet changing conditions) it would indeed have been remarkable had that person managed to invent a method of monitoring and accounting for such changes on a small scale. They should not be criticised for this: the current British system is our heritage from the past and now leaves a lot to be desired in this respect too. The do-able

tional infrastructure for other matters, not least that phratry lists were important for claiming citizenship - the only method for women and minors - which was a very good reason why they should be preserved. Neighbours were the best (better than kin, who often lived apart) proof that the claimant was a citizen: the neighbours should have known the child from birth. Another point in favour of this hypothesis is that an explanation for widespread support for Kleisthenes' reforms is easily derived(79).

Drakon's law is on homicide and sticks rigidly to its point. Absence of mention of the Areopagus cannot be taken as evidence of its non-existence. There must have been some body managing the affairs of the whole community as and when they arose in Drakon's time. On the other hand, a priori "it is not credible that in Draco's time Athens had a council other than the Areopagus"(80). This body almost certainly existed before the homicide law was invented, and it would have been the obvious place to draw candidates to administer that law.

In Solon's amnesty law another body is mentioned: those who met at the Prytaneion(81). This court almost certainly took its name from the men who originally met there, the prytaneis, perhaps another (lower) subgroup of basileis, the name meaning 'leader' in a quite inspecific sense (see further below).

Another early office, the hendeka, (the eleven(82)), remains a mystery, unless it be the 'twelve' synoikisers minus Eleusis, because

option is to overhaul the system in a rather more major way, which is precisely what Kleisthenes did (and Aristotle recommended) and then carry on with that until (if) it becomes intolerably disproportional again, and repeat.

79 The majority in the large settlements - and especially those in Athens and environs - would support the reform because they would perceive themselves to be currently under-represented, whilst the really small phratries, especially those distant from Athens, might find their current responsibilities onerous or even difficult to execute, and might have been relieved to unburden some such onto their nearest neighbouring larger settlement(s).

80 Rhodes Comm. 1981:115.

81 Apud Plutarch Solon 9.

82 Which office goes back at least as far as Solon, Harrison TLA 1971:17, cf. also Rhodes Comm. 1981:139.

Eleusis had not been incorporated when the office was created(83). They must, I think, have been created at the same or later time than the basileis/archons, ephetai and thesmothetai, because officials charged with responsibility for conviction and punishment of kakourgoi(84) are hardly likely to be created prior to officials charged with responsibility for homicide. There remains one undoubtedly early organisational unit to discuss: the mysterious naukraries.

The Naukrariai: The traditional view that the naukrariai had something, albeit a completely unexplained something, to do with ships (based on the etymology, naus) has recently been challenged, and temples proposed instead (based on the etymology, naos)(85). The argument,

the Athenian naukraroi represented an old, possibly Bronze Age institution which survived into the Classical period. Their original function as guardians of temples, like that of similar officials at Mycenaean Pylos, gave them control of temple treasuries, thus making them important in the gathering of public funds and in their disbursement, whether for religious or military purposes

(p.16) seems to me to suffer one serious flaw: what temples? what treasure? Archaeology records none in Dark Age Attika and precious little in the Archaic period. Further, naukrary and cognates are attested only for Attika(86), which is a bit odd if it is a survival of a Mykenaian institution whose existence and function is based on tablets from Pylos in the far corner of the Peloponnese. And, if naukraros means 'temple-head', what is naukraria supposed to mean? Aristotle certainly implies that naukrariai existed before the office of naukraros (Ath.Pol. 8.3)

The -kraros ending is apparently an old form of kleros (LSJ), but

83 Which incorporation probably did not precede Solon by a great many years (above).

84 Which are listed as thieves, clothes-robbers, kidnappers, burglars and cutpurses - perhaps not an exhaustive list, Harrison TLA 1971:223 and n.4.

85 J-C.Billigmeier & A.Sutherland-Dusing 'The Origin and Function of the Naukraroi at Athens: an Etymological and Historical Explanation' Amer.Phil.Assoc. 111(1981)11-16.

86 Cf. Rhodes Comm. 1981:151.

how a word meaning 'lot' (as in, 'to draw lots') or a piece of land (esp. allotted land) came to be prefixed by a word meaning either 'ship' or 'temple' exercises the imagination. However, if the nau- prefix is derived not from naus or naos, but from the verb naio, to dwell, inhabit, abide, then there is an alternative possible interpretation. Naukraria was roughly equivalent to English 'village' (or 'parish' without the church): nau- (dwell) kleros/kraros (allotted land)(87). Naukrariai would thus refer to every discrete settlement (as opposed to phratries, which might comprise several discrete hamlets) in Attika.

If we turn to the naukrary leaders, these men are called prytaneis by Herodotos (5.71.2). In its earliest use, a decree of 485/4, the prytanis is empowered to impose fines(88). This "does not look like a member of a tribal phratry"(89), which lends support to Rhodes' cautious but cogent suggestion that the prytaneis qua standing committee of the boule was not introduced until Ephialtes' reforms c.462/1(90). In the same reforms, of course, the boule had become the body of first importance in Athenian government. This latter observation is important, because - according to the precipitation of title argument - it indicates that the term adopted for the new standing committee of the most important council of state was hitherto a term of high, if less high and less specific, import.

From before Solon's time the Prytaneion existed, which surely had some connection with the pre-Ephialtic prytaneis. There is a great

87 Naos (temple) is itself derived from naio (LSJ), since the temple was thought of as the dwelling of the deity. Notice that Naukratis (Egypt) now might signify something like 'fort' nau- (settlement), krateo (force, rule &c.). See also Whitehead Demes 1986, the naukraries were replaced by the demes, which word originally meant 'village' (and retained that sense even when, during the sixth century, the 'common men' connotation had developed).

88 The term is restored on IG I2 4, B 21-25. See A 7f; there is a clear allusion to exemption from paying prytaneia.

89 Rhodes Comm. 1981:518.

90 The Athenian Boule (henceforth AB) 1985:17-19, because hitherto the boule would not have had sufficient business to warrant the creation of a standing committee.

deal of debate over who sat in the Prytaneion court(91), much of which proceeds on the premisses that the Prytaneion had the same (i) functions, and (ii) 'staff' between Drakon's time and the fourth century, premisses which I find highly implausible(92). Moreover, there are many difficulties with the current views. For example, the Prytaneion is thought to be a court (with unchanging staff and functions for three centuries at least) specifically dealing with homicide cases where the defendant was an inanimate object, an animal, or an unknown killer(93). Yet the most important kind of court fees were called prytaneia, almost certainly taking their name from this court, and were payable by both plaintiff and defendant(94). It would require a case of very special pleading to explain how court fees might be expected (in fact, legally demanded) from an axe, an ass, or an unknown killer.

The most obvious (certainly the most economical) suggestion is that the Prytaneion was where the prytaneis met as a court, in which role they could declare people atimoi and fine(95). Since the name prytaneis was taken over by the standing committee of the boule, it is possible that the whole boule was originally composed of prytaneis in a purely political (ie. rather than judicial) capacity. That is, the boule may have been composed of the leaders of each discrete settle-

91 Cf. Gagarin DEAHL 1981:131-136 for discussion.

92 I am reminded of Robert Brady's (somewhat exhausting) complaint about histories of cities and boroughs: "and truly by the notion these writers have, and their readers cannot but have, of them, according to their informations, they seem to have been aeternal, or at least coeval with the Creation, and so many ready wrought, and framed, small commonwealths, lifted out of the chaos, and fixed upon the surface of the earth, with their walls, gates, town or gild-halls, courts, liberties, customs, privileges, freedoms, jurisdictions, magistrates and offices, in their formalities, and all extravagant, uncontrollable, and absolute powers, and absurd rights, they have of late years pretended to", An Historical Treatise of Cities and Burghs or Boroughs 1704 (2nd.ed.) preface, cited in Richardson & James op.cit. 1983:31f.

93 Cf. eg. Harrison TLA 1971:42f.

94 Harrison TLA 1971:92f.

95 There are many problems surrounding the prytaneis and the two prytaneions; see below.

ment, the prytaneis ton naukraron to whom Herodotos refers in his account of the Kylonian affair (5.71.2).

The naukrariai had ceased to exist in Herodotos' day, but some of his older informants would have remembered them(96). Therefore it is quite possible, even likely, that Herodotos would have learned of both naukrariai and their leaders, prytaneis, from living informants. He probably did not, however, realise that only since Ephialtes' reforms had the boule become the highest organ of government and its (rotating) standing committee, the prytaneis, become the most powerful officers (emenon tote tas Athenas). Therefore he may be correct with respect to the 'event', viz. to associate Kylon with the prytaneis ton naukraron, but incorrect with respect to political history, viz. which offices were the most important at the time. Thukydides, who was vastly more conscious of the temporal dimension, and much more critical of received wisdom, was writing at a time when the ideological war of attrition between those who favoured demokratia and those who favoured aristokratia (as they had recently come to signify themselves) was almost a national pastime, and was a subject of great interest to Thukydides(97). That war had made the political history of the Athenians a subject of great discussion. Pro- and anti-Alkmeonid propaganda(98) would also have taken more of a toll on the truth of things past by Thukydides' time. The great historian's hoi ennea arkhontes (1.126) is more likely than for several reasons (not least the historian's attempt to criticise his sources) to be a product of reasoning in the face of many contrasting and contending

96 Also, whilst officialdom may be expected to respect and record redefinitions from the first, it takes rather longer for such changes to supplant the old amongst the communities affected, as is obvious today in modern Greece or, closer to home, in the Welsh counties.

97 Cf. Cohen's important paper, art.cit. 1984.

98 All propaganda is publicity, and the effects of 'negative' propaganda should not be denigrated; it might even have been fanned by aspiring 'great-and-good'. The Megakles ostraka (for Kylon) indicates that this particular subject was a public issue at the time, and that was publicity for the Alkmeonidai.

versions. So, he reasoned, the supreme authority in the state used to be the archons, who were more important than the boule in the past (as he informs his reader) and there were nine of them, because the grammatikos was a new(ish) post(99).

Further support for Herodotos' version of events (with prytaneis ton naukraron understood as above) is the connection between Kylon's coup d'etat and the Diasia, for which Thukydides (ibid.) is the source. The festival, he says, took place "outside the city, and the whole populace make a number of sacrifices not including blood sacrifices, but traditional offerings of the country." It sounds like a very appropriate occasion for prytaneis to be on hand in official capacity qua village-heads. When they discovered what was going on, all the celebrants rushed off to the akropolis and blockaded the conspirators. Then Thukydides relates that most of them got fed up, so left the nine archons as guards "with absolute authority both for carrying on the siege and for settling the whole affair as seemed best to them". Unless we understand this to mean literally that the nine archons, and the archons alone, were left to guard the akropolis on which Kylon and his supporters (who probably numbered a lot more than nine) were installed, which seems highly improbable, this statement is irrelevant. For it was, according to Thukydides, the Athenians "who had been set on guard" who committed the dread deed - at their post whatsmore. If the Alkmeonidai were held responsible for the murders which followed, it was, implicitly in Thukydides' version, qua guards, not archons(100). The archons seem to be an intrusion into the story with no relevance and no role(101). Alkmeon's father was probably

99 Bringing the number of archons to ten, because there were now ten phulai to be represented.

100 The idea that Megakles was archon comes from Plutarch (Sol. 12.1) and has become Perikles by Suda (s.v.Kyloneion agon); hardly encouraging. Professor Mattingly pointed out that Plutarch perhaps deduced (wrongly) from Thukydides' stress on the nine archons that Megakles was one of them.

101 If we understand Megakles' position and actions as here, and add the supposition of an archontic executive role, through which

there in the capacity of prytanis, his village was on guard duty, and by his instigation the conspirators were killed. This makes it much easier to understand (i) why the blame was attached to one family, the Alkmeonidai (who were not then so known - we are in the generation of Alkmeon's father), (ii) why that family accepted the blame - even a century later - which is difficult on the archon interpretation, especially in view of the carte blanche authority they were supposedly given to resolve matters as they thought best(102), and (iii) if there is any truth in the number of families supposedly banished as 'Accursed' by Kleomenes, viz. 700, it cannot refer to just the Alkmeonidai(103). But it could and might refer to all the families in the settlement (naukrary) in which the Alkmeonidai of Megakles' direct line lived(104), whose ancestors had followed and assisted their prytanis Megakles in murdering the conspirators.

If the naukrary was a village, then the prytanis was village headman, and the prytaneis collectively represented every discrete settle-

guard duties may have been organised but whose authority was flouted when Megakles and his naukrary fellows acted independently to bring the siege to a (bloody) end, then, allowing for Herodotos' error on the hierarchy of political office, Herodotos' and Thukydidides' versions may be reconcilable. I owe this observation to Professor Mattingly. On the other hand, in Solon's amnesty law the prytaneis and attempted tyranny are associated, and if Megakles was prytanis (as argued here) the truth of matters may lay in that direction.

102 And even if all nine had supposedly agreed the plan we might still expect the Alkmeonidai to try to shift some of the blame onto others.

103 Herodotos does not say that Kleomenes ordered 'the Alkmeonidai' to leave Athens: the order was "for the expulsion of Kleisthenes, together with many other Athenians, calling them the 'Accursed'" (5.70.2). Further, hoi sustasiotai means 'those who stood together' (with the Alkmeonidai) which, whilst it may be a metaphorical reference to political faction, refers first and foremost to position in space (from stenai). Political idiom is couched in locational terms (like stasis) because politics was organised on a locational basis, and leaders generally drew most of their support from their local areas. Thus Isagoras was able to get rid of the supporters as well as the leader by pointing his finger at the place where Kleisthenes lived.

104 Later the deme Alopeke, a very large deme (the 6th largest on the bouletic quotas, immediately after Eleusis and larger than Piraeios, see Traill The Political Organisation of Attica 1975) on the outskirts of the city of Athens.

ment in Attika(105). To anticipate an argument developed in the next section, this interpretation of the naukraries also makes their status as units for financial purposes more obvious. When, in time, a second governing body (the boule) became necessary and/or desirable, it was, I think, these men who composed it(106). The old body then had to be designated as that which met on the hill of Ares to distinguish it from the new council (boule). The Areopagus was the 'upper' or 'higher' chamber because, apart from the authority which time bestows (ie. it was just older), the members of the Areopagus each represented units embracing a plurality of naukraries, whereas the boule members each represented only one(107).

To pursue this argument it is necessary to turn to socio-economic history in order to try to understand why these organs of government and laws were developed, and why they assumed the form that they did.

5.5 Athenian Society in the Age of Solon

According to Aristotle (Ath.Pol. fr.3) Athenian society was divided first into two strata, the georgoi and the demiourgoi(108). Georgoi is derived from ge, land, and ergo. An apparently obsolete (that is, hypothetical) verb ergo is thought to have meant 'to do work', and leads to the translation of georgos as 'one who works the land' or 'farmer' (LSJ). However, another verb ergo was alive and well and living throughout the historical period, so unlike the other (hypothetical) verb of the same name, there are references for this one.

105 It seems to me not totally implausible that the prytaneis were appointed for ten years; other (higher) basileis for life. Aristotle (Ath.Pol. 3.1), or rather his source Hellanikos, must have got the idea from somewhere, and this context is surely the most likely.

106 Thus freeing the Prytaneion for new uses and/or use by new people.

107 As the settlements grew, old naukraries could cease to be 'discrete' settlements, as surely happened to many in the environs of the akropolis and suburbs of Athens. Thus when Kleisthenes reorganised the system, naukraries really were obsolete and could be subsumed under the demes so easily and completely that they disappeared almost without trace.

108 Cf. discussion in Rhodes Comm. 1981:67-71.

According to Veitch in a book on the subject of Greek Verbs: irregular and defective (3rd.ed. 1871), which (understandably) caused the author "much toilsome labour and anxious thought", ergo has two forms. One has the spiritus asper, the other does not. The former means 'to shut in', the latter 'to shut out', 'restrain', 'keep off'. However, Smyth-Messing pointed out that the distinction is late and not always observed in Classical Attic(109), and noted that "old Attic forms in erg- (either breathing) are doubtful: Sophokles has -erxo, erxetai; Plato -erxas"(110). Moreover, neither Veitch nor Smyth-Messing recognize the 'work' idea in ergo; both cite only ergazomai for this meaning (many examples, from Homer onwards), and I have been unable to discover where and when the idea that ergo meant 'work' arose. It seems to derive from a philological confusion, not a philological argument.

Ergo is a boundary concept, and until well after our period it could mean to in-clude or ex-clude, apparently regardless of aspiration. Before the distinction in meaning (signified by the distinction in breathing) became canonical, ergo meant 'to shut in/up/out, enclose, exclude, bound, fence, bar' and so on. Georgos should perhaps, then, be translated as 'farm-er'(111). The shift in emphasis is slight, but it is subtle and important. For example, the latter has a strong connotation of 'farm owner', whilst the former smacks of 'farm hand'. Likewise for demiourgoi(112), instead of 'those who work in/for the village' (= demos), we get 'those who bound' (ie. guard)

109 Greek Grammar 1956:695.

110 Idem. Many more examples in Veitch under both ergos, both eirgos, and eergo.

111 Or more precisely, 'farm'. In a very perceptive passage on the vexed issue of who owned the land worked by the hektemoroi, Rhodes comments "In a community which has no written laws, and little or no writing of any kind, ownership as a legal concept can hardly exist. X farms the land bounded by the stream, the wood and the land farmed by Y", Comm. 1981:95 (my emphasis). He goes on, "and his ancestors farmed it before him: this, together with his neighbours' knowledge of it, is his title to the land." Precisely. Hence the term.

112 The -ou- results from crasis of ho er-.

OR 'those who are excluded' from the village. That is, 'village guardian' or 'non-village-er'(113). If this is accepted, then the first horizontal division of the inhabitants of Attika was into two strata, 'citizens' and 'non-citizens' in modern terminology(114). This makes obvious sense; the first distinction we might expect to be made in a society in transition to large-scale slave holding is that between who is, and who is not, a (free) member. There would have

113 Demiourgoi were in some communities (eg. Elis, Lokris) magistrates. This duality of the term is well discussed by Qviller, 'Prolegomena to a study of the Homeric Demiourgoi (Murakawa's theory re-examined)' SO 55(1980)5-21. The two almost opposite meanings are understandable if they derive from the living verb ergo, since a boundary concept can either include or exclude, leading on the one hand to the guardian (as Plato's) and on the other to the outcast (as the demiourgos normally appears). (Note the boundary idea in out-cast.) A number of cognate words currently derived from the hypothetical ergo 'to do work' refer to extremely tough manual labour such as mining (very few free men worked in the mines), quarrying and suchlike. Some refer unequivocally to slaves, for example ergasterion, currently translated 'workshop'. As Finley pointed out (E&S 1983:101), when Demosthenes said (27.19) 'they caused the ergasterion to disappear' "he could follow, as an exact synonym and with no possible misunderstanding, by saying that 'they caused the slaves to disappear'". Kakourgos similarly could undergo a slight shift in meaning, from 'evil-worker' ('evil-doer') to 'one who embraces evil'. Leitourgos is currently derived wholly from hypothetical words: hypothetical ergo (to do work) and hypothetical leitōs, supposedly from leos (of or for the people), which would appear to be a singularly unique derivation (see LSJ). Since leitourgos is not attested before the fourth century (LSJ), this strikes me as a highly suspect derivation. The prefix is clearly an unusual word; there are very few remotely similar, and it should be noted that one such, leia, means booty, plunder, and leelateo means to make booty, with acc. loci to plunder, despoil. (Compare ta leleitourgemena.) Both, moreover, are attested with this spelling (rather than Homeric eta) from classical times (Sophokles, Euripides, Herodotos, Thukydides etc.). I think we should understand leitourgeo along the lines of 'to bound (or 'harness') wealth' (see excursus, chap.4), leitourgia as 'a wealth duty' ('duty' catching the element of 'being bound' - to spend wealth), and leitourgos, as LSJ, 'one who performed a leitourgia', but with the latter understood as above. Note that Smyth-Messing employ eirgo as their paradigm for constructions after verbs of hindering and the like (prevent, restrain, refrain, refuse), op.cit. no.2744. (I am not suggesting that all words currently derived from the 'work' idea (hypothetical ergo) should be derived from the boundary concept (living ergo) only that they should be reconsidered.)

114 'Farm-er' (ownership of land was always the exclusive qualification and prerogative of citizenship in antiquity) and 'non-village-er' (if citizenship was ever in doubt, the neighbours were asked and/or local records consulted).

been few foreigners (ie. not-members) in the territory who were not slaves, and we may suppose with a reasonable degree of confidence that most, if not practically all demiourgoi were slaves(115).

Hektemorage: Sometime before Solon was empowered to try to solve the ills of the community, an institution had been invented which resulted in some people becoming hektemoroi, 'sixth-partners'. Hektemoroi and/or their children could, under certain conditions, be sold into slavery. Solon's first act was to abolish the lawful enslavement of Athenians, and since he considered this his greatest and most important act, we may surmise that it was the greatest single cause of the current ills - as perceived by the actors at the time(116). Hektemorage has been studied and discussed at great length. But it seems that some rather basic questions have not yet been asked.

Hektemoros means 'sixth-partner'. Everyone who became a hektemoros was bound over to pay the same proportion of something to whomsoever or whatsoever was the other half of the partnership. Neither Aristotle nor Plutarch, the two principal sources for hektemorage, state that the hektemoroi came to that status by falling into

115 Neither doulos nor any other word was a regular term for slave until Classical times. This hypothesis also accords with Aristotle's statement that most people employed in arts and crafts in ancient times were slaves (demiourgoi is normally rendered 'craftsmen'), and explains why demiourgoi were held in low esteem (most were slaves, and slaves are thoroughly dishonoured persons). It might be objected that this does not accord with Ath.Pol. 13.2, but the post-Damasias events are a problem on any interpretation. Most scholars properly reject the agroikoi and demiourgoi archons as a fabrication of later theorists (although the ghost has recently been resuscitated by Figueira art.cit.), and the most plausible current hypothesis to explain the passage is glossed as "not what A.P. says; but it may be what he ought to have said" (Rhodes Comm. 1981:183). Such a passage can hardly stand as an objection.

116 Cf. Solon frg.24 ALG ; Hektemorage does not seem to exist later (although the use of horoi was not abolished), and most scholars conclude that the seisachtheia involved the abolition of the institution of hektemorage as well as the veto on using persons as security for loans. Whilst I think this is, in effect, correct, the argument below tries to develop a more contextual view of this major episode in Athenian history. That is, I try to understand it as part of a process, rather than a one-off event.

debt(117), and some of Solon's poems do not imply economic distress, but rather the opposite(118). This accords with archaeological evidence of the period (growing prosperity). However, current consensus favours an 'indebtedness hypothesis' to explain hektemorage(119). This hypothesis implies an extremely complex and 'national', yet private system of debt contraction and repayment in order to produce the institution of sixth-partners. Loans would have been made for differing amounts, in situations of differing wants, needs and severity, by people of differing ability and desire to lend and borrow and so on (creditors as well as debtors)(120). The hypothesis assumes that a fixed repayment system was followed by or imposed upon everybody, creditors as well as debtors, completely irrespective of personal situational differences. Further, to arrive at hektemoros status in perpetuity through indebtedness, it is necessary to posit some kind of double-default clause. For the only area in which any flexibility can exist for absorbing variations in degree of indebtedness - time - must somehow be foreclosed.

There are clearly serious and fundamental problems in our understanding of this institution, and no amount of scholarly reference to obscure sources (not infrequently writing several centuries after the

117 Cf. Rhodes Comm. 1981:94.

118 Cf. eg. ALG 1 (esp. ll. 71-76), 3, 4, 5, 14, 23, 25, 26. Cf. also eg. Aristotle's summary Ath. Pol. 5.3, and Plutarch Solon 2.

119 In a recent paper on this matter ('Agricultural systems, land tenure, and the reforms of Solon' BSA 77(1982) Gallant has noted and correctly criticised the practice - implicit or explicit - of using Medieval feudalism as a guiding analogy. But the hypothesis he offers instead (based on gift-giving obligations, which can be seen as a variation of the indebtedness hypothesis) is reminiscent of British colonialism: "'Tis a strange species of generosity which requires a return infinitely more valuable than anything it could have bestowed; that demands as a reward for a defence of our property a surrender of those inestimable privileges, to the arbitrary will of vindictive tyrants, which alone gives value to that very property", Samuel Adams 'American Independence' delivered in 1776, published in Crowned Masterpieces of Eloquence 1914(I)88 (whence also the phrase 'a nation of shopkeepers', p.87). Whilst there is much of value in Gallant's paper, it still suffers many of the problems of the 'classic' indebtedness hypothesis.

120 And a debtor might acquire 'income' from sources other than the land (plundering for example).

institution had become obsolete) or protracted discussion of the finer details can compensate for this fact. The framework within which these details are understood and interpreted is fundamentally unsound.

So, let us explore possible alternative explanations. A re-examination should begin with the most serious difficulty for the indebtedness interpretation: the regularity of the 'outcome' or 'result', regardless of variations in the 'route' by which individuals became 'candidates' for hektemoros status. Since the outcome was fixed and national, the invention of the institution should belong to state legislation. Therefore I shall take it as axiomatic that the institution does not antedate the creation of the state; it is not a survival from pre-state (that is, Dark Age) times(121). Let us then turn our attention to the terminus ante quem. The man who abolished it, Solon, was remembered by Herodotos, our earliest source, "as a sage, a lawgiver and a poet, but not as a constitutional reformer"(122). Thukydides does not mention Solon at all. Rhodes' point is well taken:

Solon cannot have become a democratic hero until there was a self-conscious democracy which needed a hero(123).

It should be fully acknowledged that most sources on Solon's 'constitutional reforms' date from the fourth century or later, and that it is their introductions, summaries, and glosses on Solon's poems or laws which tends to guide the interpretation of his work in modern discussions. Great caution is needed to excise fourth century and later meanings attached to words current, but perhaps with a different semantic content, in Solon's time and poems.

Between the post- and ante- quem's there is one figure who was also

121 Its name also suggests it was a conscious man-made creation, not a gradual evolution, like pentekosiomedimnos as opposed to hippeis and zeugetai.

122 Rhodes Comm. 1981:118.

123 Comm. 1981:119, he continues, "and until the end of the fifth century Kleisthenes seems to have occupied that position". Quite so.

remembered as a lawgiver and not as a constitutional reformer (prior to the fourth century creation of his seventh century 'constitution' that is): Drakon. Rhodes guessed that "there were laws of Draco concerned with hektemoroi (perhaps standardising their status for the first time)"(124), and it is this guess I want to develop. Now, besides his homicide law, which Solon retained, there was/were certainly (an)other(s) which Solon abolished - like hektemorage(125). Thus we have two lawgivers, one of whom legislated on homicide and other unknown matters, the other of whom was invested with extraordinary powers to remedy the problems which subsequently arose(126). He promptly abolished those laws, except the one on homicide(127), and credited himself with having abolished the lawful enslavement of Athenians. The connection thus raises the question, was hektemorage an institution arising from (a) legal procedure(s) of some sort, in which hektemorage was a legally defined condition, and slavery was the penalty for failure to comply with those conditions? We should remember that Solon abolished the penalty; he may have substituted

124 Comm. 1981:111.

125 Gagarin's thesis that, since Drakon's first axone began "even if" a homicide was unintentional, it thus implicitly covered intentional homicide is, I think, a sound argument (DEAHL 1981). He leaves the question of what the second (and perhaps more) axone(s) legislated upon completely open.

126 Subsequently to Drakon; the relationship is not necessarily causal, but I think it was. There is, perhaps, an allusion to this in frg.10.

127 Consequently neither later ancient sources nor scholars since know what they were. It is rather unfair of Rhodes to blame the insertor of the 'Draconian constitution' for the Ath.Pol.'s hopelessly inadequate account of Drakon's thesmoi (Comm. 1981:87). Whether axones and kurbeis were the same or different objects is not the main point at issue (7.i ad.loc. (and if they were, as Rhodes argues, then the evidence for the existence of Drakon's laws in later times is completely equivocal)). It is whether or not Drakon's other laws were preserved (viz. not erased) after Solon which matters. Drakon's laws may well "demand fuller treatment", but if the evidence simply did not exist, the author of the Ath.Pol. should be credited for not inventing something suitable to fill the gap, not chastised or excused for recording only what he knew. That is, after all, considered a virtue in modern historiography, despite the yawning gaps which also (loudly) demand fuller treatment. (I am sensible of the fact that this comment may seem ironic in a distinctly theoretical treatment of a period for which evidence is at best scanty.)

another penalty; and at most he redefined the action which prompted the 'penalty' as not liable to a 'penalty'. But although he removed the horoi, which signified the condition of hektemorage, he did not abolish their use. Therefore, we need not assume that he abolished the action which had, through the previous conditions, defined the actor as a hektemoros. What Solon changed was the legal penalty pertaining to a certain legally defined condition, and perhaps those conditions. But it goes beyond the evidence to conclude that people did not go on doing whatever they had done before, and which had defined them as hektemoroi.

With the exception of the second century AD source Pollux (9.61), all sources agree that the only penalties laid down by Drakon were death(128) and atimia. Atimia was 'tamed' over the centuries; in our period the atimos

lost not merely his rights as a citizen but his rights as a person, vis-a-vis the individual(s) who he had injured or...the community as a whole, who might inflict on him death or any lesser penalty(129).

Quite in keeping with the neglect of slavery in general and the enslavement of Greeks by Greeks in particular, modern scholars tend to view atimia as either death or exile. Now the precise meaning of aidesasthai is 'to respect the person of', not 'to pardon'(130). A slave is quintessentially a person whose person is not respected. Solon's major achievement - by his own reckoning - was to stop the lawful enslavement of Athenians, and modern scholars' habit of reading this as metaphorical enslavement, viz. economic dependency, is

128 Which might be atimia misremembered, Rhodes Comm. 1981:111.

129 Rhodes Comm. 1981:158. Cf. also Harrison TLA 1971:169-176. Gagarin recognizes that to declare someone atimos was "in effect a means of condemning someone to death" (DEAHL 1981:119), but his argument, that exile was the main penalty of Drakon's law, implies that killers would risk their lives coming to court, since the plaintiff, if successful, might not give them the option of fleeing. This I find unlikely, and thus I take Solonic references to exiles to refer to those condemned in absentia, ie. they fled first, as is usual in Homer.

130 Cf. Gagarin DEAHL 1981:48 n.52: this was pointed out by Martin Ostwald.

completely unjustified. As Harrison pointed out,

There is no doubt that a court...could impose the death penalty on a citizen; it would seem illogical that it should have been precluded from imposing the less extreme penalty of being sold into slavery. On the other hand, early in their constitutional history the Athenians had ruled out enslavement for debt...(131).

We are concerned with precisely that period and precisely that ruling.

Therefore, a pre-Solonic atimos could be reduced to slavery. If he/she was lucky, he/she would be sold to another Athenian; if unlucky, he/she would be sold abroad. It should be remembered that this possibility remained in force after Solon for those convicted of either murder or manslaughter.

I have suggested that atimia might have been the penalty for failure to comply with the conditions of hektemorage. The question is, of course, what conditions? Educated guesswork is the best we can do to try to answer this. In later times

much the largest class of persons who were atimoi not by a decision of court (or only indirectly so) were state debtors(132).

A man might become a state debtor by three principal routes. (i) He might have bought something from the state (mining rights for example); (ii) he might be holding property of the state due for return; (iii) he might have incurred a fine. In Classical times those in arrears with payments of eisphora, an occasional tax falling on those holding over a certain amount of land,

seem to have been treated more leniently than other public debtors (because the tax was perceived as one falling on the property rather than on the person) and did not automatically fall into the class of state debtors, until a decision was taken to sell them up(133).

Drakon's laws were remembered as uniformly harsh; Solon was credited with introducing a note of leniency. Special leniency was allowed in Classical times for those whose debt to the state was somehow derived from their land holdings. Solon's reform, of course, concerned land

131 TLA 1971:169.

132 Harrison TLA 1971:172.

133 Harrison TLA 1971:172 with n.12.

holdings. Let us continue.

State debtors were subject to total atimia until their debt was paid off, and this atimia passed to their heirs with the same condition...It is going too far to say that they lost their capacity to own property, but the ban on their suing by way of dikai must have rendered them very vulnerable to attack not only on their property but also on their persons(134).

Needless to say, they were also barred from participating in political and judicial assemblies and bodies. There is much here that is reminiscent of Ath.Pol. 2.2-3:

All the land was under the control of a few men, and if the pelatai and hektemoroi(135) did not pay their rent (misthoseis apodidoien), they and their children could be seized. Further, all loans were made on the security of the person until the time of Solon - he was the first champion of the people(136). The harshest and most resented aspect of the constitution for most people was this slavery (although they had other complaints), for they had no share in any aspect of government(137).

'No share in any aspect of government' is a concise summary of the the situation for state debtors: barred from participation in any political assembly or judicial body. It should be noted that 'the villain of the piece' is the politeia, the constitution; it is not people - oligarchs, rich or other(138). This is quite in accord with the deep-rooted tradition that states passed from an original 'bad order' (kakonomia) to 'good order' (eunomia)(139), which has often been made to carry ideological baggage; first by the fifth and fourth century Attidographers, ideologues and politicians, and more recently (a completely different set of ideological luggage) by modern scholars through association with the monarchy-aristocracy-democracy 'progression'. But if we consider for a moment how new and how unprecedented the FIRST written laws were, we may reasonably surmise that they were also crude, and that they suffered from the inexperience of their

134 Harrison TLA 1971:83.

135 autoi must refer back to this; to translate it as 'the ordinary people' (as Moore) is misleading.

136 I would take this in a 'humanist' rather than 'democratic' sense.

137 Trans. Moore, with some modifications.

138 On the meaning of politeia here (that is, its usual meaning), cf. Rhodes Comm. 1981:89f.

139 On which see A.Szegedy-Maszak, 'Legends of the Greek Lawgivers' GRBS 19(1978)199-209.

makers (and their users). It is, in fact, unreasonable to suppose that there were not 'teething troubles' (as they are usually grossly understated) in a new development of this order.

The state debtor thread looks promising, and is directly supported by Ath.Pol. 6.1, which says that Solon's seisachtheia involved a cancellation of debts both private and public. Let us continue then.

In Classical times

(the demes) regularly owned landed property and derived part of their income from leasing it out for rent (misthoseis)(140).

If all the land was owned by 'landlords' in the days before the seisachtheia, how did they come to lose it, and how did the demes come to own any? Not by inheritance, at least, not by inheritance through practices and laws even remotely similar to those of the Classical period. Not by explicit constitutional act, not even Solon's seisachtheia, for this would surely have counted as a redistribution of land, which all sources positively refute(141). By purchase? Possible, but (i) why? (ii) with what? and (iii) would we not have some record of it in the surviving sources? No doubt a case could be constructed, but the most economical explanation is that the villages had always owned 'common land'; always since the synoikism that is(142).

At least 75% of known lessees in the Classical period were members of the deme whose land they rented(143). Since Solon had forbade using people as security, the demes safeguarded themselves against a defaulting debtor by one of three methods (they seem to have enjoyed

140 Whitehead Demes 1986:152f. The rents are extremely low (cf.p.155 esp.), which might be taken as Athenian 'charitability' but is rather, I think, indicative of the (low) level of 'profits' accruing from agriculture which would be necessary to pay the rent. The total income is substantial enough, however, which suggests that deme holdings were not insignificant in total acreage.

141 Besides other difficulties, such as why these great and powerful landlords, if such they were, obeyed Solon's laws and simply handed over their family estates to their serf-like tenants.

142 Cf.eg.Thuk.2.17 on 'the Pelasgian quarter' below the akropolis.

143 Whitehead Demes 1986:157f.

freedom to choose between these options): (i) enekhurasia, the right of ad hoc seizure of the property of the debtor; (ii) eggutai, the nomination of people to act as guarantors; (iii) apotimema, the nomination of property to be valued as security(144). Is it wishful thinking to see reference to Solon's legislation here, particularly in respect of the third(145)? Moreover, the phrase used in some of these decrees is apodidonai misthoseis - precisely the phrase used by Ath.Pol. 2.2: "and if they did not pay the rent, they and their children could be seized".

If hektemorage was an institution regulating the leasing of common land, then it had administrators. These are likely to be local officials, the predecessors of the demarchs who leased out deme land and collected the rents in Classical times(146). Ath.Pol. 8.3 quotes two phrases from laws no longer in force in his own day which he attributed to Solon: "the naukraroi shall collect" and "shall be spent from the funds of the naukrariai". The naukraroi, he explains, controlled eisphora(147), and expenditures. On the hypothesis being developed here, at least one of those first phrases would have been completed by "the rents"(148).

However, if these laws truly are Solon's, then they refer not to hektemorage but to the regulations which replaced the hektemorage laws. They may also refer to officials who replaced those who had administered hektemorage. For on the abolition of hektemorage, those

144 Whitehead Demes 1986:156f.

145 One sense of apo in composition is 'ceasing from', 'leaving off', LSJ c.3.

146 Cf. Whitehead Demes 1986 chap.6.

147 Normally taken in the sense of 'revenue' rather than a sort of land tax, eg. Rhodes Comm. 1981 ad.loc., which may be correct, but rests on the assumptions that (i) there were other sources of income at this time, and (ii) the naukraroi were responsible for any (and by implication, all) such as well.

148 This is precisely what Photios (s.v.naukraroi, "naukraroi, now the demarchs, they let out the public land" (ekmisthountes ta demosia)) and Ammonius (De diff.vocab. 97, "the naukraroi were those who collected the public property") would seem to have thought.

officials promptly became redundant, or, if they had performed other additional duties, they were suddenly left with a very reduced sphere of responsibility and influence(149). Administering hektemorage had given these men access to considerable authoritative resources; abolition of the institution cut off their power at source. Men in positions of authority do not normally take kindly to having their authority undermined, especially when it is done so completely. It is principally for this reason that I am now inclined, after initial scepticism, to think that Solon did establish the boule, as argued by Rhodes(150), but the boule understood as below, not as a council of 400 (or even 300).

The increase in state business, caused not least by Solon's own legislation, would have created a genuine need to increase the administrative machinery. However, this could have been achieved in a variety of ways, and instituting a new deliberative body was not the easiest way. 'The principle of least effort' does not need to be invoked; one merely has to recognise that enlarging or extending existing institutions, the authority of which is already established,

149 Here perhaps lies the origin of the two titles for apparently the same official (the prytaneis ton naukraron of Herodotos, and the naukraroi of Aristotle) and the existence of the Prytaneion before Solon and a second, later prytaneion associated with the bouleterion. On the abolition of hektemorage the court which had dealt with relevant cases became obsolete, and I suspect that the prytaneis were transferred from the Prytaneion (probably located north of the akropolis), to the area west of the agora, where the building complex (later to be known as the bouleterion) was developed (building C on Rhodes' plan (A) AB 1985:299, begun "about the time of Solon" (p.18)). The prytaneis retained their title, however, until, by precipitation, it was left to the standing committee. This created a great deal of confusion in the ancient and modern sources over the name of the place where this committee met; compare Rhodes Comm. 1981:105, 308 and 520, cf. also AB 1985:19 and n.1. It seems to me that many of the problems dissolve if we understand pre-Ephialtic prytaneis in the sense advanced here, and post-Ephialtic prytaneis in the sense of bouletic standing committee. Note that in Patrokleides' decree (apud Andokides 1. Myst. 78) basileis is plural: it may refer to the basileus plus the phylobasileis (who should have numbered ten at this time (408)), but that is conjecture. The earliest source (one of very few) for the term phylobasileis is the revised sacrificial calendar of 403/2, IG II2, 1357 A 3-8.

150 AB 1985:17-19, Comm. 1981:208f.

is easier than trying to carve out new jobs with new tools as well as with inexperienced personnel. But 'all other things' are never quite equal, and in this case if Solon had admitted the prytaneis (headmen of the villages) to the only existing governmental body, the Areopagus, he would have diluted the authority of its members, and considerably so: according to this hypothesis, the Areopagites would have numbered 54 (or possibly, + the hendeka, 65), whereas the prytaneis probably numbered in the region of more than a hundred at this time. By establishing a second council for the prytaneis, Solon would have compensated them for their loss of authoritative resources (occasioned by his abolition of hektemorage) with new authoritative resources (of government) without doing so at the expense of even more important men. Increased business would ensure that this was no quango, although it would have taken the prytaneis some time to 'grow into' the office, to discover its potential (viz. build up its authoritative resources), and then to start using that potential to generate and exercise authority. The responsibility with which it was originally endowed was probably probouletic powers over the ekklesia(151), but over time it came to assume greater and greater authority until, in 462/1, it became the chief organ of state(152). And since Solon had given the prytaneis this new responsibility, he invented a new office, called simply naukraros, for those who would now manage village affairs. Thus the hierarchy of offices continued to be built; thus new structures and new institutions were created and developed alongside the (also developing) old.

Let me then draw the threads of this argument together and present a synopsis of what might have happened in Attika from the synoikism to the Solonic reforms.

151 Rhodes AB 1985:209.

152 Thus I would view the restrictions on its authority up to this time as attempts to stop the boule appropriating powers, not records of its losses, with Rhodes AB 1985 (cf. esp. appendix to chap.4).

Synopsis: Attika, unlike the Argolid, was not a fertile plain. Much of the region was uninhabited and uncultivated when the eleven/twelve poleis united to form the huge Athenian polis. Upon union, the whole territory was organised into administrative units. The three regions (3 phulai) were each divided into three districts (making a total of 9 trittues), each of which was composed of three constituencies (producing 27 phratries). An unknown number of settlements (naukraries) happened to be or were minimally adjusted to group into these 27 phratries. All land not privately possessed (bounded) was deemed the property of the naukrary in the territory of which it most naturally fell; in some cases, eg.Mt.Hymettos, it might have been considered 'common land' owned by the phratry, trittus, phule or polis. There were larger oikoi, and there were smaller oikoi, but there were no 'great estates'. Seen as such, the situation was essentially the same as in the Argolid: all the land was parceled up and possessed by somebody. But in this case the 'owner' of any land onto which one might have wanted or needed to expand (without taking it from neighbours or other members of one's own community) was one's own community - the state in modern parlance - in the narrow sense of one's hamlet (naukrary) up to the widest sense of the Athenian polis. Except for those communities on the land border in the north, much of which is bounded by the Parnes range, expansion at the expense of other communities was impossible(153). The original division of the territory into administrative units and the allocation of ownership of currently uncultivated land to the community qua community had the (almost certainly unforeseen) consequence of 'freezing' the 'private sector' landholdings. All currently unpossessed land was effectively

153 The conquest of Eleusis is probably to be seen in this context: there is no real barrier between Eleusis and the NW of Attika. The Aigelaos hills are of a significantly different (lower) order from the Parnes range. The confused legends in Paus.7.1.1-2 are probably to be associated with the absorption of the trans-Aigelaos area.

made not so much inalienable but 'un-alienable'. Within the 'private sector' (as it stood at the time of the organisation) individuals could enlarge or reduce their landholdings through marriage, inheritance, sale or whatever, but the sector as a whole was fixed in extent.

With a growing population (much of which was influx of slaves), increasing prosperity, and the changing fortunes of individuals in their landholdings as in their lives, it is easy to imagine how this could become a source of discontent and distress, and how it would have acted as a constraint on the development of the Athenian 'economy' viewed broadly. I think it highly improbable that the 'planners' of this territorial organisation would have foreseen this eventuality. Thus it seems unlikely that any provision would have been made or guidelines laid down for the leasing of public land to private individuals. Rather, ad hoc arrangements would have been made when and where the need arose, and made by the local official ("the few" in Aristotle and his sources) as he saw fit. 'Public sector' land, which might have been quite extensive at this time, could thus be utilised and cultivated on the terms laid down by the prytanis (the naukrary president), or worked out between himself and the prospective lessee. It is easy to imagine how this too could become a source of discontent and distress, not only to potential or actual lessees, but also to the community whose 'common land' was being leased out to private individuals under perhaps very variable conditions.

Amongst his other legislation, of which we know only his homicide law, I suggest that Drakon regulated the leasing of communal land. To ensure that the community did not suffer defaulting debtors or rent-free tenants, security had to be given henceforth. We are told that before Solon loans could be secured only on the person, either of the lessee himself or of other persons over whom he had absolute

authority(154), who would be sold as slaves if the lessee defaulted. The rent was fixed uniformly at one sixth of something, probably of the annual harvest from the plot of land leased. This would make the rent relative to the productivity (not the abstract size) of the leased land. This rent probably went to supply communal activities, such as local festivals. Festivals commemorated the seasonal cycle, and were held at precisely the times of year that rents in agricultural products would be coming in. 'Rent' in this form may also have supplied community contributions to regional or pan-Athenaic festivals such as the Diasia. For we do not need to suppose that rent had to be converted from agricultural into nonagricultural goods, which implies a rather more developed 'economy' than the evidence from this period warrants. On the other hand, we should not exclude the possibility that rent could be paid in nonagricultural goods if the lessee was willing and able to offer such goods. However, prior to the adoption of coinage and the development of markets, payment of rent in goods that the community could use would severely constrain the range of alternatives to agricultural produce.

Horoi were erected to signify the contract between the lessee, who assumed the status of hektemoros (his title precisely indicating his position vis-a-vis the community) and the community whose land he leased. Qua holder of state property due for return, the lessee was atimos. This barred him from 'going to court'(155) and from actively participating in political assemblies and other 'civic' bodies. These conditions passed to his heirs if the lease passed to his heirs. That is, the hektemoros was not a defaulting debtor; he was merely a debtor qua lessee, but as a state debtor he was atimos. If he defaulted, his

154 Viz. their children and presumably any slaves they might have possessed. Wives were probably exempted because (a) a misogynist like Hesiod may have thought it desirable and beneficial to swap his wife for a large (or even a small) rent, unless (jokes apart) (b) her relatives would object.

155 Viz. whatever practices existed for settling disputes, for which this is probably a rather grand title in Drakonian times.

own land, his possessions, he himself or his children could be and were sold to raise the rent or seized in lieu of the rent.

Solon's seisachtheia, the 'shaking off of burdens', was then an act which not only wiped the rent slate clean(156), but also gave lessees the land they happened to be renting at the time. Now this would certainly be a radical act, but the evidence does, I think, suggest it(157). It will be objected that this would be, in effect, a redistribution of land, which the sources explicitly refute. But would the Greeks of the time have shared our insight into the difference between 'appearance' and 'reality'? For the consequence of Solon's act was that people now owned what hitherto they had rented from the state - no individual had lost his land, and nobody had gained what they had not been using already. Solon indicates what his contemporaries meant and understood by a 'redistribution of land': "they came to plunder with hopes of riches, and each of them expected to find great wealth" (ALG 23) - and being left with what they currently possessed and in some cases also what they currently rented was, as Solon also reveals, a big disappointment. "Their expectation was in vain, and now they are angry with me", he says (idem). His action may not have been radical enough for their taste. This is wrong, he claims, for he did what he had said he would do and nothing else. "It does not please me", he adds, "to act with violence", nor "to give equal shares of our rich country to the good and the bad alike" (idem). This statement is

156 Which is what it would have been if the *horoi* were on private land, which interpretation leads to serious problems; cf. Rhodes Comm. 1981:127. It should be noted that 'alternative livelihood' qua craftsmen or any other nonagricultural occupation (as Rhodes) presupposes that some farmers somewhere in Attika were producing enough food to feed these people, and that a well-developed exchange system existed (even before the adoption of coinage) so that those producing nonagricultural products could exchange them for food.

157 It should be remembered that the Greeks were not afraid of change: many acts were extremely 'radical' by modern standards, and note, it is we, not they, who call the Athenians' constitution 'a radical democracy' (the second word in the qualified sense of applying only to free adult male citizens).

usually interpreted as a metaphorical reference to political power; Solon 'shared the country' qua abstract political structure. But why should it be metaphorical? Solon was a lucid and direct - very direct - speaker elsewhere. Why risk possible ambiguity and confusion in his defence by using metaphors? This statement is preceded by a direct and unequivocal statement that people had hoped for material, not political, benefits, to which this is his defence. In another defence he says "If I must express my reproach of the people in clear terms: I say that what they have now they never would have dreamt of"(158). The reference is clearly to something that can be had, held, possessed. To interpret it as a metaphorical reference to something non-material (viz. abstract political rights) rests upon an unfounded assumption that those rights were hitherto denied, and flatly contradicts Solon's avowed aim to state his case in simple, direct language. It was the land, not the people, which was 'bound', 'enslaved', and when Solon used metaphor he made it quite clear: "I took up the markers fixed in many places - previously (Mother Earth) was enslaved, but now is free"(159). Community property was previously un-alienable: it was everyone's, and so it was no-one's. Solon freed it, made it alienable; he gave it to people, to families(160).

Thus I am inclined to view Solon's act as a gift from 'the state' of however much land happened to be rented out at the time to whoever had found it necessary or desirable to lease under stringent and potentially very harsh conditions. This really would have been 'giving to each according to his needs'(161). It 'cost' everybody,

158 ALG 25 (apud Ath.Pol. 12.5) first half trans.Moore, second half trans.Edmonds.

159 ALG 24 (trans.Moore, Ath.Pol. 12.4 ad.loc.).

160 "Eleutheros originally designated a person belonging to a family that forms an integral part of the community...later it is used to designate anyone who is free in the sense of not being a slave. But the original meaning was never completely forgotten" Fritz & Kapp Comm.Ath.Pol. 42 ad.loc.. Solon personified Earth in this passage, making the metaphor explicit. His use of eleutheros in this context is, I think, significant.

161 Cf. ALG 4.

qua community, something (viz. common land and income from rent), and yet it 'cost' no individual more than any other, and no private property had been taken away from anybody. It would have relieved any immediate pressures on those who had hitherto possessed insufficient land to meet their needs or desires by giving them just that amount which they had already and independently deemed they needed/desired and could afford(162).

It would also have irritated the aspiring elite. At a stroke the span of social and economic distance between the 'top' and the 'bottom' was drastically reduced. But amongst the most distinguished and wealthy men in the community, some would probably have shared Solon's view (he did, after all, have general support and his laws were obeyed; the discontents were in a minority). Some may, like him, have found the enslavement of neighbours disagreeable, a bad law (cf.frg.4). Some may, like him, have thought that the community as a whole was suffering under Drakon's law. Some may have been irritated by the aspiring elite who were also shrewd: if the allegations that some people 'got rich quick' were well-founded, by the same stroke which levelled the less shrewd, the shrewd may have greatly increased the span of social and economic distance between themselves and everyone else - to the chagrin of all, and to the less shrewd aspiring elite in particular(163).

Private debtors, pelatai, merely had the slate wiped clean. They

162 It would also have given substance to the allegation that some of Solon's friends - with or without his compliance - had 'got rich quick' by leasing land just before his legislation was put through. However, if this tradition has any truth, it is I think more likely to have been shrewd 'speculators' who profited, since Solon himself says that he did what he had previously (and, logically, publically) said he would do, cf.frg.23, 24. Thus such people need not have been his friends or acquaintances.

163 Cf. Ath.Pol. 6.2 and more generally 5.3. Note that Aristotle does not contend the point that some families of 'ancient wealth' acquired that wealth through Solon's seisachtheia (and thus implicitly in Solon's time, ie.'ancient' in the fourth century means the sixth century), only that Solon was an accomplice in this sharp dealing.

had borrowed material goods or land from other private individuals(164), and as their current debts were cancelled, so too was the use of their persons as security forbade for the future (as it was for all loans). This would have irritated not only their creditors (cf. Ath.Pol. 13.3) but also perhaps themselves, since securing loans in future would have been more difficult.

Solon did not give all common land away; he gave only so much as had been needed by any individual to make ends meet. This is perhaps what is to be understood by his claim to have

given the demos such portion (geras - like Odysseus') as was sufficient, neither reducing nor exceeding what was due. Those who possessed the ability/capacity (duramin, ie. those who had enough) and were admirable in possessions, I took care that they should suffer no injury/loss(165).

The community still had all common land which had not been under lease at the time (and the rent would perhaps still be the same, one sixth of the annual produce), and those who possessed enough land of their own had not lost anything: he had not robbed Peter to pay Paul. Nor had he given Paul too much; the villagers would follow their leaders best if they were neither given too much nor denied too much(166), for "surfeit breeds hubris, when great wealth comes to men who are not accustomed to it"(167). Such was his defence.

They were very equitable reforms: too equitable for the acquisitive among the Athenians (cf.frg.5), and we may easily understand how they could have irritated all sorts of people for many different reasons. But we should not overestimate the discontents: these reforms were so fair that, although people might have been irritated by them, such people could not complain without revealing that their own self-interest was squarely at the base of their irritation. These reforms gave the Athenians a generation's stability in a turbulent time, and

164 Pelatai is derived from pelazdo, one who approaches, one who does so to seek help, a dependent LSJ.

165 ALG 5.

166 That is, if they possessed neither too much nor too little land.

167 Literally, to men whose minds are not suited to it, frg.5.

they provided the framework for Athenian social, economic, juridical and political life over an equally turbulent century. As Campbell remarked,

His poems everywhere present a picture of an intelligent thinker, an ardent patriot, as enthusiastic but fair-minded reformer and a thoroughly honest man(168).

Solon earned his place among the Seven Sages.

Chapter 6: Model-based analysis of Greek settlement structures

One could reasonably argue that it is...settlement archaeology which is potentially the richest and most direct source for knowledge of social evolution.

A.M.Snodgrass

'The Ancient Greek World' in J.Bintliff (ed)
European Social Evolution
1984:229.

6.1 Introduction

The significance of the spatial dimension in the structural transformation out of which emerged the poleis has been stressed repeatedly in this thesis. Any historian knows that societies are not merely located in time. Nor are they merely located in space, as any geographer knows. Societies exist in and across time and space, and their particular location in both dimensions has a chronic influence on them(1). But over the past fifty years increasing specialisation in geography, history and sociology has led to a breakdown of communication between these disciplines, as a consequence of which all are poorer in some respects. A growing number of scholars and social scientists are now concerned to rectify this. Some social scientists are trying to incorporate the temporal dimension into their perspectives(2); some archaeologists (but unfortunately few ancient historians) are becoming more aware of the importance of space and of social theory.

Spatial analysis, for example, has become a regular feature of archaeological research over the last decade(3), applied to data from Thailand to Britain(4), and an integral part of recent expeditions to

- 1 The old analogy compares geography with a stage and history with a drama acted upon it. It is inadequate not least because "a stage is static and geography is not - not only does it change with time and circumstances, it also plays a part itself; furthermore, man himself is a factor in geographic change and the actor is always changing the stage", D.Sturley The Study of History 1969:84. Davenport offers a better analogy: "geography is the wife of history, as space is the wife of time" The Geography of the Imagination 1984:4.
- 2 For example, M.Mann writes: "Sociological theory cannot develop without knowledge of history...the study of history is impoverished without sociology. If historians eschew theory of how societies operate, they imprison themselves in the commonsense notions of their own society...we can never be 'sufficiently scholarly': there are more social and historical data than we can digest. A strong sense of theory enables us to decide what might be the key facts, what might be central and what might be marginal to an understanding of how a particular society works", The Sources of Social Power 1986:vii.
- 3 Pioneering texts by I.Hodder & C.Orton Spatial Analysis in Archaeology 1976 and D.L.Clarke (ed) Spatial Archaeology 1977.
- 4 Thailand: cf.C.F.W.Higham, A.Kijngam & B.F.J.Manly 'Site location and site hierarchy in prehistoric Thailand' Proc.Prehistoric Soc.

Greece: those to Melos, Boiotia and Phokis for instance(5). These analyses usually borrow techniques developed in geography and biometrics to test for spatial patterning(6) and to analyse site location(7). Central place theory and its relatives (eg.Thiessen polygons) have been applied more or less successfully in a variety of archaeological contexts(8). There have also been attempts to build models specifically in and for archaeological contexts, for example Renfrew's Early State Module (abbreviated ESM)(9). Renfrew and Level's pioneering XTENT model(10) pointed away from an exclusive preoccupation with material culture toward social factors (specifically, political dominance), but made some heavy and quite unjustifiable assumptions. Nevertheless, in rejecting both the model and the intention, archaeologists threw out the baby with the bathwater, and archaeology remains, generally speaking, firmly attached to identifying whether or not there are statistically 'significant' relationships between natural resources and habitation sites, or diagnosing

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- 48(1982)1-27. Britain: cf.I.Hodder 'Some new directions in spatial analysis of archaeological settlement' in D.L.Clarke (ed) op.cit. 1977:223-351.
- 5 Melos: cf.M.Wagstaff & J.Cherry (the former is a geographer) in C.Renfrew and M.Wagstaff (edd) An Island Polity 1982. Boiotia: cf.J.Bintliff and A.M.Snodgrass 'The Cambridge/Bradford Boiotia Expedition: the First Four Years' Jour.Field Archaeology 12(1985)123-161. Phokis: cf.P.K.Doorn 'Geographical analysis of early modern data in ancient historical research: the example of the Strouza Region Project in Central Greece' Trans.Inst.Brit.Geog. 1985:275-291. There is no parallel of which I am aware in ancient historical research except insofar as is included within the archaeologists' ambit.
- 6 Survey by C.Orton 'Stochastic Processes and Archaeological Mechanism in Spatial Analysis' Jour.Arch.Sci. 9(1982)1-23.
- 7 Review by K.Butzer Archaeology as Human Ecology part III 1982:211-320 (also a geographer by training).
- 8 Pioneering study by G.A.Johnson 'A test of the utility of central place theory in archaeology' in P.J.Ucko, R.Tringham and G.W.Dimbleby (edd) Man, Settlement and Urbanism 1972:769-785.
- 9 First advanced in 'Trade as Action at a Distance' in J.A. Sabloff & C.C.Lamberg-Karlevsky (edd) Ancient Trade and Civilisations 1975:3-59; see also 'Space, time and polity' in Friedman and M.Rowlands (edd) The Evolution of Social Systems 1974:89-114. For a recent critique of this model see A.R.Fisher 'The Early State Module: A critical reassessment' OJA 4(1985)1-8.
- 10 'Exploring Dominance: Predicting Polities from Centres' in C.Renfrew and K.L.Cooke (edd) Transformations, Mathematical Approaches to Culture Change 1979:145-168.

spatial distributions of archaeological assemblages as random, 'clustered' or uniform. Having identified such as, at best, 'clustered' (an ambiguous term), this kind of analysis is not supported by any theory to suggest why the pattern should be so, thus whatever interpretations might be suggested for the pattern are quite divorced from the techniques used to identify it as a pattern.

At the same time, settlement archaeology is recognised to hold great potential for understanding social process and change (see epigram). More generally, model and theory building in historical and archaeological contexts have been called for ever more loudly since the 1970's(11); regional studies have been called for recently to avoid obfuscating ethnocentricity (the ethnos of which is debateable anyway)(12); interaction between equals is the basis of the theory of Peer Polity Interaction(13); and history and the social sciences are currently being argued to be (in theory at least) methodologically indistinguishable(14).

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- 11 By, for instance, L.Binford (eg. In Pursuit of the Past 1984); K.Butzer (eg. Archaeology as Human Ecology 1982); M.I.Finley (eg. AH 1985); R.Fogel (eg.(with G.R.Elton) Which Road to the Past? 1984); and A.M. Snodgrass (eg.'The New Archaeology and the Classical Archaeologist' AJA 89(1985)31-37).
- 12 By J.K.Davies in an address to the Triennial Joint Meeting of the Greek and Roman Societies held in Cambridge 29 July to 2 August 1985.
- 13 Developed by prehistorians at Cambridge under the direction of C.Renfrew, cf.C.Renfrew 'Polity and power: interaction, intensification and exploitation' in C.Renfrew & M.Wagstaff op.cit. 1982 and J.Cherry 'The emergence of the State in the Prehistoric Aegean' PCPS N.S.30(1984)18-48, and now Peer Polity Interaction edd.C.Renfrew & J.Cherry 1986.
- 14 By, amongst others, A.Giddens, cf.esp. The Constitution of Society 1984, A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism 1981 and Central Problems in Social Theory 1979. In practice the situation is neatly summed up by K.T.Erikson: "some historians bristle at the suggestion that their work is governed by anything so strict and binding as a method, and many sociologists are only too ready to endorse that judgement", 'Sociology and the historical perspective' in M.Drake (ed) Applied Historical Studies 1973:26. Keith Hopkins is of course a sociologist by training, and Giddens' predecessor (in the Chair of Sociology at Cambridge) W.G.Runciman has moved very successfully into historical research, cf.eg. 'Origins of states: the case of ancient Greece' CSSH 24(1982)351-377; 'Capitalism without Classes: The Case of Classical Rome' Brit.Journ.Sociology 34(1983)157-181; 'Accelerating Social Mobility: the case of Anglo-Saxon England' Past and Present

Model and theory building in contemporary geography is well established and mathematically sophisticated. One of the leading figures in this field is Alan Wilson(15), under whose direction a team of geographers have been developing penetrating new methods of spatial analysis and a new location theory over the last decade. In this final chapter I report on a project undertaken in collaboration with Professor Wilson during the session 1984/5 in which the spatial dimension of Greek history was explored in a new and exciting way - through mathematical modelling of spatial interaction(16).

In a very real sense the meeting of history and geography at this time is doubly fortuitous. In the historical case, detailed evidence simply does not exist. Our picture of Greek society is inevitably simplified through the partial survival and recovery of evidence, archaeological and literary. The historian needs the best spatial analysis can offer. In the geographical case, empirical testing with time series evidence is a major desideratum for the refinement and further development of the models and their underlying theory. Moreover, these models are still being explored, and testing is far easier in circumstances where complicating factors are minimal. Greek society wasn't 'simple', but it was less complex than modern society, and what evidence has survived to us simplifies it further (if in the

104(1984)3-30. Cf. also the collection of essays in T. Skocpol (ed.) Vision and Method in Historical Sociology 1984, and the introductory text of P. Burke Sociology and History 1980. The theory of structuration is also being developed by geographers with equal recognition of the importance of the temporal dimension, cf. eg. T. Carlstein, D. Parkes and N. Thrift (edd) Making Sense of Time 1978 (3 vols.) and A. Pred (ed) Space and Time in Geography: Essays dedicated to Torsten Hagerstrand 1981: I owe these very interesting references to Alan Wilson. For a Collingwood-type approach see L. Guelke Historical Understanding in Geography 1982.

15 Cf. eg. Urban and regional models in geography and planning (henceforth URM) 1974, Geography and the environment: systems analytical methods (henceforth GE) 1981, and Catastrophe Theory and Bifurcation: applications to urban and regional systems 1981.

16 For a brief introduction to this work, see T. E. Rihll & A. G. Wilson 'Model-based approaches to the analysis of regional settlement structures: the case of Ancient Greece' in History and Computing Proceedings Inaug. Conf. of the Assoc. (Westfield College, London, 21-23 March 1986) (forthcoming).

process complicating the task of understanding and explaining that society). This is not a final-stage exercise:

empirical experimentation coupled with theoretical developments is probably a necessary condition for fruitful progress in a research programme(17).

The research which forms the substance of this chapter should be considered a pilot study: it is not a definitive account culminating in "the answer is x". The results are sufficiently encouraging to warrant pursuance, the potential benefit to understanding social process and change considerable - beyond the particular case of Ancient Greece and the emergence then and there of the polis, markets, social stratification and urbanisation.

The problems tackled were, why did some settlements become cities whereas others did not, and why did some cities become greater than others? Cities are at the core of 'civilisations': citizen, civic, civil and civilised are all etymologically(18) and historically intertwined with the phenomenon of the city, and nowhere moreso than in the city-states. Attempts to define 'the city' have now been abandoned by geographers and sociologists as futile and misdirected(19), and the city is instead conceptualised in terms of a storage container and crucible for the generation of power(20). Cities are, above all,

17 M.Clarke & A.G.Wilson 'The Dynamics of Urban Spatial Structure: the progress of a research programme' Trans.Inst.Brit.Geog. 10(1985)427-51; cf.also Wilson 'The Evolution of Urban Spatial Structure: the evolution of theory' in R.J.Bennett (ed.) European Progress in Spatial Analysis 1981:201-205, and Wilson 'Location Theory' Working Paper 390, 1985:34. Cf.also M.Clarke & A.G.Wilson 'The Dynamics of Urban Spatial Structure: progress and problems' Journ.Reg.Sci. 23(1983)1-18.

18 Note that these English terms are derived from Latin, not Greek. The nearest corresponding terms in Greek give us 'the body politic', politics, the -politian in cosmopolitan, and political. 'Man is a political animal', ie. man is an animal whose 'natural habitat' is a polis, is the nearest one can get to the idea of 'civilized life' in Greek.

19 Cf.eg.P.Abrams 'Towns and Economic Growth: Some Theories and Problems' Towns in Societies edd.P.Abrams and E.A.Wrigley CUP 1979:9-33. R.Harris 'The spatial approach to the urban question: a comment' Env.& Planning D 1(1983)101-105.

20 Cf.eg.D.Harvey Social Justice and the City Arnold 1973. A.Giddens CS 1984, and chap.4 above.

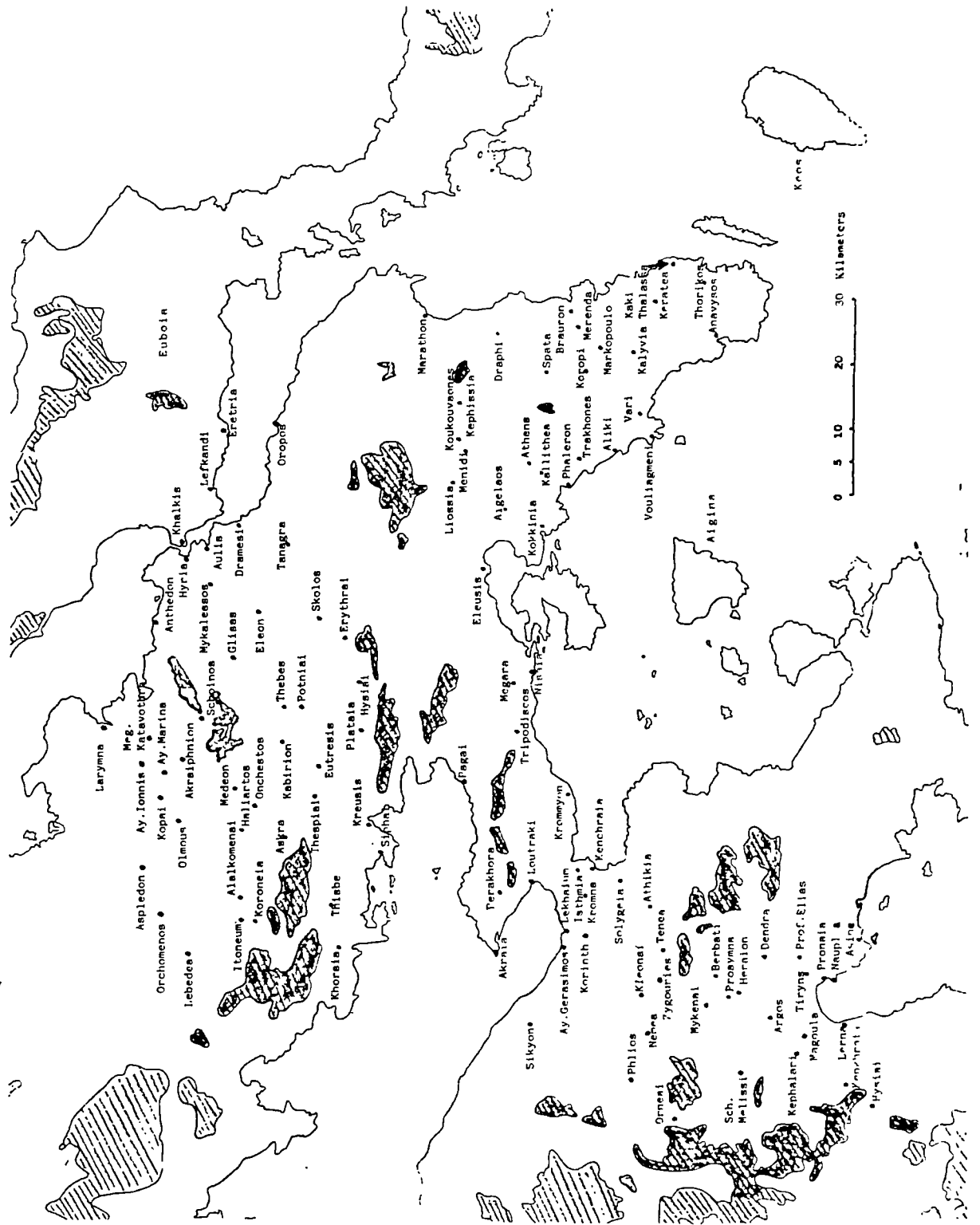
loci of social interaction, places where social action is concentrated and focussed.

6.2 Preliminaries

Theoretical desiderata in model-building: Theoretical desiderata in model-building are (i) a clearly defined problem and sharply defined hypotheses which are compatible with the available evidence. Elaborate hypotheses require elaborate evidence. In these early days, the simpler the model the better. (ii) The evidence available may be alternatively sparse, superabundant, incommensurate, highly subjective, and is always partial, especially in more remote periods. Consequently a model should be independent of the database, and this renders the model pro tanto independent of the data used to test it. (iii) The model should be sensitive to slight changes in parameter values and be able to simulate a variety of possible situations and conditions. (iv) It should be robust, that is, it should perform reasonably well even if the data are imperfect, for example, if there are errors or omissions in the database(21).

The Survey Area: The survey area (map 2) was selected to encompass several major poleis about which a great deal is known historically and archaeologically (Athens and Korinth); two regions which are seriously neglected in the surviving literary sources but which have received considerable archaeological investigation recently (Boiotia and the Argolid); the general area within which the earliest poleis are thought to have arisen (Argolid-Korinthia); and three sites on the island of Euboia (Khalkis, Lefkandi and Eretria) to explore topographic modelling of communication across water.

21 On all of these points, see the various papers in J.Sabloff (ed.) Simulations in Archaeology, 1981.



Map 2

The Evidence: The time span selected was the Geometric Period (c.900-700 BC). It is obviously a theoretical desideratum that the sites included in the analysis be as contemporaneous as possible for the problem at hand. Therefore it was necessary to define an admission period which had to include the period from and in which the polis is believed to have emerged: roughly, the eighth century BC. This had to be associated with an abundant, easily recognisable, relatively well dated type of evidence which, moreover, is likely to be included in archaeological or topographical reports and notices no matter how brief. Pottery, being ubiquitous and practically indestructible, was the obvious candidate. Middle Geometric to late Orientalising would have been the ideal choice, but since many reports do not distinguish the three main phases of Geometric, and Orientalising is a poorly defined category, 'Geometric' was taken as the 'admission ticket' for inclusion of a site into the analysis. A few sites were admitted without this 'ticket': the absence of publication of identified Geometric sherds at a site which has not been excavated was not considered sufficient reason to exclude a site which for other reasons(22) was thought to have been occupied during the period. A few sites having the 'ticket' were excluded: the peak sanctuary of Mt.Hymettos, recently blown up by the Greek military during manoeuvres(23), the Ptoion sanctuary near Akraiphnion(24), and any sites I may have missed in the literature search(25).

22 E.g. literary evidence, or a short gap in apparently long occupation (especially if LHIIIC was present). "The absence of PG and G sherds should not be taken as hard evidence of total abandonment during this period...almost none of (the Iliad Catalogue sites) have been systematically explored let alone scientifically excavated. It is highly probable that further excavation would show total depopulation to be very rare" G.S.Kirk Comm. 1985:195.

23 C.W.J.Eliot PECS 1976:400 s.v.Hymettos. See M.K.Langdon A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt.Hymettos Hesp. Supp.16 (1976) for thorough study of this sanctuary.

24 Because there is nothing to suggest that anybody lived at the site. However, this is a theoretically weak distinction and I intend to include such places in future analyses.

25 Completed Dec.1984. Constant updating is inherently required of any collection of archaeological data. However, since funding has

This produced 109 sites within the survey area. The Megarid and Oropia are particularly bleak. However, until they are surveyed this situation will not improve. References for each site are given in the site appendix. Map references, where known, are given there, and those sites which are reported to be "somewhere in grid xx/yy" were spotted on the map using whatever topographical information was available or, at worst, at what visually appeared to be the likeliest spot in the map grid bearing in mind topography; defensive position; access to water; other sites (if any); location of contemporary or ruined chapels (if any); or any other feature which suggested itself in that particular area.

Site location is the only data the model requires, although further information (where known) can be given if desired (see discussion below). This minimisation of necessary input data has the great benefit of rendering the model independent of virtually everything known about a site, which evidence can thus be utilised as truly independent evidence to test the results. This is an important quality which should not be under-rated - and should be borne in mind if Cartesian co-ordinates are modified for any purpose other than better to represent topographic or other natural phenomena.

6.3 The Minimal Input Spatial Interaction Model (MISIM)

Of the tradition to which this model belongs the claim has been made that, in theory, it is independent of "what is conventionally taken as underpinning economic theory"(26). There is a growing body of evidence to support the mathematics and their interpretation in

been secured to continue development of this work for two years from Oct. 1986; since a thorough search is inestimably better than ad hoc additions as and when discovered; and since such a search is extremely time-consuming, I have deferred making any alterations (and the search, incorporation and analysis that would involve) for the future.

26 Clarke & Wilson art.cit. 1985. Recent overview of developments, Wilson art.cit. 1985, esp.32,34.

contemporary society, and if, as has been argued(27), 'classic' spatial theories such as those of von Thunen, Weber and Christaller can be recast in terms of the approach which generated this model, then there is a great deal of evidence to support the overall form of the mathematics and their interpretation in historical as well as contemporary societies. This in turn suggests that the general model structure may envelope essential structural properties which are invariant "from century to century and continent to continent"(28).

However, a model of this type had not hitherto been tested in an historical context. Our context, moreover, is one in which modern economic theory certainly does not apply. The family of models(29) to which this one belongs employ entropy-maximising methods, and the interpretation of model results depends partly upon how entropy is understood. There are at least three ways of understanding the concept(30), of which the most common in the social sciences is that derived from statistical mechanics. On this interpretation, the entropy-maximising method finds the most probable overall state of a system at a given time subject to the known constraints(31). This assumes

in effect, that we are calculating the statistical averages of behaviour...of all the individuals in the system. Thus the entropy maximising method can be seen simply as a statistical

27 Wilson art.cit. 1985, art.cit. 1981.

28 K.L.Cooke 'On the Construction and Evaluation of Mathematical Models' Simulations in Archaeology 1981:245.

29 Cf. Wilson 'A family of spatial interaction models, and associated developments' Env. & Planning 3(1971)1-32.

30 Cf. Wilson Entropy in Urban and Regional Modelling (henceforth Entropy) 1970, and cf. the cautionary note p.125. H.C.W.L. Williams & A.G. Wilson 'Some Comments on the Theoretical and Analytic Structure of Urban and Regional Models' Systemi Urbani 2(1980)203-242.

31 Cf. Wilson Entropy 1970. For brief discussion see R.W.Thomas & R.J.Huggett Modelling in Geography: a mathematical approach 1980:153. P.Haggett, A.D.Cliff & A.Frey Locational Analysis in Human Geography (I) Models 1977(I)45-47. Noticed by archaeologists ten years ago; cf. I.Hodder & C.Orton op.cit. 1976:188. D.L.Clarke (ed) op.cit. 1977:20-21. C.L.Crumley 'Three Locational Models: An Epistemological Assessment for Anthropology and Archaeology' Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory 2(1979)146.

averaging method(32).

It recognises that individuals have several options open to them without presuming to choose between such options on their behalf, and it does not require detailed knowledge of individual behaviour. This interpretation, which depends essentially on the notion of a 'state' (in place of the notion of a 'mass' in the Newtonian gravity model analogy) and of a 'state description', renders models based on entropy-maximising methods appropriate to and compatible with the understanding of society and history which underlies the theory of structuration as formulated by Anthony Giddens:

Structures are, in a logical sense, properties of social systems or collectivities, not of the situated activities of subjects. Social systems only exist in and through structuration, as the outcome of the contingent acts of a multiplicity of human beings(33).

Entropy-maximising methods require that the state of the system is described in terms of total figures, for example, total number of sites, total population. This is a macro-description. A micro-description, by contrast, would describe the movement of every individual (individually identified) in the system. Since we have no knowledge of individual micro-states, we assume that all micro-states which satisfy the macro-description(34) are equally probable. A meso-description is a feasible trip matrix which satisfies the overall conditions (or 'constraints'). That is, a meso-state would describe the pattern of settlement size and interaction flows in terms of numbers, rather than actual identifiers. Clearly, there would be millions of possible meso-states (there are 109 sites). Now, finding the most probable of those meso-states is where entropy maximising methods come in. What the entropy formula does is to calculate how many possible micro-states could produce each possible meso-state. It

32 Wilson Entropy 1970:7.

33 Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory 1982:35.

34 That is, which satisfy the conditions of the total number of sites between which interaction could take place and the number of individuals who could travel from any site to any other.

ignores the identity of each individual, and simply counts the number of individuals travelling from and to every site in the system. A description of the system in these terms is a meso-description, and the meso-state which can arise from the largest number of possible micro-states is the most likely overall pattern within the system. This is what we want the model to predict(35). Entropy-maximising methods allow us to determine the most probable overall "end" as that which may result from the greatest number of different "means" within a certain set of conditions. The model can thus handle structures as properties of the system, rather than of situated activities of individual actors.

The mathematics have been found to possess some interesting qualities, unsuspected relationships (particularly in dynamics) between various elements(36), many of which are not yet thoroughly understood (nor, consequently, integrated with the interpretive process and empirical evidence). On the interpretive side, many of the factors and forces thought to underlie processes of social change and to interrelate in some at present inspecific way have not yet been formulated in more rigorous terms and relationships whereby they can be incorporated into the model and tested. The parameters allow us to include in the model and experiment with relationships we think are important, even if data are lacking(37). As Low stated succinctly,

giving an important relationship some intuitively reasonable value is superior to excluding the relationship altogether and thus

35 For a discussion of entropy maximising methods cf. Wilson Entropy 1971, for a briefer treatment GE 1981:58-61.

36 Cf. eg. M. Clarke & A.G. Wilson art. cit. 1985; A.G. Wilson art. cit. 1985; J.R. Beaumont, M. Clarke & A.G. Wilson 'Changing energy parameters and the revolution of urban spatial structure' Reg. Sci. & Urban Econ. 11(1981)287-315. A.G. Wilson & M. Clarke 'Some illustrations of catastrophe theory applied to urban retailing structures' in M.J. Brehemy (ed) Developments in urban and regional analysis 1979:5-27; B. Harris & A.G. Wilson 'Equilibrium values and dynamics of attractiveness terms in production-constrained spatial-interaction models' Env. & Planning A 10(1978)371-388.

37 But elements must relate to each other in the explanatory hypothesis as they do in the mathematics.

attributing the precise value of zero(38). Things which vary from site to site (or member to member) within the set of sites under consideration are called variables. Things which are considered to be the same across the whole system (ie. for all members of the set) are called parameters. One variable we want to identify is population. In model-building of this kind, it is necessary to represent things algebraically(39). So let G represent population. Initially we assume that G at all sites is the same. We also want to identify sites in two ways: once as the place from which interaction flows, and once as the place to which it flows. So let i represent the site from which interaction flows (the origin zone), and j represent the site to which it flows (the destination zone). We represent interaction between sites as S_{ij} . Another thing we need to identify and represent algebraically is the distance between any two sites; let distance be represented by c , so that c_{ij} represents the distance between i and j (40).

The gravity model, first used by the demographer Ravenstein in 1885 and retained here for comparison, is usually expressed as

$$S_{ij} = G_i G_j / c_{ij}^2 \quad [11]$$

The equation hypothesizes that interaction between i and j is proportional to the population at i , multiplied by the population at j ,

38 G.W.Low 'Using System Dynamics to Simulate the Past' in J.A.Sabloff (ed) Simulations in Archaeology 1981:259.

39 Cf. discussion in Wilson URM 1974:35f.

40 There is one important difference here between this model and its contemporary relatives which should be clarified, especially since the notation has been retained unchanged. In contemporary situations, c_{ij} is the generalised cost of travelling from i to j (ie. time and money). In our case, it is the Euclidean distance between i and j . Where settlements are located, which is not what the model is about, is due to a complex variety of causes or factors which are not yet properly understood. No matter; location is perhaps one of the most stable aspects of settlements, and is certainly treated as such in most spatial analyses, this one included. We are not interested in why settlements are located where they are, but in the consequences of their location. The distance between settlements is then, to all intents and purposes, fixed and arbitrary. This should not be confused with the distance modification facility built into the model; that allows real topographic barriers, for instance, to be better approximated.

divided by the distance between i and j squared. But it can be improved through the addition of a constant, k , and a negative exponential function in place of the inverse square law, giving

$$S_{ij} = kG_i G_j e^{-\beta c_{ij}} \quad [2]$$

The negative exponential function has approximately the same effect as dividing by the distance between sites squared, but the parameter beta allows us to 'fine tune' the relationship between interaction and distance. The empirical observation that interaction declines with distance can be modelled through this function, which arises algebraically from entropy-maximising methods. e is a special number(41), and beta is a parameter. c_{ij} we have already met. The gravity model is incorporated into the program (for comparison) in this form.

A more recent technique used in the analysis is the accessibility measure(42), written formally as

$$X_i^V = \sum_j V_j e^{-\beta c_{ij}} \quad [3]$$

where X_i^V is the accessibility measure to variable V from i , and the negative exponential function is as above. This measure is calculated for three variables, G (population), W (importance), and WF (importance as predicted on a feedback routine (see below)). This calculation is essentially independent of the rest, although the values of the variables used here are taken from the following model, which is the principal subroutine of the program, and which will hereafter be referred to as the Minimal Input Spatial Interaction Model, or MISIM for short.

In this model we introduce another variable, 'size' or 'importance', represented by W . Thus each site has two variables: popula-

41 Like π , value (to five decimal places) 2.71828.

42 Cf. W.G. Hansen 'How accessibility shapes land use' Journ. American Inst. Planners 25(1959)73-76. Cf. also J. Black & M. Conroy 'Accessibility measures and the social evaluation of urban structure' Env. & Planning A 9(1977)1013-1031, and Wilson URM 1974.

tion and importance. Future research may be able to disaggregate some aspects or factors from what are currently highly abstract elements, but at this stage it is better to keep things as simple as possible. G is again initially assumed to be equal for all settlements, as is W (which is initially assumed to be equal to G). We now calculate

$$S_{ij} = A_i G_i W_j e^{\alpha - \beta c_{ij}} \quad [4]$$

where

$$A_i = 1 / \sum_j W_j e^{\alpha - \beta c_{ij}} \quad [5]$$

A_i is a balancing factor; a constraint to ensure that if G_i is doubled and W_j is doubled, then S_{ij} is multiplied not by four but by two. It also ensures that the calculations take account of competition at i from all other j 's(43). The alpha is another parameter, usually related to the notion of scale economies(44). The hypothesis expressed in equation [4] may, at the risk of oversimplification, be stated as: interaction between i and j (S_{ij}) is proportional to the population at i (G_i) multiplied by the importance of j (W_j) raised to the power alpha, multiplied by a negative exponential function of the distance between i and j (c_{ij}). Competition from all other j 's is handled through (A_i) (see [5]). The parameters alpha and beta are the only things the user modifies; the MISIM itself determines values of G and W .

To predict settlement 'importance', W , we calculate the total interaction flow attracted to j , which we represent by D_j , which may be considered an indicator of the importance of j :

$$D_j = \sum_i S_{ij} \quad [6]$$

We hypothesize that if D_j is greater than our initial W_j , then W_j should be increased; if D_j is less than W_j , then it should be

43 Cf. Wilson URM 1974:44.

44 Cf. Wilson 'A statistical theory of spatial distribution models' Transportation Research 1(1967)253-269. See further below.

decreased. That is, if the interaction calculation suggests that a particular destination zone j receives more inflow (D_j) than we at first assumed (W_j) then we should increase W_j until it is equal to D_j . Similarly, if D_j is less, W_j should be less. However, this is not easy to calculate, because every zone (site) is interdependent (through the constraint A_i), and a changed value in W_j at one site will affect all others - which would then make the changed value wrong. So, in order to achieve

$$D_j = W_j \quad [7]$$

we have to substitute for D_j from [6]

$$\sum_i S_{ij} = W_j \quad [8]$$

and then for S_{ij} from [4] and [5] to give

$$\sum_i \frac{G_i W_j^\alpha e^{-\beta c_{ij}}}{\sum_j W_j^\alpha e^{-\beta c_{ij}}} = W_j \quad [9]$$

These are non-linear simultaneous equations which, for given values of alpha and beta, can be solved to give a prediction of $\langle W \rangle$ (45). Suffice to say here that the importance of a site is reckoned to be proportional to the total inflow attracted to it; those sites which are so situated vis-a-vis other sites that they are the destination for a greater number of interactors are hypothesized to be the more important loci.

Now we have a W_j for each settlement, we can relax the assumption that all G_i 's are equal, and set G_i to W_i . We can then rerun the program to calculate new W_j 's based on different population sizes, indicated as $\langle W_j^F \rangle$ to show that these are the results from the feedback version. That is, we now replace the assumption that all G_i are equal with the hypothesis that the population at any site is proportional to its importance ($W_i = G_i$).

A further method, an extended version of the Nystuen and Dacey interaction-pattern analysis(46), is incorporated into the program to provide another analysis of hierarchy (the identification of terminals), which also gives a visual presentation of the results. Using the results from [6], for each zone i J_i is calculated, the j -value for which S_{ij} is a maximum. That is, J_i equals the largest flow from i to any j , and indicates the destination zone which receives the highest flow from i . If D_i is greater than D_{J_i} (that is, if i attracts more flow to it than does J_i), i is identified as a terminal (a higher order node than J_i). We then calculate an array $\langle N_{ij} \rangle$, the elements of which are zero unless (i) $j = J_i$ (47); (ii) i is not a terminal; and (iii) $D_i < D_j$ (48); in which case the element is set to 1. When $N_{ij} = 1$ a link is plotted between i and j . This is the original Nystuen and Dacey procedure, which depicts only the single maximum flow from i . Since much available information remains unseen, the technique was extended by adding two user-defined conditions. Through one, all flows above a certain proportion of the maximum flow (eg. 50%) can be depicted by overriding condition (i) and plotting a link if (iv) D_i is greater than or equal to a constant multiplied by $T_i J_i$, where T_i is the user-defined proportion of the largest flow, J_i . That is, if the flow from i to j is greater than a certain proportion of the flow from i to J_i , a link is plotted. Through the other user-defined condition, all flows above a certain absolute value can be depicted by overriding condition (i) and plotting a link if (v) D_j is greater than some constant. That is, if the flow from i to j is greater than, say, 100, a link is plotted(49). Neither the model nor

46 J.D.Nystuen & M.F.Dacey 'A graph theory interpretation of nodal regions' Papers, Regional Science Assoc. 7(1961)29-42.

47 That is, this particular destination zone is the one (of the 108) which receives the highest flow from i .

48 That is, the total inflow to i is less than the total inflow to j (i is less important than j).

49 If this value is set too low, a link will be plotted from everywhere to everywhere, if too high, from nowhere to nowhere.

the results are self-explanatory, and many are baffled by the techne(50), so before presenting some results I will offer a non-mathematical summary and further discussion of some of the elements of the model.

6.4 Non-mathematical summary

G, population, is our starting point, and the only assumption made is that all G are equal. On the simple gravity model, which we retained for comparison, interaction between settlements is calculated by trading off population and distance, and the lack of a balancing factor leads to a result which is unduly influenced by local site densities(51).

The new model, MISIM, starts with the same assumption that all G's are equal, but it adds a new variable, importance (W). The calculation for interaction between sites is 'started off' on the assumptions of equal population and of equal importance of each site. That is, it initially assumes an egalitarian settlement system in which there is no clear settlement hierarchy. The model then calculates interaction between, and estimates the importance of, each site, given the distance and competition between each site and all others. It does this by 'juggling' (calculating simultaneously) interaction flows and importance values until the system is in a state of equilibrium. The resulting array is the most probable spatial pattern of settlement importance. That is, it ranks the settlements in the system.

The results, which estimate varying values of W, are then fed back into the MISIM to set G. The model now assumes that population is equal to importance (that is, G is equal to W), and repeats the calculations. The idea expressed here is that more accessible places will attract more people to move to them (permanently) from less accessible

50 This most apt term is Professor Donlan's (pers.comm.).

51 This can be seen in fig.6.15, where the top ten ranked sites all occur in settlement clusters (terminals are ringed in all figures).

places. This is merely an extension of the idea that more accessible places will attract more people to come to them temporarily (interaction flows), which idea underpins the 'importance' calculation. Through this procedure the MISIM becomes almost 'self-contained': both G and W are calculated by the model, not guessed or given as exogenous factors. When it is necessary to distinguish between the two versions, I will refer to the first iteration (equal G) as MISIM1, and the feedback version as MISIM2.

The variable W: In contemporary geography, W is taken as a measure of facilities at j, or the size of j, and a variety of subsystems (agriculture, industry, residence, retailing) have been analysed using models of the same general structure as MISIM, adapted to their particular circumstances as MISIM is; they are, as it were, a family of models(52). Given the state of the evidence in this instance, it is advisable to abstract this idea as high as possible. But at the same time, we want a rather sharper idea of 'importance'; that is, what makes a place 'important'? Trying to combine these desiderata, we could perhaps interpret W as resource availability at j (allocative and authoritative).

The parameter alpha: In contemporary geography, alpha is usually taken as a measure of scale, in particular scale economies (which obviously owes much to modern economic theory). It does not act in a straightforward way, and $\alpha=1$ is clearly a critical value, since when $\alpha < 1$ all changes in W_j will be continuous, when $\alpha > 1$ discrete change, 'jumps', are possible, though they do not seem to be caused directly by changing alpha itself(53).

Whereas 'scale economies' is appropriate for allocative resources

52 Cf. Wilson art.cit. 1970 where the analogy was first advanced. Wilson art.cit. 1985 could almost be considered a prosopographical essay; see for a formal 'genotype'.

53 Cf. Wilson and Clarke art.cit. 1978, Clarke and Wilson art.cit. 1981 and refs. there.

in contemporary, and, with reservations, historical societies (as 'size' is for interpreting W), it is not in any obvious way appropriate for authoritative resources. It is the language of economics, not politics or sociology. When one wishes to connote a concentration of authoritative resources, one talks of 'the seat of power' or, in certain historical conditions, 'the court' or, in a different context, 'the boardroom'. I know of no concept which catches the idea that there may be special benefits available at places where authoritative resources (call it simply 'power' here) are amassed and concentrated, although this is clearly true in real life(54). We could perhaps call it summit scope, which is intended to connote 'summit' in the sense of 'summit meeting' and 'summit' in the sense of 'mountain top' (for 'scope' see below). The more authoritative resources concentrated at one point there are(55), the greater the summit scope.

On this interpretation high values of alpha would correspond to highly organised, highly structured social practices, low values to dis- or un-organised, unstructured social practices. The former would be appropriate for modelling a structure with a hierarchy of considerable span (ie. the summit is at a considerable height) and, because it is highly structured, those close to the summit would constitute a small group of people who each have considerable authoritative resources. Interacting with the few equally powerful people who share the same small space (the summit), because they each have authority over different domains in the hierarchy, each member of the group would have 'access to the top' of those different domains (in addition to the control each has over his or her own domain). That access is

54 Spatial proximity is still extremely important in this respect, despite modern communications systems, cf. A.G. Bedeian Organisations: theory and analysis 1984:429f. See also Giddens NS&V 1985:13-17, where he discusses certain types of locale in which authoritative resources are concentrated in terms of 'power containers'.

55 Or, in Giddens' terms, the greater the authoritative resources 'contained' in one locale.

what I mean by 'scope'. Low alpha would be appropriate for modelling structures with little or no hierarchy (a small hill with a low summit, if it has a recognizable summit at all). On this interpretation then, high alpha is appropriate when the system being modelled is highly organised and highly structured; low alpha would be appropriate for less organised and less structured systems.

The parameter beta: In contemporary geography beta is considered a measure of ease of travel, associated with the movement of material goods, the provision of services, and the modes of transport available for the purpose. In order to involve authoritative resources, we need to abstract this to media, which are the variety of modes by which social life may be carried or communicated across time and space. This parameter occurs in the function which models the empirical observation that interaction declines with distance, which is often called 'the distance-decay effect' or 'the frictional effect of distance'. It can be related to similar observations of a general kind, for example, the dissipation of control which occurs as the distance increases from the centre of command to the area where the command should be effected; or the loss of relevance, detail and/or transposition of fact which occurs as the time increases between an event and its recall in memory. How well something retains its material or psychological content over spatial and temporal gaps depends largely upon how often it is repeated or reenacted; how well it can be stored; and how important it is perceived to be (which usually determines whether it is repeated or stored if and whenever the issue consciously arises). Media are the 'vehicles' which carry or communicate allocative and authoritative resources (social practices) across spatial and temporal gaps. The development of media which are effective stores, such as writing, allows these distances to be 'bound'; storage mechanisms reduce the deterioration of something's material or psychological content which would occur over the same

distance if the relevant method of storage was not available. Gellner made the point thus:

A literate society possesses a firmer backbone through time than does an illiterate one(56).

Greek society started to become a literate society in our period, and the fact that they became historically conscious during the process is not coincidental. When memories can be stored independently of mind they may be preserved even after they become irrelevant. They then stand in contrast to the (relevant) present, and may spark awareness of a difference between what is, and what was. To focus only on the 'historians' or chronographers is too narrow. The invention and elaboration of traditions had gone some way before the 'father of history' appeared, and was perhaps motivated by a desire to find relevance in the past in order to 'anchor' contemporary society in something other than itself during a very turbulent time.

Certain kinds of media besides writing are particularly effective stores. For instance, a political office stores the resources upon which the incumbent of the office draws in discharging the duties of that office. The 'power' derives from the office, not from any particular incumbent, who gains that power when he 'takes office' and loses it when he 'retires from office'(57). The creation of political office is a landmark in the transition from personality to organisation which is involved in the formation of the state. What it does is to transfer the resources in question from a store which lasts only as long as a man's life to a store which outlives any incumbent of it. Hitherto, each functionary has to build up his position, which is largely shaped by his personality, and which disappears when he does. Henceforth, the position is 'handed over', it does not have continu-

56 'The Crisis in the Humanities and the Mainstream of Philosophy' in Crisis in the Humanities 1964:72. Cf. also Giddens NS&V 1985:12.

57 But any particular individual also brings his or her own personal resources, which might add to or subtract from the 'power' of the office. The office defines the minimum, so to speak, and previous incumbents (particularly the last incumbent) describe the 'norm'.

ally to be recreated, and it is less dependent upon the particular personalities which hold it. High beta would, then, represent poorly developed media or poor storage capacity, low beta would reflect well developed media or 'powerful' stores.

The parameters alpha and beta are not equally 'concentrated': one part alpha to two parts beta is not equivalent to two parts alpha one part beta. The precise relationship between them is likely to be found, if anywhere, by the kind of analysis indicated in fig.6.1.

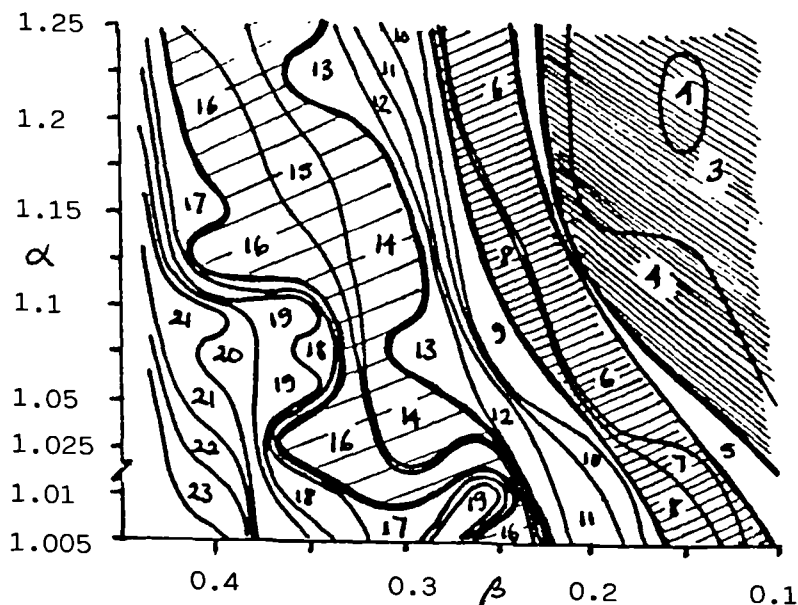


Figure 1

Figure 6.1

High values of alpha are likely to be associated with highly organised structures. Low values of beta are likely to be associated (like high alpha) with strongly symbolic, perceptually important structures about which interactors possess discursive consciousness and have well developed 'carriers' in the form of traditions, symbols or signs loaded with meaning, which communicate social practices across time and space. In attempting to model the development of Greek societies through our period, we should then gradually decrease beta, and increase alpha values.

Modus operandi: A 'realistic' result is an instance when the user has, initially more by luck than skill, found the approximately 'cor-

rect' levels for each of the parameters, something akin to tuning a radio. Testing - or finding the right wave-length on the same analogy - is of course a subjective issue. Armed with a superabundance of documentation, the ability to consult living witnesses, and a significantly smaller set of places to rank, the recent UGC exercise provides ample illustration of this problem. Broad consensus probably exists in the historical case on which places should, at least in the Classical period, be in the top four (although the order is probably open to debate): Athens, Korinth, Argos and Thebes. Some sort of consensus on the next ten or so might be reached on the intuitively tenable but theoretically weak basis of political autonomy, but the problem of ranking has not existed hitherto, and any offered here would be contentious.

Experimentation with the model is, at least in the first instance, a matter of trial and error; partly because these are 'pioneering' days for model-building in social contexts; and partly because the model is so self-contained. If we were 'putting in' a lot of data then we would have no hesitation attributing this result to that combination of x,y and z. Instead, we are 'putting in' as data only location co-ordinates. By trial and error we are finding realistic settlement and interaction patterns, and the only things we are changing to find these are the parameter values. If we want to explain rather than just model what appears to approximate historical reality, then there is obviously a clear need for the further development of theory.

I have interpreted some of the variables and parameters according to a social theory of high-level abstraction, since it would be absurd at this stage to attempt anything more specific, especially given the fragmentary state of the evidence. That evidence may be seen as fragments of a jig-saw. The model results might be considered to indicate the form and theme of the jig-saw, but not the details of its scene, style, number of pieces and so on. However, the model can assist in

the organisation of that evidence (which is often colourful if meagre). The MISIM guides us to place one isolated piece of evidence in one general area, another in another, and so on. Since it is also a locational model, indicating which sites should be more important (if we have got the parameter levels right), and these are usually the places about which we know most, the picture is not so gloomy; the prospects are in fact quite bright. We have a model which can simulate actual settlement and interaction patterns at least as accurately as the surviving evidence can indicate, if not more accurately, less partially and much more efficiently. What we need is a considerable improvement in theory to differentiate the high-level abstracts into more precise concepts, the equivalent of modern subsystems in a society in which modern subsystems didn't exist. Understanding the relationships between the elements of the model and understanding why settlement hierarchy developed as it did in Ancient Greece are two faces of Janus, and progress will be made only by pursuing both; advances in either should have repercussions in the other.

With these uncertainties and ambiguities in mind, a few example results might give the flavour of the research(58).

6.5 Results

Figures 6.2 and 6.3 are only slightly different: 2 is marginally higher alpha (0.05) and marginally lower beta (0.05) (ie. represents a more organised structural level) than 3.

Most scholars would, I think, find fig.6.2 more realistic for the Korinthia, fig.3 for Attika. The basic differences in overall rankings in the numeric output reveal distinctions more clearly(59). It

58 For a more detailed discussion of tests and results, see app.1.

59 In fig.2 Koropi displaces Athens (negligibly: the total accessibilities for each are 71.7596 and 71.2834 respectively, the final interaction estimate 133.40 and 123.66) and pushes Thebes,

Figure 2

$$\alpha = 1.075$$

$$\beta = 0.15$$

Terminals are ringed in all figures. All figures depict MISIM2 results unless otherwise specified.

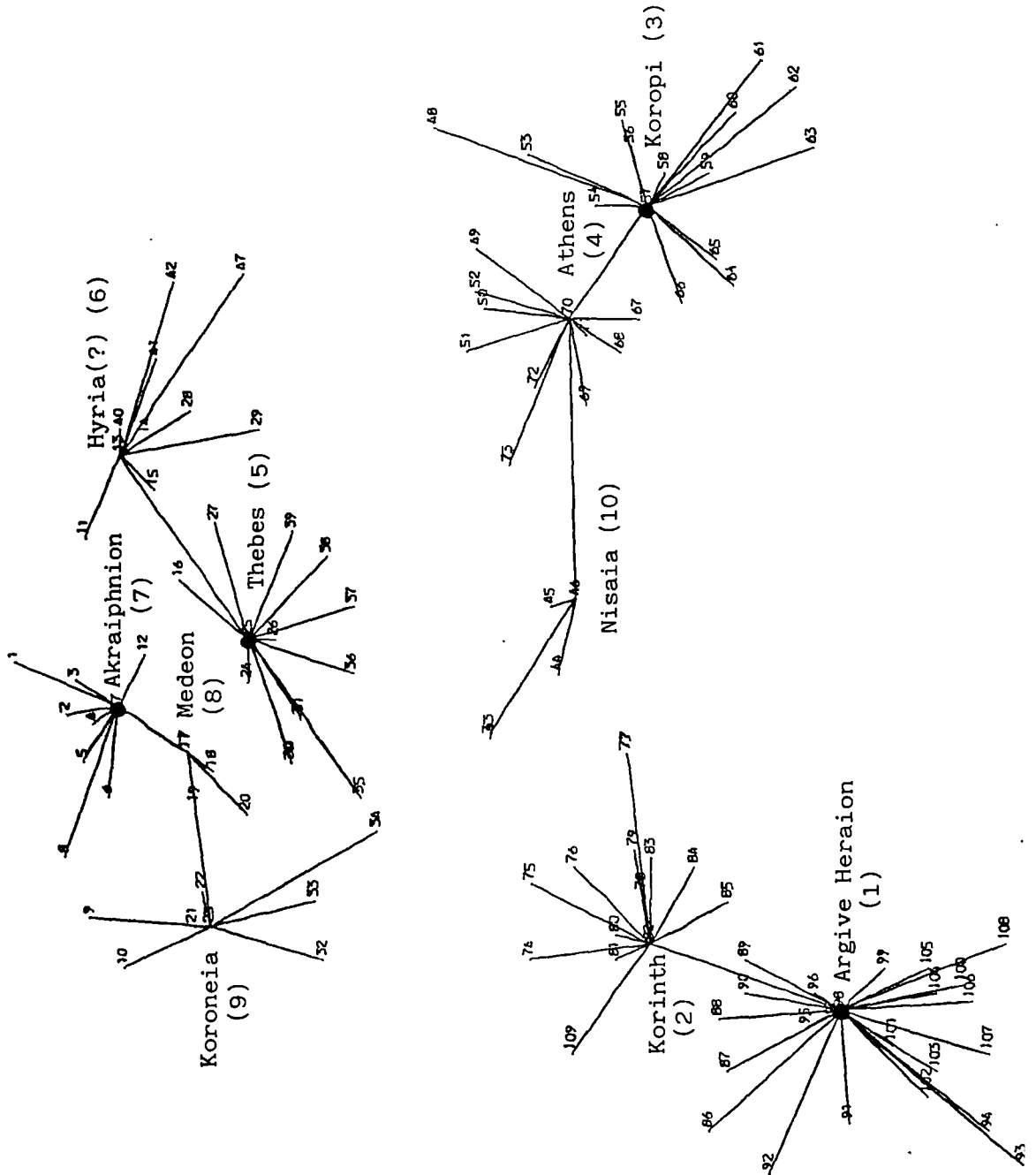


Figure 6.2

Figure 3
 $\alpha = 1.025$
 $\beta = 0.2$

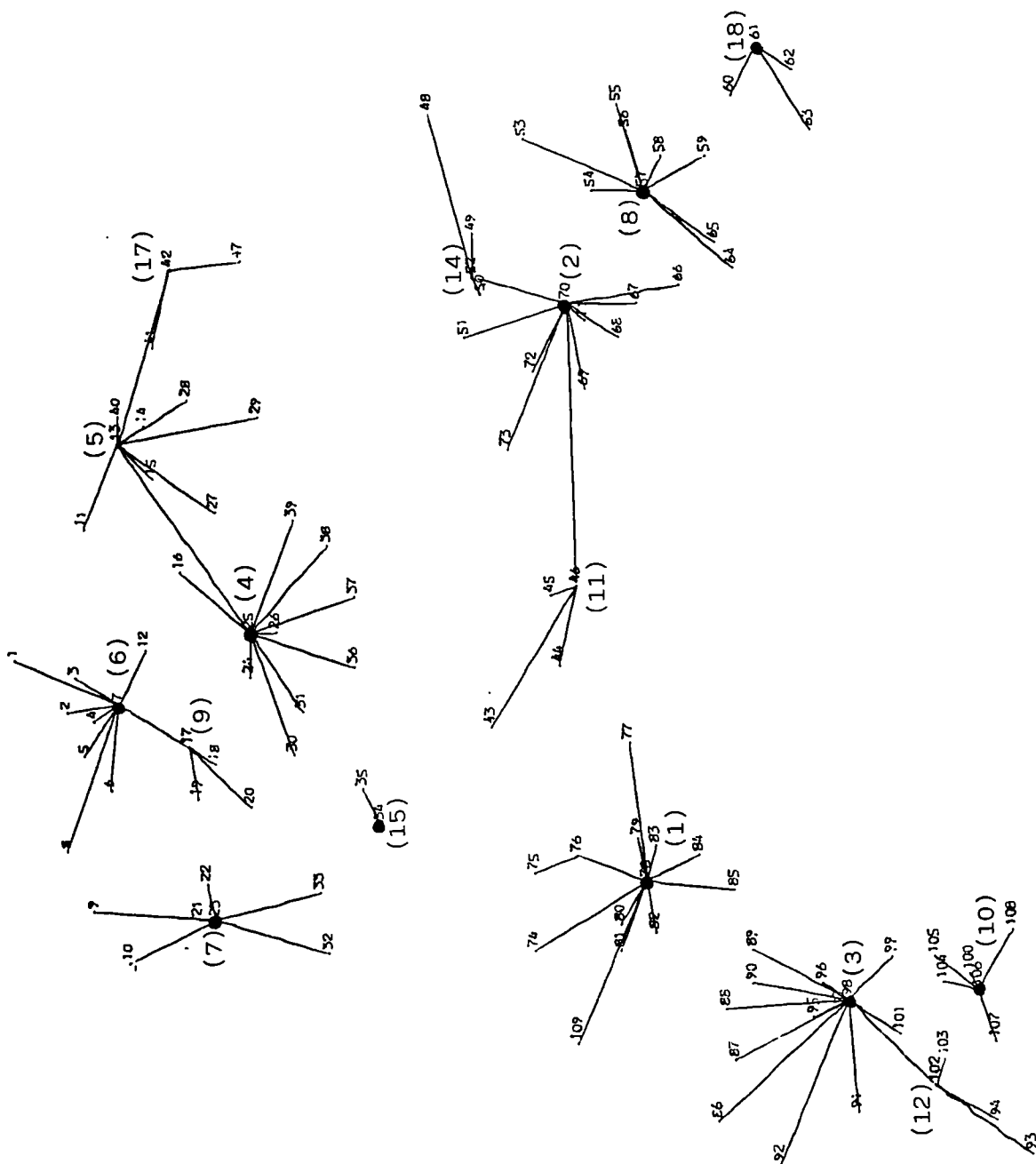


Figure 6.3

is not the absolute figures but the relative differences which matter, and as a working hypothesis we could say that, less than 10% difference in final MISIM numeric results should be ignored and places so distinguished be treated as approximately equal. Such estimated differences are negligible in view of the 'accuracy' which might reasonably be expected from the model, given the state of the evidence by which that 'accuracy' must be judged. A fuller indication of the interaction relationships depicted in fig.6.3 can be seen in fig.6.4, where all flows above 50% of the maximum are depicted.

Compare also fig.6.5, which was produced from only 0.025 higher alpha value than fig.6.2 (same beta value)(60).

Fractional changes in parameter values can sometimes cause quite considerable differences in results, as anticipated in the mathematics. This demonstrates the model's sensitivity, especially its sensitivity to beta at low alpha values(61) (see fig.6.1). What this suggests on the interpretation above is that changes in media are more consequential than changes in scale economies/summit scope (in general).

Let us consider a result of particular significance for the late Geometric period, depicted in fig.6.6 (fig.6.7 depicts 50% + of maximum flows).

Hyria(?), Akraiphnion and Medeon down in rank. In 3 Kromna displaces Korinth (considerably: the total accessibilities are 45.6813 and 39.2937 respectively, the interaction estimate 109.79 and 7.23), Athens and the Heraion swap order (1:4 -> 3:2), Koropi comes in at rank 8 and Medeon and Koroneia swap order (8:9 -> 9:7). Nisaia is displaced from 10th to 11th rank, and Argos is displaced from 11th by Nauplia at rank 10. Overall, there are four terminals predicted by the fig.2 result, and ten for fig.3.

60 This predicts eight terminals, shows a 'shift' like that seen in the Korinthia, now in Attika (Koropi -> Markopoulo) and Argolid (Heraion -> Argos).

61 Small changes in beta at low alpha have more significant effects than small changes in alpha at any beta, except perhaps at $b=2.5$ and environs.

Figure 4
 $\alpha = 1.025$
 $\beta = 0.2$

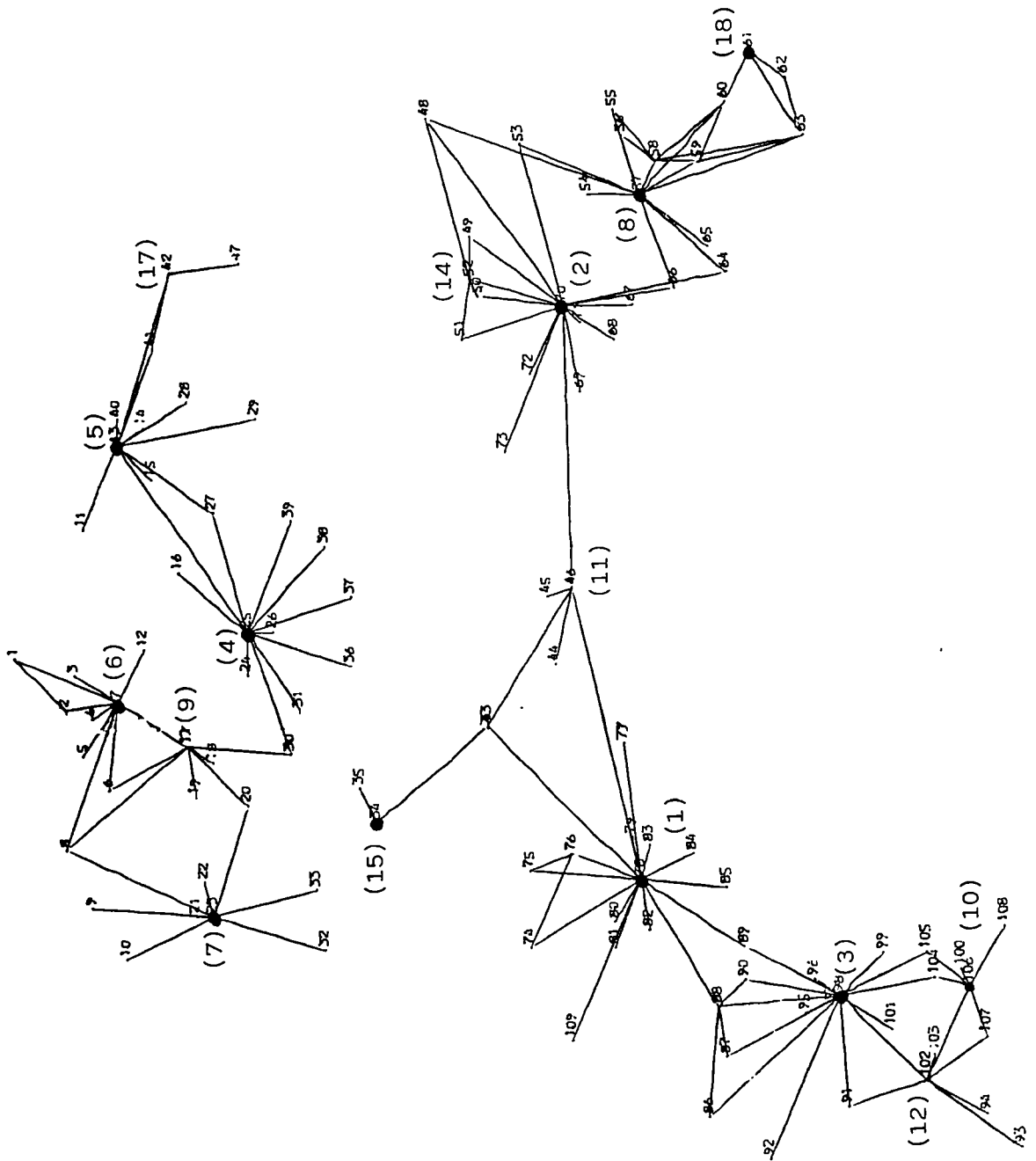


Figure 6.4

Figure 5
 $\alpha = 1.01$
 $\beta = 0.15$

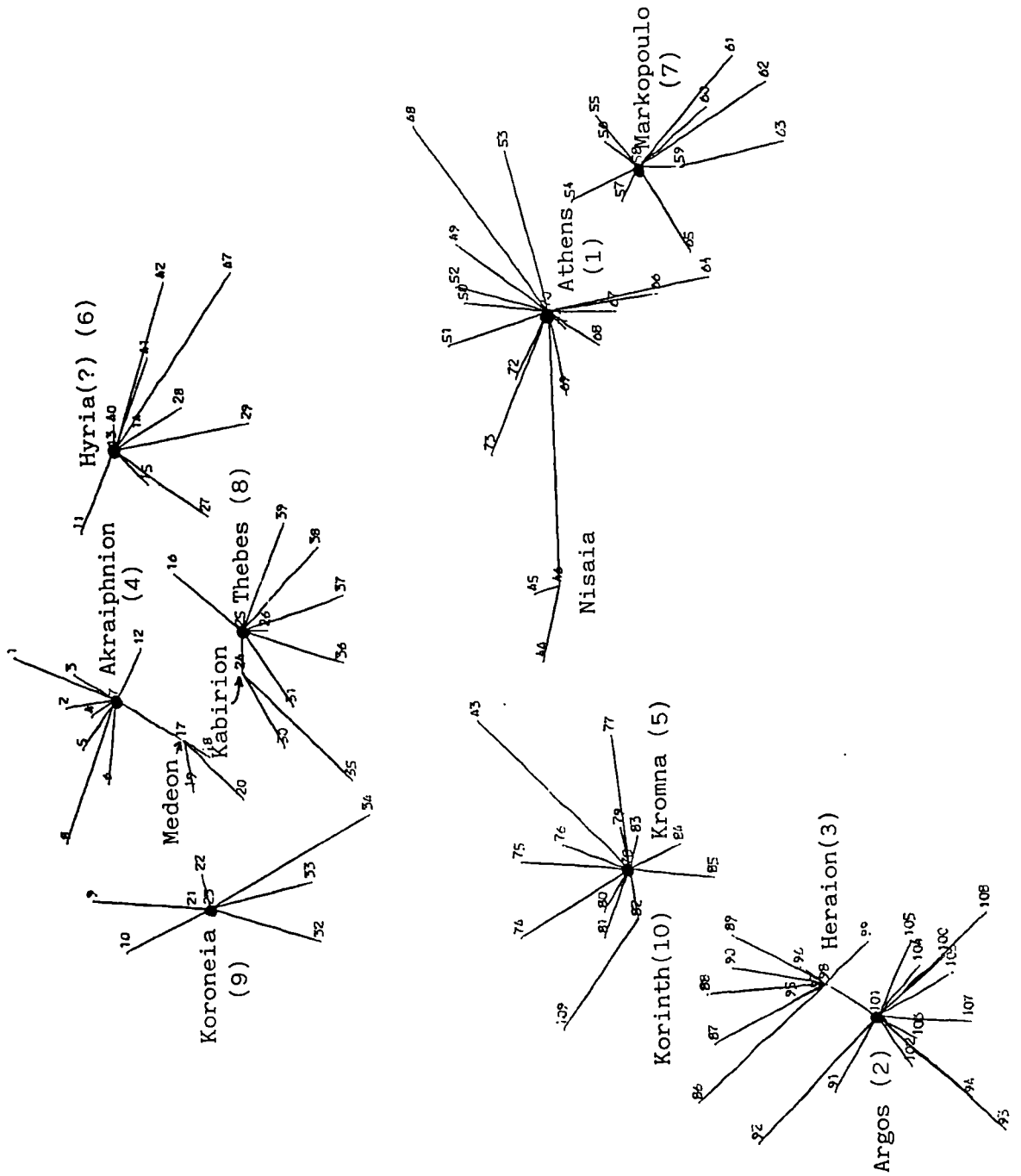


Figure 6.5

Figure 6
 $\alpha = 1.025$
 $\beta = 0.15$

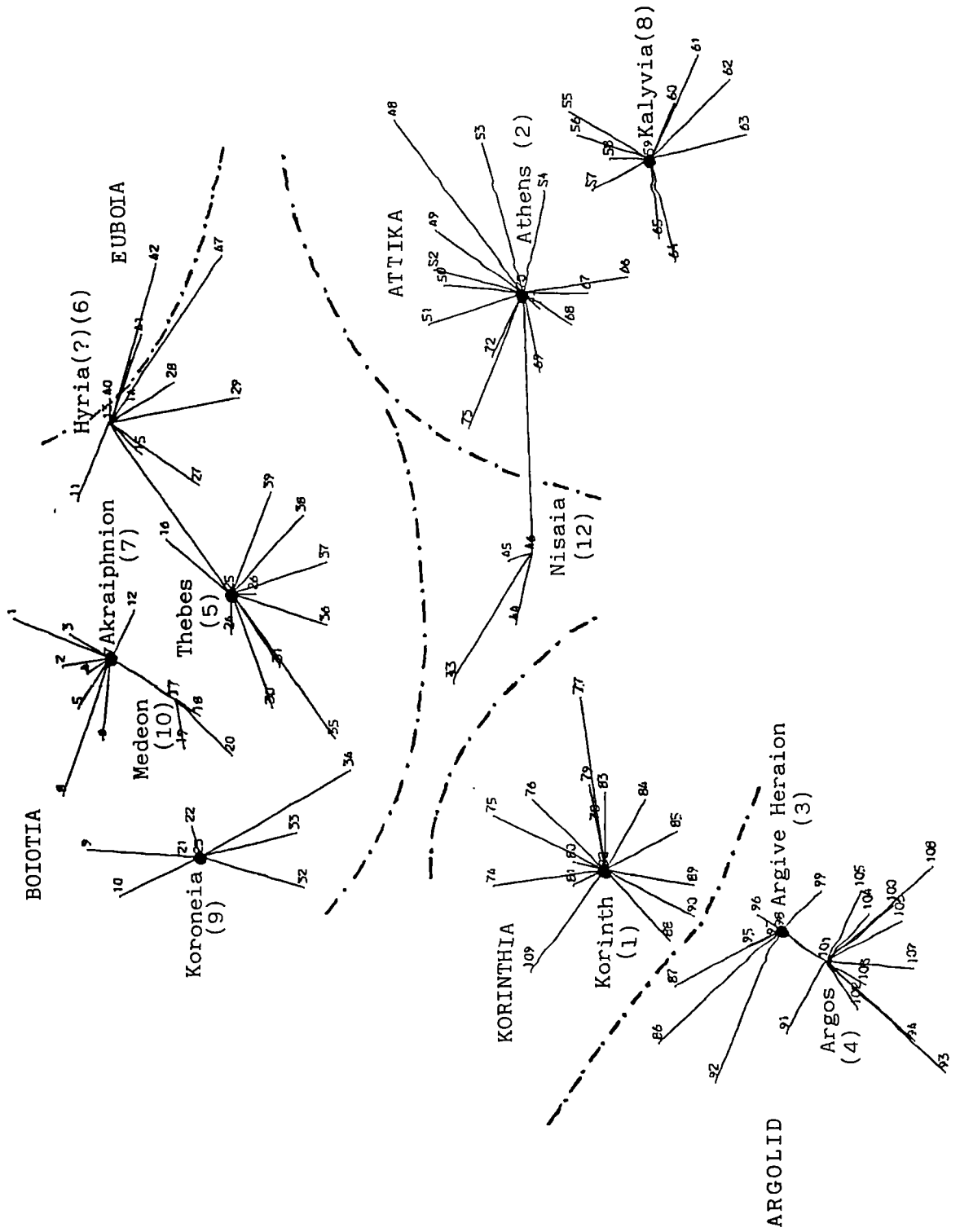


Figure 6.6

Figure 7
 $\alpha = 1.025$
 $\beta = 0.15$
 Ranks 1-40 indicated.

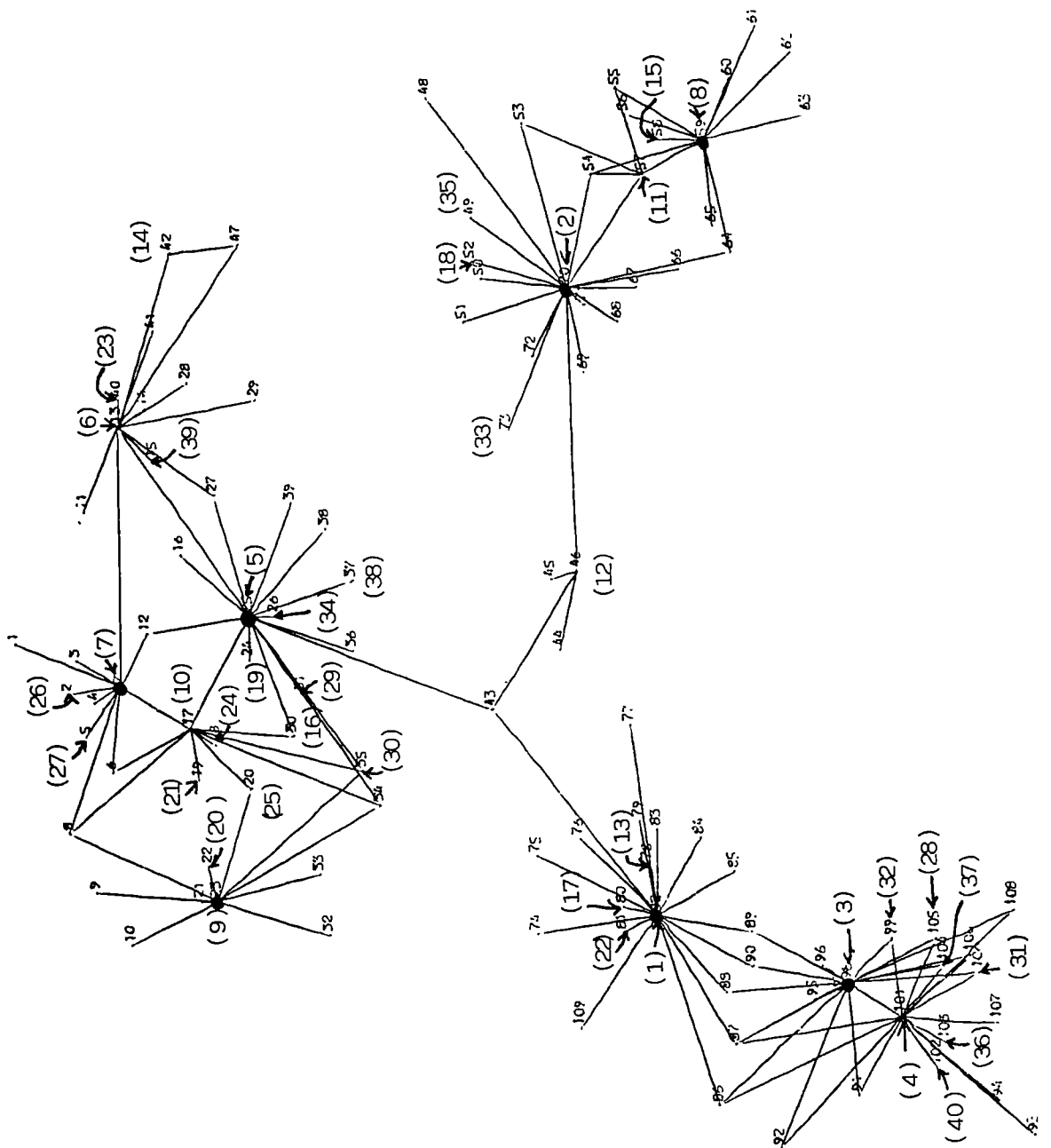


Figure 6.7

I have added the predicted rank for the top 40 sites, and the accessibility measures and interaction results for the top 20 are given in table 6.1(62).

Rank	Site	No.	Accessibilities (WF)	Interaction (WF)
1	Korinth	82	75.4753	136.68
2	Athens	70	70.8742	136.03
3	Heraion	98	91.2067	107.85
4	Argos	101	88.1256	105.89
5	Thebes	25	65.6276	103.16
6	Hyria(?)	13	46.5216	91.23
7	Akraiphnion	7	67.6839	88.27
8	Kalyvia	59	56.3172	82.02
9	Koroneia	23	37.2049	66.67
10	Medeon	17	67.4857	63.77
11	Koropi	57	57.1750	37.03
12	Nisaia	46	17.4613	32.97
13	Kromna	78	64.8761	14.09
14	Eretria	42	6.7482	12.48
15	Markopoulo	58	66.5931	5.02
16	Thespiiai	30	30.7814	3.86
17	Lekhaion	80	82.8571	1.23
18	Koukouvaones	52	27.4461	0.62
19	Kabirion	24	73.7495	0.60
20	Alalkomeni	22	46.1339	0.29

Table 6.1

The accessibility measure is an index of access to resources at other sites (as calculated on feedback) from the place in question (see eq.[3]). The more sophisticated interaction result is an index of settlement importance on the basis of how much inflow is attracted to the place in question, given the competition from other sites of variable population and importance (see eqq.[4] - [9]). The difference between results can be quite significant. Thus although, say, Eretria (ranked 14), is calculated to have a relatively tiny accessibility measure, it is reckoned to be quite important by the interaction analysis (by which sites are ranked).

This particular result seems amazingly accurate, given the very partial state of the evidence by which 'accuracy' must be qualified.

62 They may be calculated to four decimal places but given the state of the evidence we could allow as much as 10% latitude of equivalence.

If Hyria(?) is winning some of its close neighbour Khalkis' flow because this site (like Eretria and Lefkandi) was unfavourably weighted to reflect the fact that it is on an island(63), then its accuracy would seem to be even better (see below).

Looking at the results in more depth, and taking cities first, the difference between Korinth and Athens is negligible (0.65). Approximately 20% 'smaller' than this pair are Argos and Thebes, again with negligible difference between them (2.73). Very little evidence exists on Hyria(?) and the identification is probable, but still uncertain. Fossey calls it "a large ancient settlement"(64). The site may repay archaeological investigation(65). However, this site's nearest neighbour, Khalkis, was prejudiced with a 1.5 weighting as a topographical modification, and this may well be affecting the result. A future research task is to repeat the experiments without the topographical weightings. In approximately the same 'group' as Hyria(?) are Akraiphnion and Kalyvia. Akraiphnion was an autonomous polis at least during the C.6 and C.5. It minted its own coins, and probably controlled the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos 2.5 km. to the east(66). Excavation of a large cemetery (the third found at the site) in use from at least the seventh century until Hellenistic times began in 1974. A total of 663 richly furnished graves, most dating 600-450 BC,

63 This may indicate that an isotropic plain is in fact a more reasonable assumption with a model of this sensitivity than our attempts to model a heterogeneous landscape. This was also what the modification tests indicated, which included the various mountain barriers (which tend to coincide with ethnic/dialect regions) besides more precise human differences such as early temple construction or tyrant. The model performs better when the user does not 'meddle'. This implicitly says something about our notions on these matters, and should convince the reader, if he harboured any doubts, that the results are not in any way 'rigged'.

64 Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia Diss.Lyon 1976:95. He thinks the identification of Tseloneri with Hyria (as here, with question mark) "very probable".

65 Hyria is associated in legend with Delphi, Orkhomenos and Thebes as places where there were buildings by Trophonios and Agamedes (cf.Paus. 9.11.1; 9.37.3; 10.5.5); according to the legends they built a treasure house at Hyria for the (eponymous) King Hyreos.

66 The sanctuary of the hero Ptoos is slightly nearer (2km) to the city.

had been revealed by 1980/81(67). The findings have not yet been properly published, but over 2000 vases, including ProtoKorinthian aryballoi, Attik and Euboian material (in addition to Boiotian) had been recovered after the first year. During this season some 400 graves were dug, and an unspecified "large" number of terracottas (including some Tanagrans) were recovered, of which small G period horses constituted the earliest finds. This is a major site in N.Boiotia, and one of the most important discoveries in Greek archaeology over the last decade. Had it not been dug (and the city itself is still neglected), the model would suggest someone might do so with profit. As it is, Akraiphnion seems to support the model result. Kalyvia, on the Mesogeia Plain, is practically unknown (see site app.).

The next pair are Koroneia and Medeon. There is some uncertainty and confusion in the secondary literature between several sites around the ridge Palaia Koroneia which has led to conflation(68). The site

67 For references see the site appendix.

68 The akropolis of Koroneia is on the ridge about 3km SW of Ay.Paraskevi (formerly Agoriani, Koriani in Leake's day), 2km SE of Ay.Georgios, 2km NW of Koroneia village (formerly Koutomoulo). The map reference is given in the site appendix. About 2.5km N of the akropolis, 2km W of Ay.Paraskevi and 1.5km ENE of Ay.Georgios, is another site, dug by Spyropoulos in 1971 and identified by him as possibly the Itonion. Schachter thought the identification had some merit, Cults of Boiotia I (Archeloo's to Hera) BICS Supp.38.1 (1981)117ff. Fossey (believing that this site was probably within the city of Koroneia) and Leekley & Efstratiou, conflate these excavations with those on the site of Koroneia akropolis in the 1920's; Buck (History of Boiotia 1979:6) followed Fossey and Kirk (Comm. 1985:193) unfortunately followed Buck. Near the 'Itonion' (which is how the site is labelled on the map here) Spyropoulos noted the remains of a late G cemetery. This plus the distance from Koroneia akropolis incline me to think that this site is neither the Itonion nor part of Koroneia; perhaps it is Potza. It should certainly be distinguished from the Koroneia site in any case. Fossey said he found prehistoric material at 'Koroneia', which could mean anywhere within a rather large area if he takes 2.5km from the akropolis as part of the same site, and Buck, using Fossey, naturally says the same. Hope Simpson and Lazenby did not find any prehistoric material at their more precise Koroneia, nor does Leekley and Efstratiou's summary of archaeological investigations at the site report any prehistoric finds. There was, however, a prehistoric settlement at Ay.Paraskevi, and I am inclined to think any prehistoric finds should be traced to this site which, needless to say, should be distinguished from both

labelled Koroneia here refers specifically to the (unduly neglected) akropolis site on the ridge(69). Structural remains noticed in the last century include a possible theatre, a temple, a circuit wall and a Roman brick-built structure(70). The 1920's excavations revealed the 'Roman agora', a Christian building and graves (published only in note form(71)). A large number of ancient blocks were still visible on the ridge in 1976 despite heavy agricultural activity. This is clearly another case where the model has alerted us to a neglected but important site.

The prediction of Medeon is particularly interesting in light of the recent survey by the Cambridge/Bradford Boiotia Project, though pending proper publication of their findings that light is rather crepuscular. Medeon and Onkhestos constitute a 'switching pair'; owing to a programming specification, the importance attributed to one site on the first iteration of the program was attributed to the other on the reiteration. This is because the sites are within the single site specification, and were thus treated as 'suburbs' of each other. In one region of parameter space Medeon ranks high on the first iteration and Onkhestos on the second, in another region of parameter space the process is reversed(72). A large site (c.4 ha., Plains B2) has

Koroneia and the Itonion/Potza site. The importance of this is not merely topographical; Koroneia is a Catalogue site, and the arguments concerning a possible Mykenaian heritage for this list of places in the *Iliad* are often heavily based upon whether the places there named do or do not have Mykenaian remains.

69 To quote Fossey, diss.cit. "the general neglect from which this interesting site has suffered is surprising" p.408 n.3.

70 Fossey op.cit. 1976:394 (but not the results of the recent excavations, which refer to the Itonion/Potza site).

71 For details see the site appendix.

72 See below appendix 1 for detailed discussion and analysis of this phenomenon.

73 As written in the publication, no indication on any of the published maps. I find it impossible to reconcile the stated directions and distances of A5 and B2 from the sanctuary with any of the 'dated' dots

been discovered about a kilometer SE(73) from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onkhestos, and another even larger site (c.5 ha., Plains A5) was found less than a kilometer WNW of the sanctuary towards the akropolis of Haliartos. According to Fossey in 1976(75), there were signs of an ancient polygonal wall south of the road-defile running southwest from the road, and the greatest concentration of ploughed up stones and an unpublished cemetery had been revealed in this area. Dr.Bintliff remembered two small findspots in this area made by the Cambridge/Bradford project, but did not remember any indication of walls except those along the road defile. The accounts may not necessarily be at odds: the CB project have remarked how sites can appear and disappear over time(76), and it is quite possible that we are dealing with a few large settlements which were not all contemporaneous. Further discussion must await proper publication of the 1981 expedition in particular.

Koropi is ancient Sphettos, one of the largest Attik demes. It is another little known site, but is the provenance of one of the most luxurious G vases ever found(77). Nisaia (Megara) is next(78), estimated at the same general level as Koropi. In the next 'pair' we have Kromna and Eretria. Kromna is situated half way between Korinth and Isthmia. This site has not yet been excavated, but extensive habitational remains and a large cemetery were discovered here in 1960.

little value in giving lots of 'maps' with the chronological breakdown of sites labelled alphanumerically, and especially of discussing some such as "very important" discoveries, without giving some indication of where these places are: we should not be expected to guess which dots fit which alphanumeric labels, and which alphanumeric labels fit which named sites.

75 Diss.p.374.

76 Not helped in the case of smaller sites at least by the survey method of bagging (ie.picking up and taking away) all sherds in sight. One would hope structural remains would survive this threat over and above environmental factors.

77 The Strathatou amphora; cf.Coldstream GG 1977:133.

78 On which cf.J.de la Geniere 'Megara Nisaea, Megara Hyblaea et Selinote' dialogues d'histoire ancienne 7(1983)319-335, and references in the site appendix.

Excavations of individual graves sporadically since 1938 are suggestive of what may lie under the soil of Kromna: the 3-day 1938 dig produced nine poros sarcophagi, sixth century pottery and a mid-seventh century ProtoKorinthian krater. One grave found in 1960 contained 26 vases dated c.560 BC(79). The sherd-scatter suggested to John Salmon a large and substantial settlement occupied for over a thousand years, from at least the seventh century BC to the fourth century AD(80). It should be added that Kromna is regularly predicted by the model. Eretria might be expected, but being one of the weighted island sites needs to be re-examined. The next is Markopoulo on the Mesogian plain, neither identified nor investigated. The plain supports four large rural settlements today, as it did in antiquity(81), and Markopoulo and its neighbours (Kalyvia, Koropi, and Merenda(82)) would probably repay proper investigation.

Then we have Thespiiai(83) and Lekhaion. Notice Lekhaion's huge accessibility measure (third only to the Heraion and Argos); it may be coincidence, but this analysis does not, of course, 'know' that Lekhaion was Korinth's port on the Saronic gulf, yet identifies it as an extremely accessible location. Koukouvaones is probably part of ancient Akharnai, which is somewhere between here and Menidi (and is another of the huge Attik demes and the subject of an Aristophanic comedy). The Kabirion and Alalkomeni are or are near regional sanctuaries (accepting Fossey's identification of the site very near Alalkomeni as the Itonion). Which brings us to the Heraion, consis-

79 J.Wiseman Land of the Ancient Corinthians 1978:66. See site app. for details.

80 Wealthy Corinth 1984:25, 35, 156.

81 C.W.J.Eliot PECS 1976:857 s.v.Markopoulo.

82 Merenda is ancient Myrrhinous. This site has produced three cemeteries, one "vast" G to Classical, one G to Hellenistic, and another mostly G which also produced an archaic kouros and kore (see site app. for details).

83 Thespiiai was razed by Xerxes because she sent 700 men to Thermopylai (Roesch PECS 1976:911f s.v.Thespiiai) but was reoccupied (through to Roman times). Something like 1400 inscriptions are known from here, Fossey diss.cit. 1976:178-185. See site app. for further references.

tently and massively predicted, nearly always overshadowing the city of Argos, and, for that matter, frequently outranking everywhere else. The early development and importance of the Argive Heraion is well known, and was discussed at some length in chapter 4. It will be interesting to compare results when analysis of sites of the Classical period has been carried out, since archaeological material suggests that the Heraion suffered an 'eclipse' at that time. Continued research should make it possible in the not-too-distant future to harness the model more closely with other approaches (traditional and 'new') and to employ it cautiously, but surely, in a matrix of arguments, such as those of chapters 4 and 5.

6.6 Summary

A spatial interaction model which requires an absolutely minimal database was constructed according to a general framework developed over the last decade by geographers. This model was harnessed with two relatively well established analyses, the Hansen accessibility measure and an extended version of the Nystuen and Dacey analysis, to give three evaluations of each site in terms of its position vis-a-vis all other sites in the survey area: the general level of interaction occurring, which envelopes an evaluation of its population and its 'size' qua resource availability; its accessibility to other sites; and its primate (terminal) status (or not) in the set or a subset of the set of sites. Subsets of the set of sites are determined by the network of maximum interaction flows between one site and any other. The MISIM produces an estimate of settlement size, importance, and interaction on the basis of site locations alone. Its results provide the input for the accessibility and terminal analyses. Everything we know about a site except its existence and location is reserved, and thus constitute completely independent evidence by which results can be tested. It also means that we need know only of a site's existence and location in order to analyze it, and that such analysis may have

predictive potential to identify important sites, or at least to suggest which sites could repay (further) investigation.

6.7 Appendix 1: survey of experiments and results

For ease of reference place names corresponding to site numbers (with location co-ordinates) are given in table 6.2.

The program was run systematically over a range of parameter values, alpha from 1.025 to 1.25 at .025 intervals (with additional runs at 1.005, 1.01 and a few additional runs at 1.5) and beta from 0.9 to 0.1 at .2 intervals, and from 0.4 to 0.1 at .05 intervals. The first test involved a comparison of models.

Comparison of models: Forty-two sites were selected for analysis and the predicted values from each of the three models (gravity, MISIM1 and MISIM2) over three b-values (0.5, 0.3 and 0.1) were superimposed onto one graph. Alpha was held at 1.1 throughout. A representative five(84) are given in fig.6.8.

Since the particular values calculated are likely to be of less significance than the relative rankings, and for convenience of analysis, actual figures were eschewed for rank positions henceforth. The same results were then plotted for every site, and the differences between models were now more clearly revealed. The effect of changing b-values was also apparent; again a representative five(85) are given in fig.6.9. The maximum variation in predicted rank over all three b-values and all three models is given for all sites in fig.6.10. The significance of this will be discussed below in relation to fig.6.13.

84 Ay.Ionnis (no.2), Akraiphnion (7), Medeon (17), Athens (70), and the Argive Heraion (98).

85 Ay.Ionnis (2), Akraiphnion (7), Medeon (17), Kalyvia (59), Nauplia (106). In each selection of five, at least one site (and usually more) appears repeatedly, to facilitate comparison between analyses, whilst selection of other sites to make the number up to five illustrates better the whole range of results.

1	Larymna	107,130	57	Koropi	161,57
2	Ay.Ionnis	101,124	58	Markopoulo	165,55
3	Meg.Katavothra	105,123	59	Kalyvia	165,50
4	Ay.Marina	100,121	60	Keratea	172,47
5	Kopai	96,122	61	Kaki Thalassa	178,44
6	Olmous	92,119	62	Thorikos	175,40
7	Akraiphnion	102,118	63	Anavysos	168,38
8	Aspledon	85,124	64	Vouliagmeni	152,47
9	Orkhomenos	78,121	65	Vari	155,49
10	Lebedea	72,117	66	Aliki	150,53
11	Anthedon	122,122	67	Trakhones	148,58
12	Skhoinos	108,115	68	Phaleron	144,60
13	Hyria	132,118	69	Kokkinia	138,64
14	Aulis	134,115	70	Athens	148,66
15	Mykalessos	128,114	71	Kallithea	146,64
16	Glisas	117,111	72	Aigaleos	140,70
17	Medeon	97,110	73	Eleusis	131,73
18	Onkhestos	95,107	74	Akraia	73,70
19	Haliartos	91,109	75	Perakhora	82,70
20	Askra	90,103	76	Loutraki	84,65
21	Itoneon	77,109	77	Krommyon	97,59
22	Alalkomeni	81,108	78	Kromna	81,57
23	Koroneia	77,107	79	Isthmia	86,58
24	Kabirion	105,103	80	Lekhaion	76,60
25	Thebes	110,103	81	Ay.Gerasimos	73,60
26	Potniai	110,100	82	Korinth	75,56
27	Eleon	124,107	83	Kenchraia	85,56
28	Dramesi	137,110	84	Solygeia	84,51
29	Tanagra	135,102	85	Athikia	80,47
30	Thespiiai	96,98	86	Phlious	53,49
31	Eutresis	101,97	87	Nemea	60,47
32	Khorsia	73,94	88	Kleonai	66,48
33	Thisbe	80,95	89	Tenea	73,45
34	Siphai	88,88	90	Zygouries	69,45
35	Kreusis	92,90	91	Sch.Melissi	54,33
36	Plataia	106,91	92	Orneai	48,42
37	Hysiai	114,91	93	Hysiai	49,13
38	Erythrai	120,94	94	Kenkhraia	53,17
39	Skolos	123,98	95	Mykenai	65,38
40	Khalkis	135,118	96	Berbati	69,37
41	Lefkandi	143,114	97	Prosymna	66,35
42	Eretria	152,112	98	Heraion	67,34
43	Pagai	99,75	99	Dendra	72,29
44	Tripodiscos	106,67	100	Pronaia	70,20
45	Megara	114,68	101	Argos	63,28
46	Nisaia	115,65	102	Kephalari	57,24
47	Oropos	153,104	103	Magoula	60,23
48	Marathon	170,82	104	Tiryns	69,23
49	Kephissia	156,77	105	Prof.Elias	72,24
50	Menidi	149,76	106	Nauplia	68,19
51	Liossia	144,78	107	Lerna	62,17
52	Koukouvaones	151,77	108	Asine	75,15
53	Draphi	167,71	109	Sikyon	62,65
54	Spata	161,63			
55	Brauron	171,60			
56	Merenda	168,59			

In many cases identification is uncertain. See site appendix.

Table 6.2

The same experiment was conducted for changing α -values, with beta

Figure 8. Absolute values, changing β , $\alpha = 1.1$ throughout.

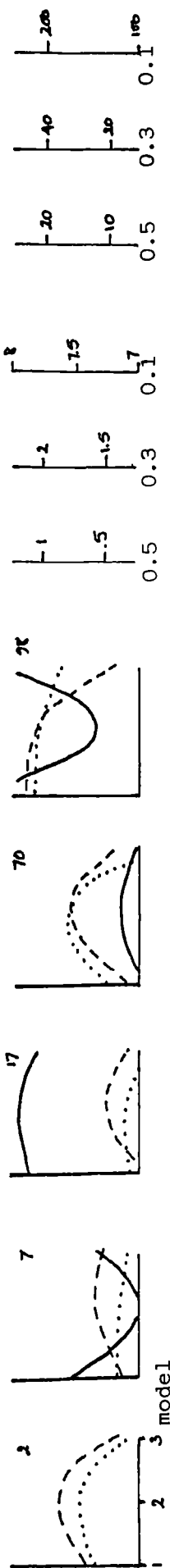


Figure 9. Plotting rank, changing β , $\alpha = 1.1$ throughout.

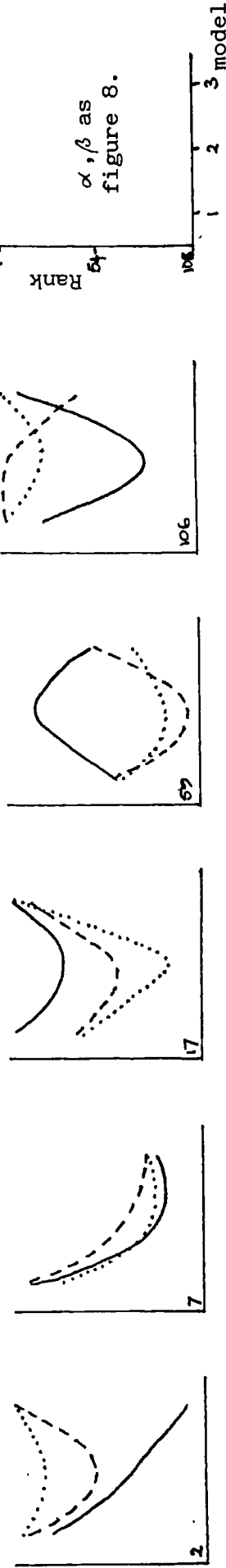
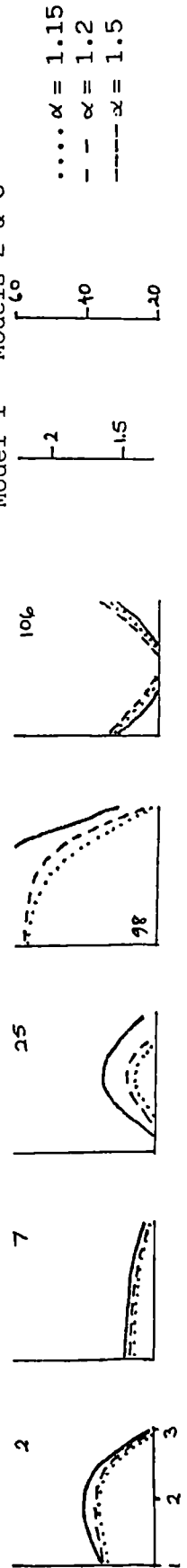


Figure 11. Absolute values, changing α , $\beta = 0.3$ throughout.



Figures 6.9 & 6.11 are reproduced to facilitate comparison.

..... $\beta = 0.5$
 - - - $\beta = 0.3$
 - - - $\beta = 0.1$

Figure 6.9

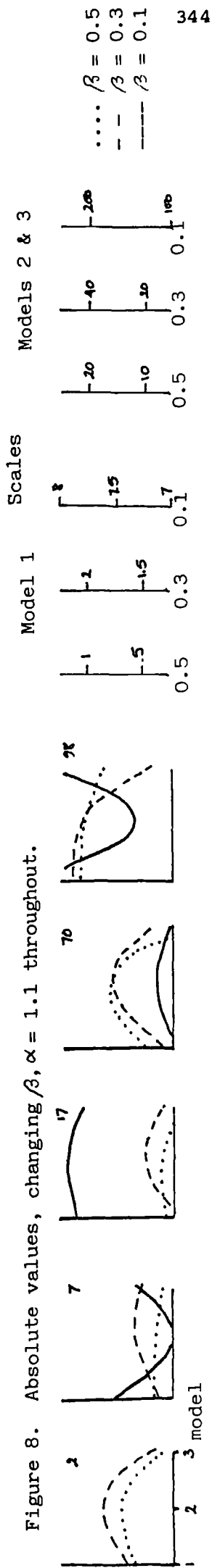


Figure 9. Plotting rank, changing β , $\alpha = 1.1$ throughout.

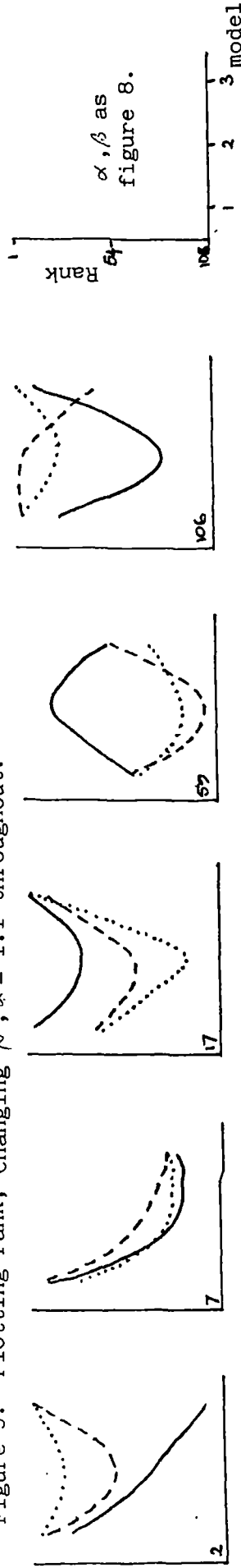


Figure 11. Absolute values, changing $\alpha, \beta = 0.3$ throughout.

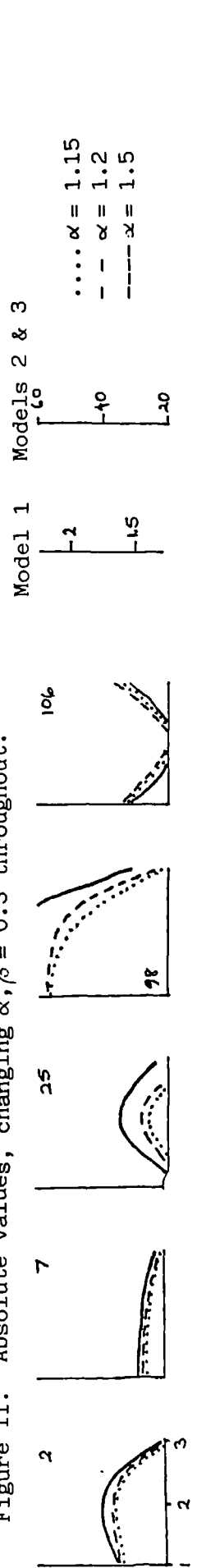


Figure 10

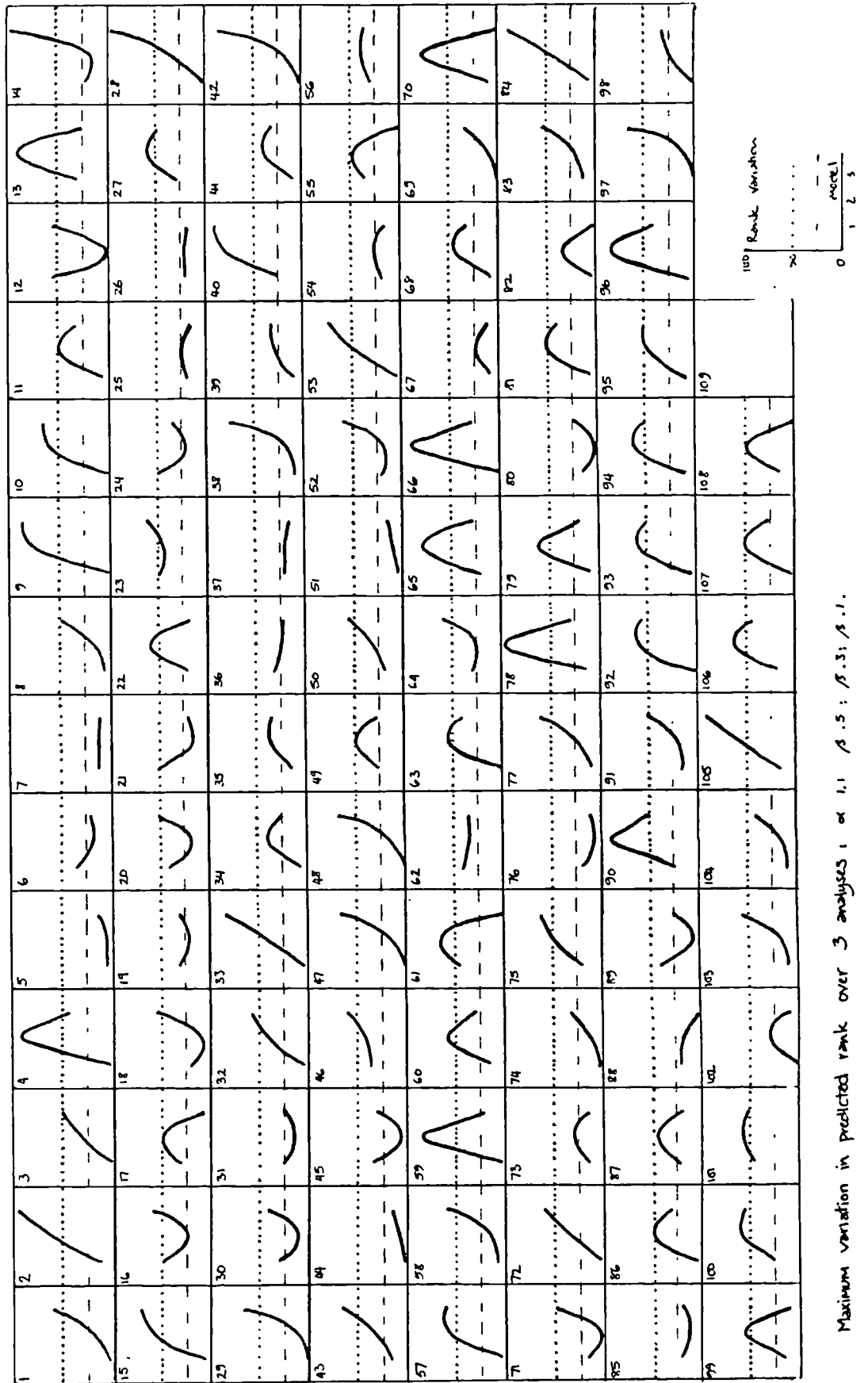


Figure 6.10

held at 0.3 throughout and alpha at 1.15, 1.2 and 1.5. For comparison with the first analysis actual figures were temporarily readopted for the graph scales. Fig.6.11 presents five cases again(86) and it appeared from a comparison that, in general, rank variation was affected more strongly by changing beta than by changing alpha.

The next analysis compared changing alpha and changing beta values. The gravity model (model 1) is unaffected by alpha and consequently produces variations in predicted rank on the basis of changing beta alone. Thus it is plotted as a single line. MISIM1 (model 2) and MISIM2 (model 3) are affected by alpha and consequently may produce a different prediction in rank for changing alpha values. Thus there are three lines each for MISIM1 and 2, corresponding to the test values $\alpha=1.01, 1.2, \text{ and } 1.5$. Analysis was extended to include $\beta=0.9$ and 0.7. Since seven lines on one graph would obfuscate not clarify analysis, the gravity model was superimposed on MISIM1 predictions and MISIM2 results are plotted separately. A representative five(87) are given in fig.6.12.

The maximum variation in predicted rank over the three alpha values, three beta values, and three models is given for all sites in fig.6.13.

The differences between this and fig.10 are not due merely to the effects of changing alpha value, but also to the addition of higher beta values (0.9 and 0.7), as can be seen by comparison of model 1 variation: the gravity model does not involve alpha, so any variation must be attributed to the extension of the beta range. Overall rank variation (as the maximum difference over any combination of alpha,beta) predicted by the three models given in fig.13 can be

86 Ay.Ionnis (2), Akraiphnion (7), Thebes (25), Argive Heraion (98), Nauplia (106).

87 Ay.Ionnis (2), Akraiphnion (7), Brauron (55), Athens (70), Sikyon (109).

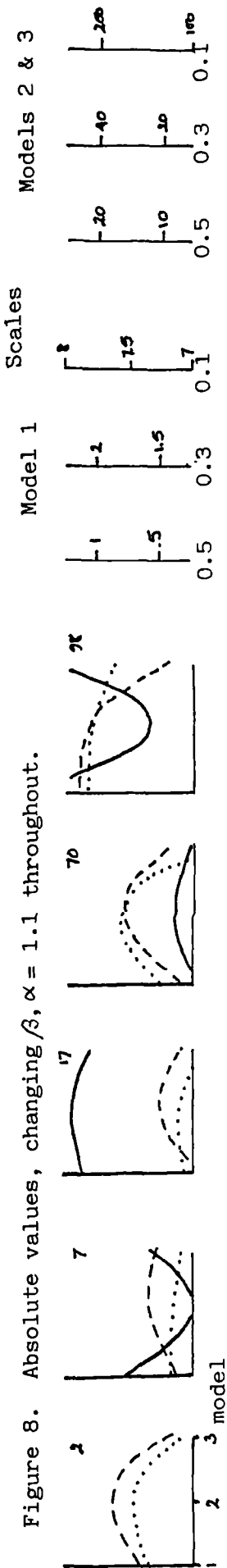


Figure 9. Plotting rank, changing β , $\alpha = 1.1$ throughout.

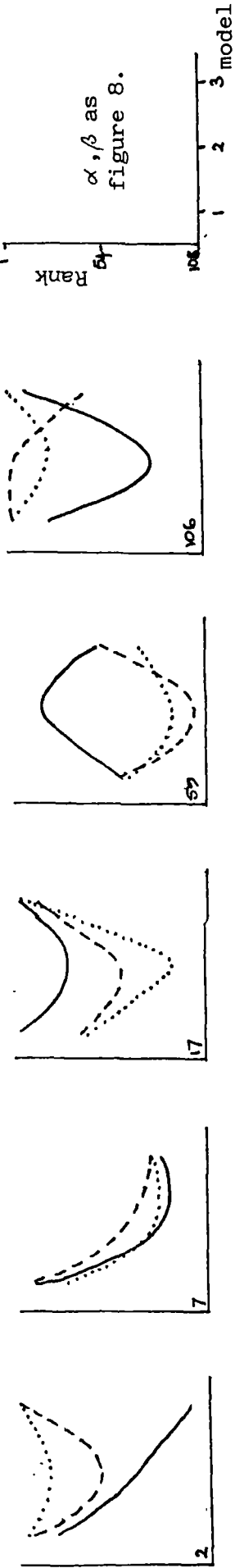
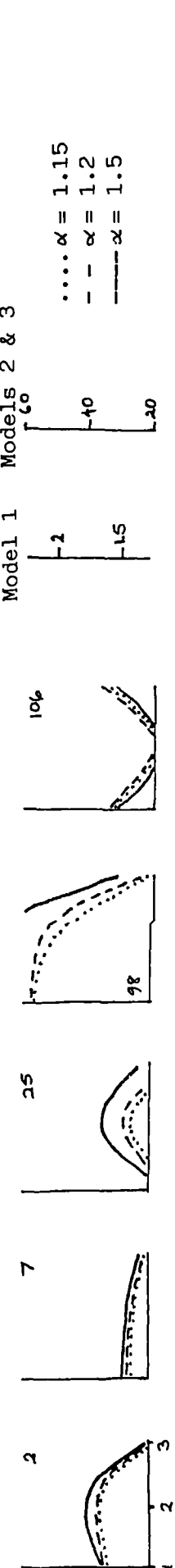


Figure 11. Absolute values, changing $\alpha, \beta = 0.3$ throughout.



Figures 6.8 & 6.9 are reproduced to facilitate comparison.

Figure 6.12

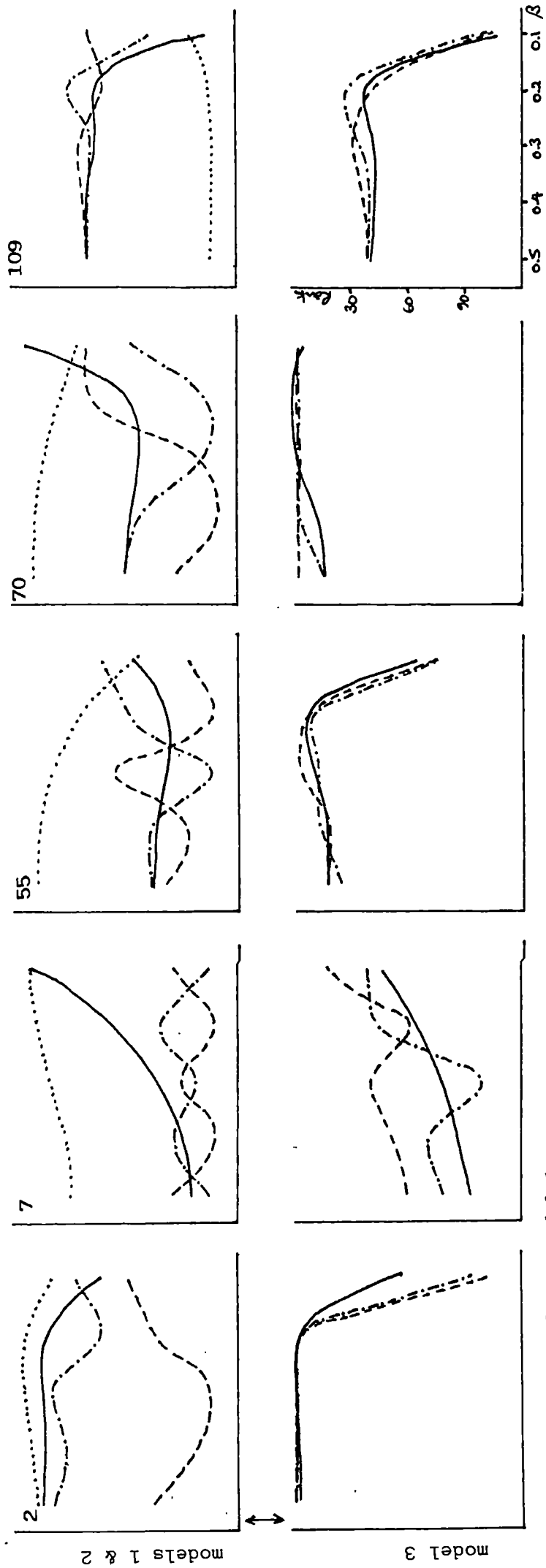


Figure 12. Changing α, β values, all models.

Figure 13

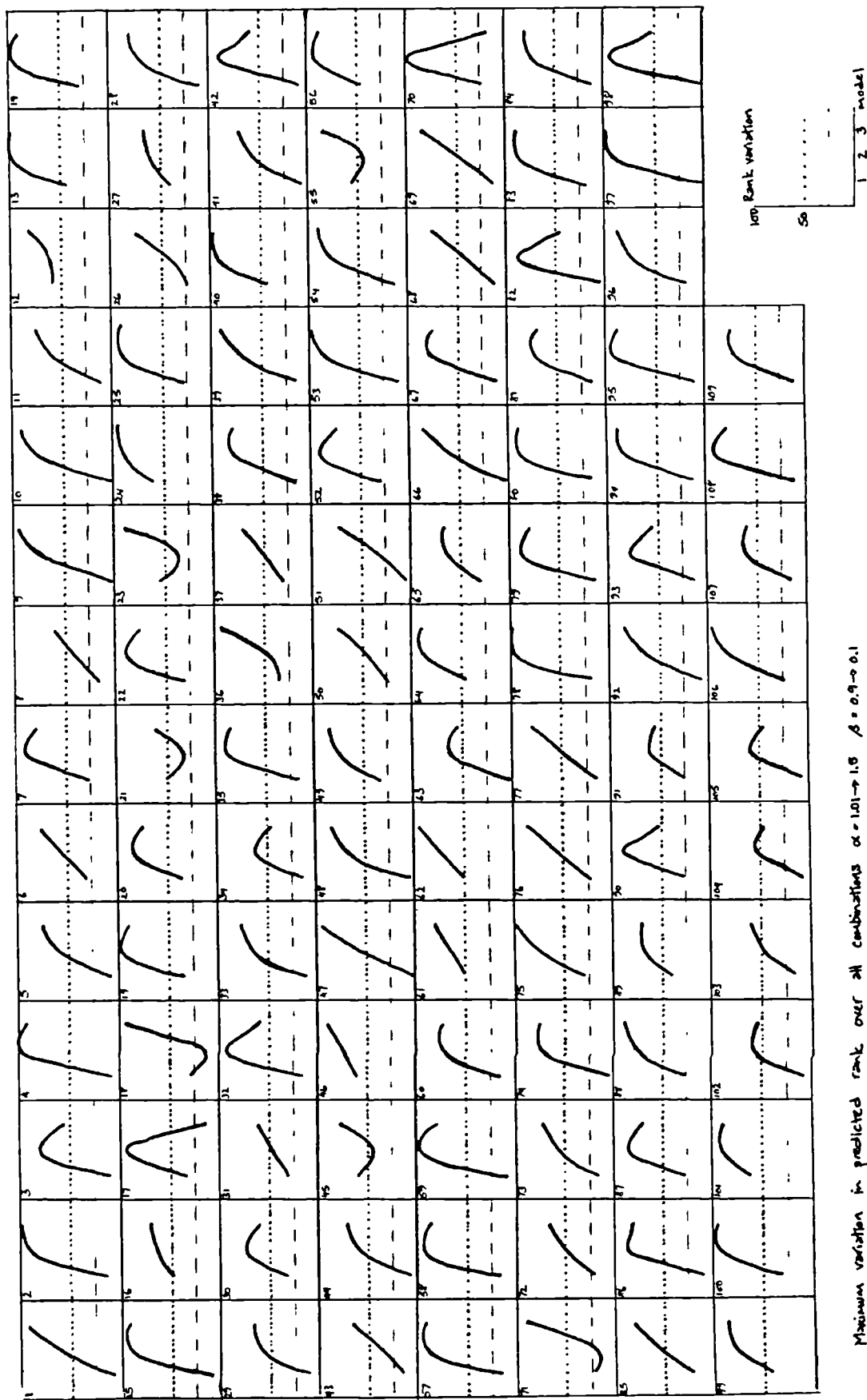


Figure 6.13

Maximum variation in predicted rank over all combinations $\alpha = 1.01 \rightarrow 1.5$ $\beta = 0.9 \rightarrow 0.1$

summarised as follows. Gravity model: 71 out of 109 sites show less than 25% variation; 31 show between 25% and 30% variation; and 7 sites show more than 50% variation (none more than 60%). MISIM1: 2 out of 109 show less than 25% variation; 15 sites show between 25% and 50% variation; and 92 more than 50% variation (60 over 75%). MISIM2: 2 out of 109 show less than 25% variation; 4 sites show less than 50% variation; and 103 sites show more than 50% variation (70 over 75%). Empirical evidence testifies to the rise and fall of cities in history. A model should be able to reflect such possible changes through changes in its parameter values, and the greater variation it can model the more sensitive is it to the possibility of change. The weakness of the gravity model in this respect is quite clear from fig.13; for most sites there is very little variation regardless of parameter values.

It was noticed that some sites exhibited dramatic changes in predicted rank (rise or fall) around some parameter values, and that some seemed to comprise 'switching pairs'. For example, Medeon (no.17) showed considerable variation on MISIM1 predictions yet extreme consistency at high rank on MISIM2, whilst its neighbour Onkhestos (no.18) showed the same high rank consistency on MISIM1 and considerable variation on MISIM2. Only at $a=1.01$, $b=0.1$ did Medeon approach on MISIM1 its rank on MISIM2, and Onkhestos approached on MISIM2 its rank on MISIM1. $a=1.5$, $b=0.3$ produced a more muted version of the same phenomenon.

This was found to be due to a programming specification (C(I,I)) which defines the minimum distance between sites. When sites fell within this distance the result calculated for one was transferred to the other (or an-other, see below) in the feedback run. This had been set to five (coordinate distance units). Twenty sites chosen as representative of four general characteristics (great overall variation; overall 'waves'; 'switching pairs'; fair consistency) were re-examined under different specifications, setting the C(I,I) value

at 1, 2.5 and, attempting to subvert the problem by going beyond the entire survey area, 250. The results, for one of each type(88), plotted against beta values from 0.5 to 0.1 at .1 intervals, $\alpha = 1.25$ throughout, are given in fig.6.14.

The complete range of results was then examined for evidence of 'switches' at different $C(I,I)$ specifications (ie. where the $\langle W \rangle$ estimate for one site was transferred to a neighbouring site on the $\langle WF \rangle$ feedback run) instead of $\langle WF \rangle$ merely emphasising and extending trends begun in the $\langle W \rangle$ prediction. The results are given in table 6.3, and it can be seen clearly that $C(I,I)=1$ overcomes the problem altogether, whereas $C(I,I)=250$ extends it to more clusters of sites, although effecting less sites in total.

However, we cannot choose between these different specifications merely on the basis of whether or not there are 'switches', since this is the mathematical correspondent to the theoretical 'how do/should we define a site?' (which remains to be solved). Since the systematic running of the program (and therefore most of the results) had been performed with the $C(I,I)$ specification set to 5 (thus the models had treated sites falling within this range as essentially 'suburbs' of each other), they have to be interpreted accordingly. In most cases this is unproblematical as it is often the case that one was a or the suburb or port of another (eg.Athens, Kallithea; Megara, Nisaia; Korinth, Lekhaion) or one is a sanctuary associated with a settlement (eg.Itonion, Koroneia).

Another experiment was to compare results as produced by different models under the same conditions. Figs.6.15, 6.16 and 6.5 depict results for $a=1.01$, $b=.15$ on the gravity model (1), MISIM1 (model 2) and MISIM2 (model 3) respectively.

Figure 6.14

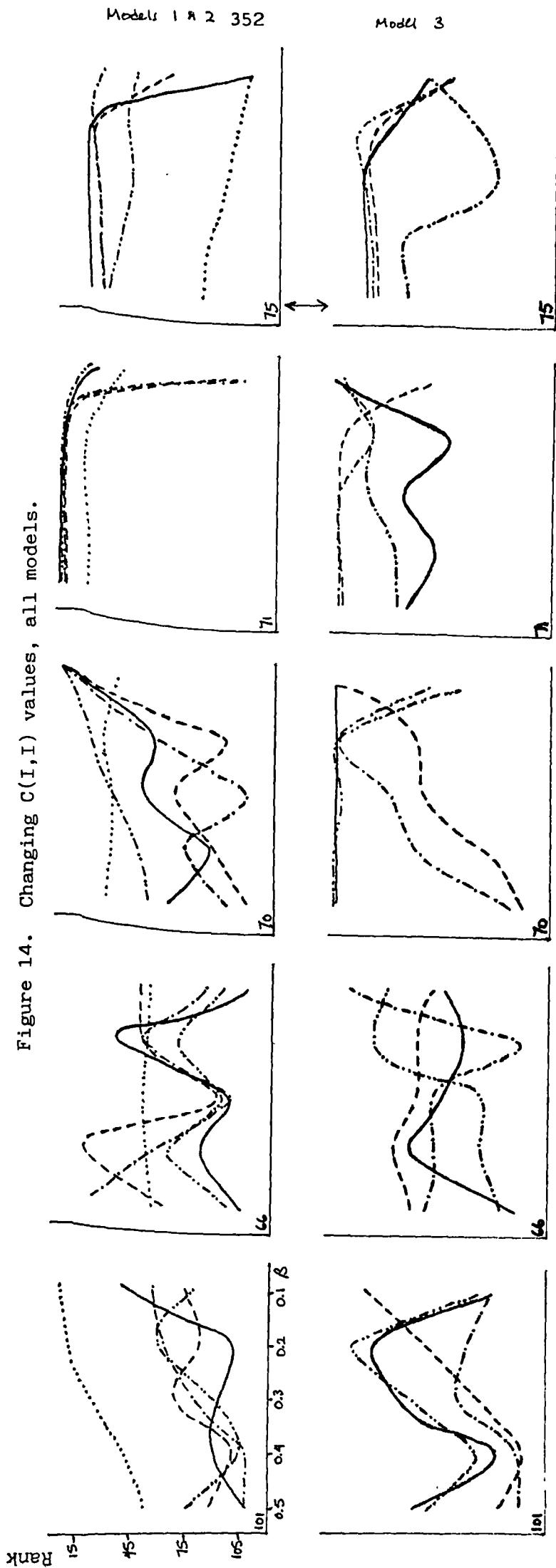


Figure 14. Changing $C(I,I)$ values, all models.

$\alpha = 1.25$ throughout.
 all $C(I,I)$ values, model 1. - - - - $C(I,I) = 1$, models 2 & 3.
 - - - - $C(I,I) = 5$, models 2 & 3.
 - · - · - $C(I,I) = 2.5$, models 2 & 3.
 ····· $C(I,I) = 250$, models 2 & 3.

Figure 15
Gravity model
(model 1)

$\alpha = 1.01$
 $\beta = 0.15$

Ranks 1-10
indicated.
Terminals
named.

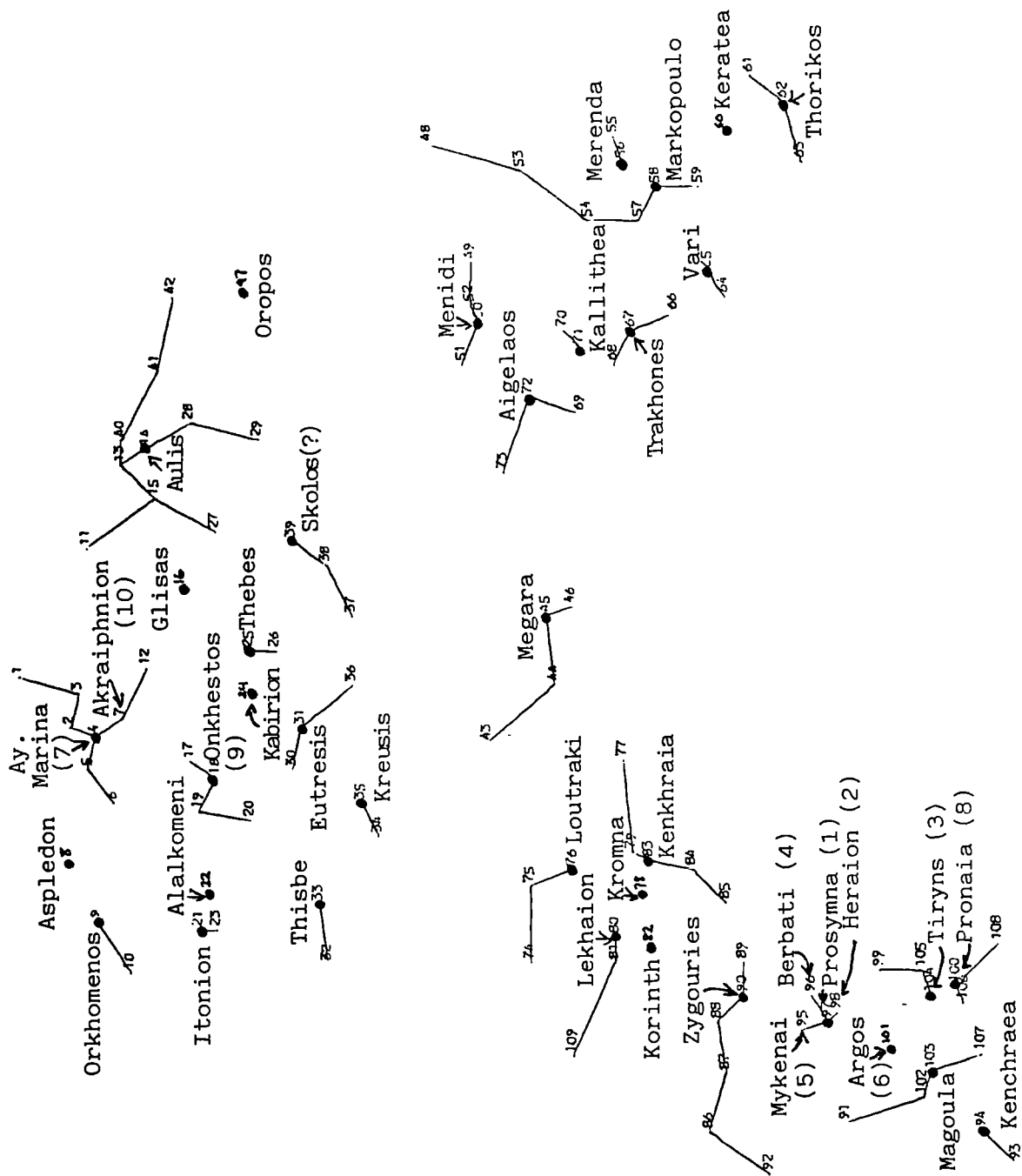


Figure 6.15

Figure 16
 MISIM1
 (model 2)
 $\alpha = 1.01$
 $\beta = 0.15$

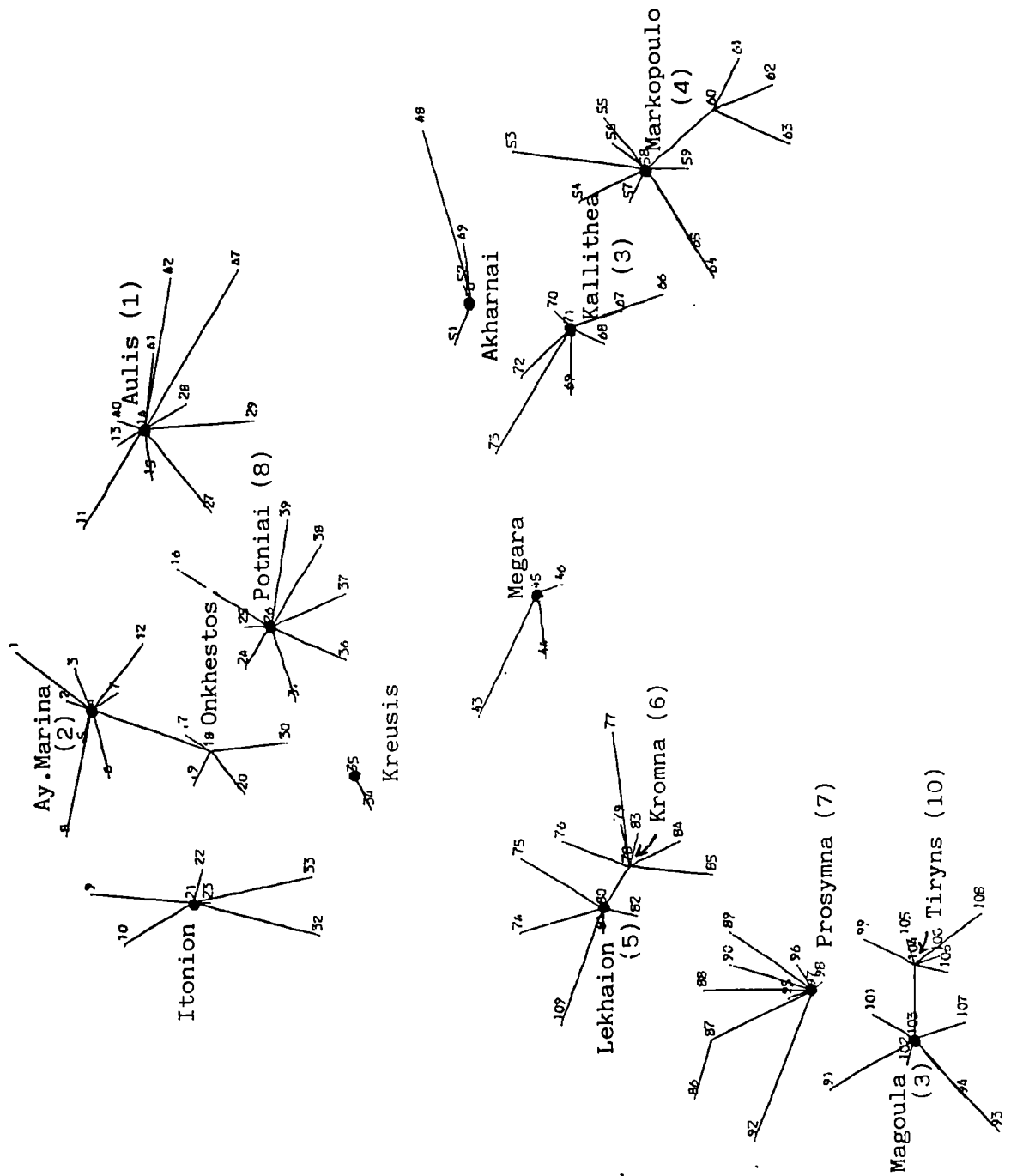


Figure 6.16

C(I,I) value	'Switching pairs'
1	none
2.5	21/23;70/71;79/83;97/98;100/106
5	2/4;13/14;17/18;21/23;25/26;30/31; 38/39;45/46;57/58;61/62;70/71; 78/79/82/83;89/90;97/98;100/106; 102/103
250	2/4/7;13/14/40;17/18;21/22/23; 25/26;54/57/58/59;70/71;78/79/83; 80/81/82;95/97/98;100/106

Table 6.3

Sites predicted to be terminals are ringed, and the top ten ranked sites have their rank added in brackets. The first observation is that the gravity model appears to be influenced by site density, especially prominent in the Argolid. This is due to the lack of a balancing factor (A_i). The MISIM balancing factor helps to overcome the intensive versus extensive survey/knowledge problem to which the gravity model, as we have seen, is particularly vulnerable. Another significant difference between the models, seen best in the collated totals of rank variation (figs.10 & 13) is that no matter what parameter values are specified, the gravity model is extremely limited in its predictive ability, being unable to model a reasonable variety of possible states. In fact, all gravity model results are very much alike, and that picture is one of extremely devolved structure with very slight relative differences between sites.

Figs.6.16 and 6.5 exemplify the problem above concerning 'switches': 13/14, 17/18, 21/23, 25/26, 70/71, and 97/98 all belong to this class of 'pairs' in which the predominant site switches from one to another between MISIM1 and 2. Thus in these figures Athens and Kallithea are a 'switching pair', so Hyria(?) and Aulis, Thebes and Potniai, Akraiphnion and Ay.Marina, Koroneia and the Itonion, the Argive Heraion and Prosymna(89).

89 I have used Prosymna as a label for the finds made about a kilo-

The MISIM2 (see fig.6.5) is not assuming equality of population or resource availability. It simulates a situation in which the level of media is quite high and scale economies/summit scope fairly moderate, and we have Athens, Argos, Korinth and Thebes in the top ten as we might reasonably expect. The Argive Heraion is not out of place in this company. Akraiphnion, Kromna, Markopoulo and Koropi have all been mentioned above, and, as stated before, Hyria(?) is best ignored until the analyses have been repeated with no topographical modifications (but bearing in mind that this may be proxy for Khalkis). Kromna, Korinth and Lekhaion here demonstrate what Markopoulo, Merenda and Koropi exhibit at higher parameter values, and what, less frequently, occurs between Nauplia, Tiryns, Magoula/Kephalari ('switching pair') and Argos. That is, the 'primate' amongst these groups of sites changes as parameter values change; the direction of shift tends towards Athens in the Mesogeia plain, culminating in Koropi (on average); and towards the Heraion in the Korinthia and Argolid, culminating in Korinth and Argos (on average). At higher levels still the results crystallise around three terminals: Medeon or Onkhestos in Boiotia, Athens or Koropi in Attika, and the Heraion in the Argolid (very consistently).

This phenomenon is an interesting testimony to the interdependencies not only of the MISIM but of what it models: many different societies/communities. It takes account of the theoretical desideratum to consider societies not as 'closed' systems, as isolated islands in time and space, but to recognise and respect greater or lesser degrees of interdependency with other contemporaneous societies. The Greek poleis were 'autonomous' societies; they were very small, very independent of political mind, but they were in no wise isolated nor, however much they disliked the fact, were they indepen-

meter NW of the Heraion, since the name Yerogalaro is hopelessly inspecific. For details see site appendix.

dent of each other. This was rammed home when interpoleis conflict broke out; for regardless of the course of action in any specific instance, the surviving sources make it plain that pointing out the consequences of what might happen to one or more poleis if another experienced such and such was a frequent technique for canvassing support. The distinction between a Greek society/community which was a polis or kata komas organisation, and 'Greek society' which is an abstract notion an Ancient Greek might find difficult to understand, is one often overlooked and sure to confound if not recognised. The survey area is composed of many societies/communities, but it may be considered for the purpose of analysis a kind of system, of which the component societies/communities are parts. Because they were such (geographically, demographically, and 'economically') small societies, which co-existed side-by-side (almost huddled together), and because they spoke the same language and worshipped the same gods, shared the same traditions as "a people" (the nearest thing to a common history), interaction between the societies which composed the system was relatively free and frequent. They travelled, traded, worshipped, competed, married, fought, begged and worked in, with, or for other communities.

By calculating interaction between every site and every other in the survey area, not just between those in close proximity or those which composed a polis, the model takes account of this theoretical desideratum, and its results would seem to confirm the validity of both the theory and the method. Thus empirical experimentation and evidence researches go forward pari passu. The model can be used as a kind of bibliography which, in combination with other approaches (traditional and 'new') can guide us towards a better understanding of Greek societies. To improve understanding is, after all, the aim of model-building.

Pattern identification: Whilst broad 'types' of interaction pattern

are visually identifiable, no rigorous method has yet been devised for this problem. However, by focussing on the degree of hierarchy predicted, rather than a uniform-clustered-random type analysis, it is possible to gain an approximate classification based upon the terminal count. This is a relatively simple method which can be conducted without reference to the visual depiction of results (although it is this analysis which provides graphic output), and offers a useful 'rough guide'. It also draws attention to discontinuities in changing patterns; tests established that a complete series of terminals from 3 to 24 occurred between $\alpha=1.005 \rightarrow \alpha=1.25$ and $\beta=0.1 \rightarrow \beta=0.5$, but the frequency with which each total occurred was by no means regular (see table 6.4).

No.terminals	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17											
Frequency	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	2											
No.terminals	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3					
Frequency	9	3	8	2	2	3	2	2	4	1	8	2	7	14					
				
	----->-----										----->-----				----->-----				
											1/2				1/2				

Table 6.4

That very small changes in one parameter value at certain points could cause quite dramatic changes in the number of terminals predicted was also made clear. This is shown in fig.6.1, where contour lines have been drawn around terminal 'levels'. A figure has been produced for every combination of parameter values at the given intervals; the contours are hand-drawn and it is intended to transfer the data to a SAS file in order to produce a more accurate plot by computer. In general this will make little difference, but in areas where the contours change rapidly ('cliffs', eg.between $\beta=0.25$ and 0.2 at $\alpha=1.01$) it is an obvious desideratum to be as precise as possible. Thick lines have been drawn where what appear to be 'plains' or 'plateaus' (characterised by high frequency counts) end and 'inclines' or

'cliffs' intercede. These are indicated in table 6.4 by dots under 'plains'. It can be seen that the level of hierarchy (number of terminals) approximately halves between each plain (16 -> 8 -> 4).

The model is currently of 'comparative statics' type: attempting to 'match up' one static with another produced by different parameter values as if to model a structural set or system changing over time is, at present, an entirely hypothetical procedure. A properly dynamic version of the model is planned. For the moment it can only be suggested in general terms that an interaction pattern may move from one state to another as the conditions modelled through the parameters change. Another way of viewing the results, which is wholly appropriate for the model in its present form, is to consider each result as different aspects of the system at the same temporal location, as different structures of the same social system for which different parameter values are appropriate. In other words, to consider each result as a result for a different structural 'level'.

Social structures exist at many various levels, and we can begin to understand why one location was generally more favourable than another by exploring the frequency and consistency with which a site is ranked highly and/or calculated to be a terminal across a range of parameter values. This was done for twelve sites, presented in fig.6.17.

These particular sites were selected either because literary and/or archaeological evidence suggests that they were important(90); or because they had been observed to feature very consistently at high rank in the experiments(91); or because they featured prominently on some occasions and not at all on others(92); or because they fairly consistently ranked in the bottom half of the 'top ten'(93). The historically 'great' poleis could fall into one or more of these

90 Namely, Argos (101), Athens (70), Korinth (82), Thebes (25).

91 The Argive Heraion (98), Hyria (?) (13).

92 Ay.Ionnis (2), Koropi (57), Kromna (78), Nauplia (106).

93 Akraiphnion (7), Koroneia (23).

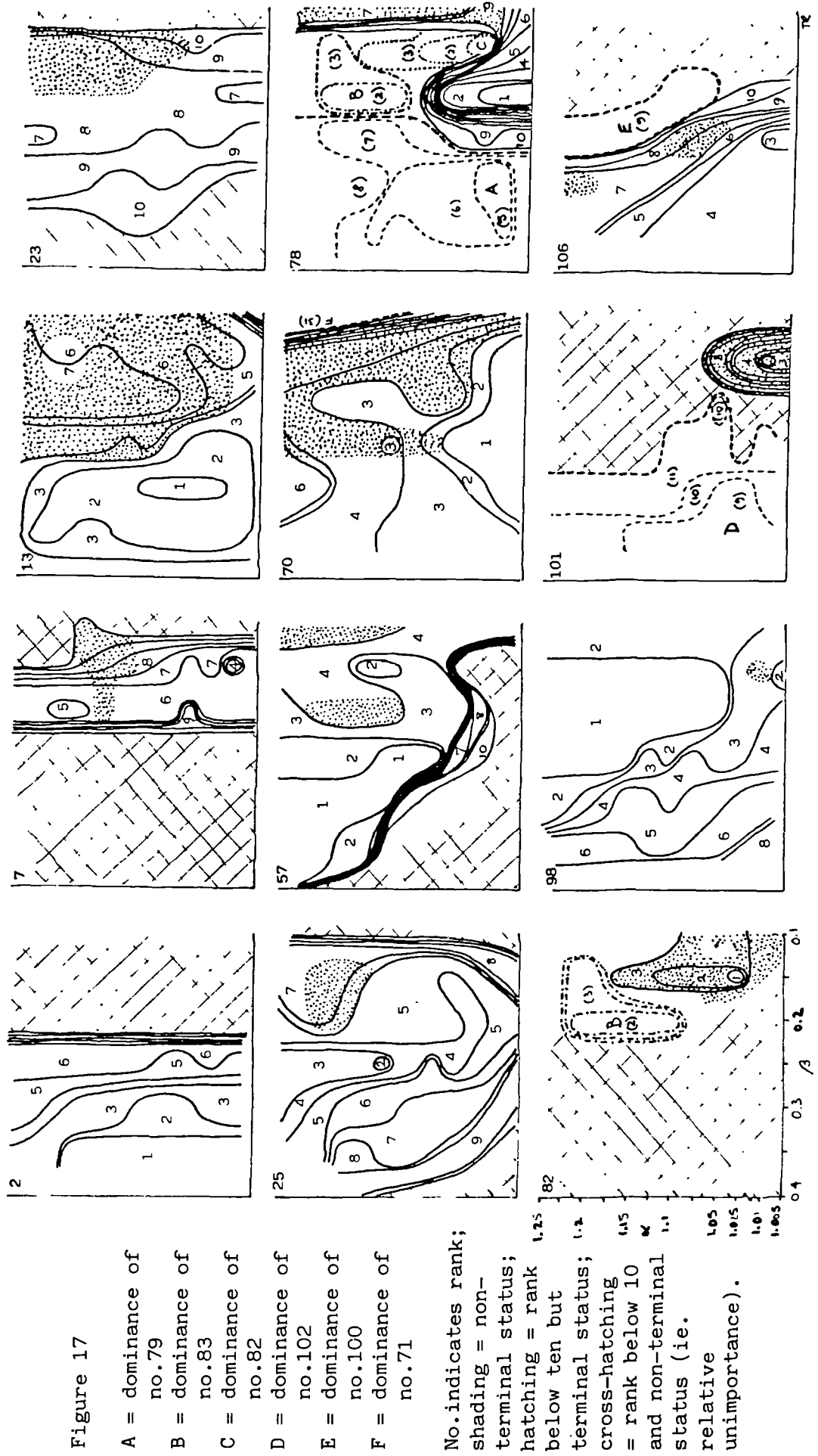


Figure 6.17

categories, for example, Argos as type 3. I was also particularly interested in the Athens/ Koropi, Ay.Ionnis/ Akraiphnion, and Kenkhraia/ Korinth/ Kromna/ Isthmia groups, in which primacy of rank seemed to alternate between sites, sometimes over a very small change in parameter value.

Preliminary analysis of the graphs reveals five observations: (i) Hyria (?), Athens, the Argive Heraion, and only marginally less so Thebes, exhibit remarkable consistency across a wide range of parameter values. Thebes never ranks first, and Athens, Hyria (?) and the Heraion dominate over different areas of parameter space. (ii) Hyria (?) and the Heraion are more or less opposites, dominating their respective 'corners' either side of a diagonal running from high alpha (=1.25), medium beta (=0.3) to low alpha (=1.005), low beta (=0.2). The 'band' running between these 'corners' is dominated by Koropi 'spilling down' from high alpha, high beta, and Athens 'spreading out' from low alpha, medium beta. (iii) Low alpha, low beta is the only area where Korinth and Argos feature prominently, and is the area where Akraiphnion and Kromna achieve their best. (iv) Koroneia is a terminal in her own area even though her ranking overall is below ten at low beta, regardless of alpha. Thebes exhibits the same tendency in muted form at different parameter values, as does Koropi in a much more restricted fashion. (v) Ay.Ionnis, Akraiphnion, Koropi, Kromna, Korinth (and we may infer, Isthmia and Kenkhraia), and Argos 'arrive' or 'disappear' very dramatically through small changes in parameter value(94), because the 'centre' of the region shifts between neighbours (see especially the plot for Kromna, on which are indicated also the dominance areas of Isthmia, Kenkhraia and Korinth). On the whole, changes in beta are more consequential in this drama (vertical lines

94 Athens at high alpha, low beta is replaced by Kallithea, a suburb of Athens and probably justifiably considered as part of Athens. Hyria (?) likewise at low alpha, low beta is replaced by neighbouring Aulis.

more prominent than horizontal), which confirms results of other tests discussed above.

According to the interpretation suggested above, these observations could suggest that (i) sites showing broad consistency right across the parameter space may have been foci for social activities of many structural levels. (ii) Sites prominent in only one small area of parameter space may have been favourably placed for social activities of a fairly specific level. (iii) Sites prominent in one broad vertical band of parameter space may have been favourably placed for a larger but nevertheless limited range of social activities, normally associated with media of a particular 'reach' or 'penetration'.

In concrete 'historical' analysis, one of the most interesting things immediately to emerge from this is the case of Korinth. At the end of the period to which our database for the model refers, Korinth had sent out her first 'colonies'. It has been argued from the archaeological evidence of the settlement of Korinth in the Geometric period that when 'Korinth' sent out those apoikia she did not yet have an unequivocal 'capital' but was still a collection of villages(95). Our quartet suggests that investigators might look slightly further afield to reconcile "Korinth"'s early achievements with the evidence of the physical settlements.

Experimental weightings: Another experiment carried out was to weight sites according to topographical considerations and/or some 'cultural' consideration (eg. dialect) or counterfactual 'what if' explorations. This can be done individually or by sets, effectively distancing or 'nearing' a single site to all others, or a set of sites to all others outside the set. For instance, it is often suggested that tyrannoi had a 'positive' effect on poleis' development. This can be explored by giving sites known to have had tyrannoi a slight 'boost'. In

general, these experiments demonstrated that (i) the model's sensitivity increases as the structural level increases; (ii) unmodified simulations are much more realistic; and (iii) 'adjustments' for 'cultural' factors require a great deal of thoughtful caution if the model is not to become merely self-confirming (ie. adjustments need to be comprehensive). These points can be illustrated briefly by figs.6.18 and 6.19.

It should be noticed that the very dramatic figure 19 masks the less 'centralised' rank orderings, which reveal clusters of high ranking sites not only around the non-terminal weighted sites (eg.101 = Argos), but also in N.Boiotia(96) and on the Euripos closest crossing point(97).

All this of course presupposes some sort of criteria of judgement is being applied to identify 'interesting' or 'wrong' results. The evidence for Classical Athens is better than that for most societies which have existed up until 500 years or so before our own era(98) - which is why Greece is such a good test area in which to build models. However, that evidence (for Athens and Greece as a whole) is partial, largely subjective and often contradictory. One of the major aims of this model is to overcome, or at least circumvent, some of the gaps in that evidence. This means that, necessarily, it is often impossible to 'test' results against evidence. More often the results act as a

96 On the MISIM2 result of the same run Ay.Ionnis (no.2) is calculated to be a terminal over the surrounding region despite the substantial 'pull' from the five weighted sites (which experienced tyrannies) to the south.

97 Sikyon (no.109) suffers permanently from 'edge-effects'. Whilst these effects are generally less marked with this model than with any other spatial models, and does not seem to preclude extreme sites from occasional high rank or terminal status, Sikyon is also close to the 78-79-80-81-82-83 cluster (Korinthia) which always features one high ranking terminal amongst its number (although the actual one varies with parameter values), and Sikyon usually gets 'swallowed' by these combined effects.

98 J.Bintliff & A.M.Snodgrass art.cit. 1985:127.

Figure 18
(gravity model)

$\alpha = 1.1$
 $\beta = 0.1$

Sites no.s 45, 70, 82, 101, 109 given (x 0.5) weighting. Ranks 1-25 shown; non-terminal sites in double brackets.

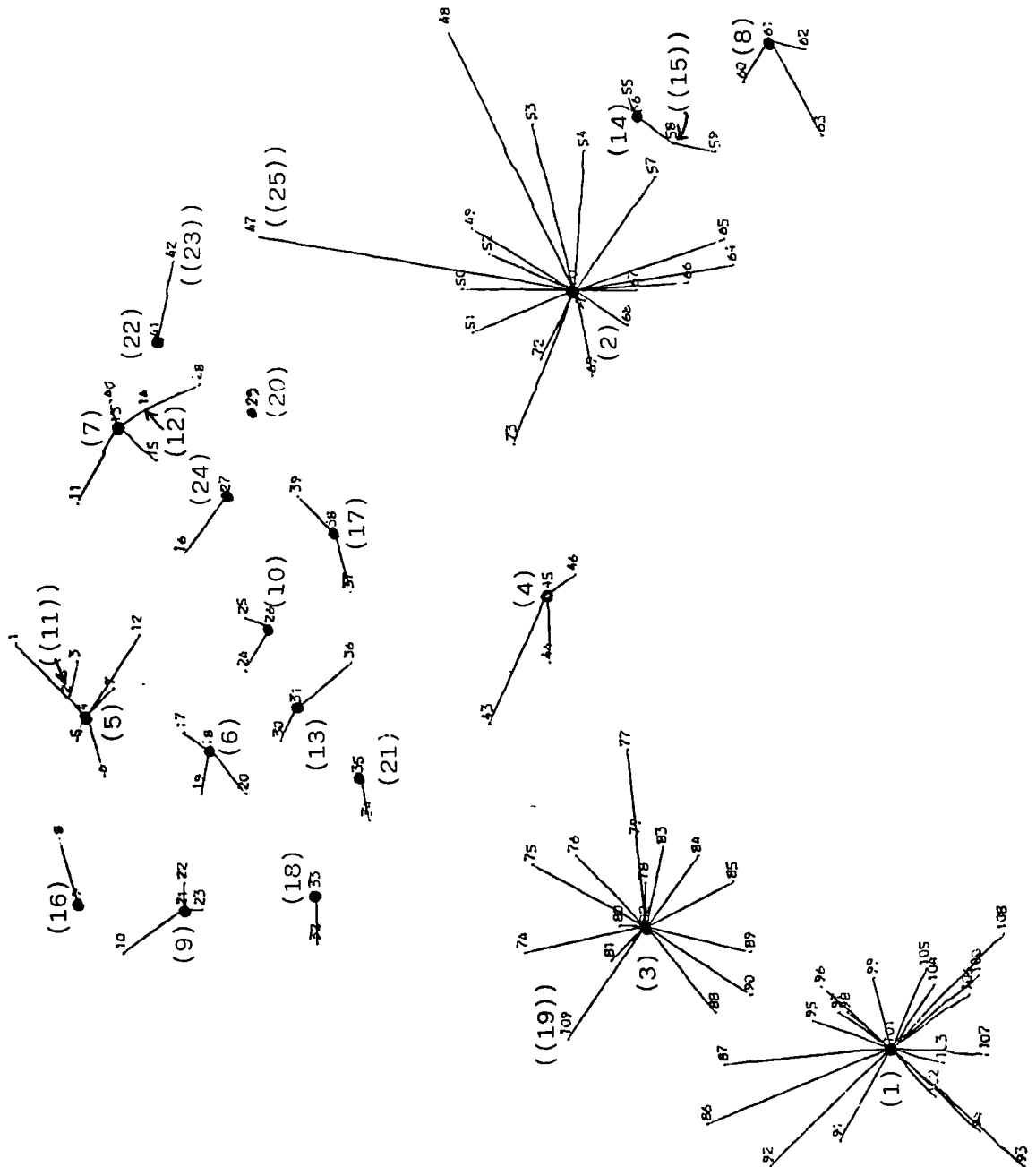


Figure 6.18

Figure 19
(MISIM 1)
 $\alpha = 1.1$
 $\beta = 0.1$
Weightings as fig.
18.

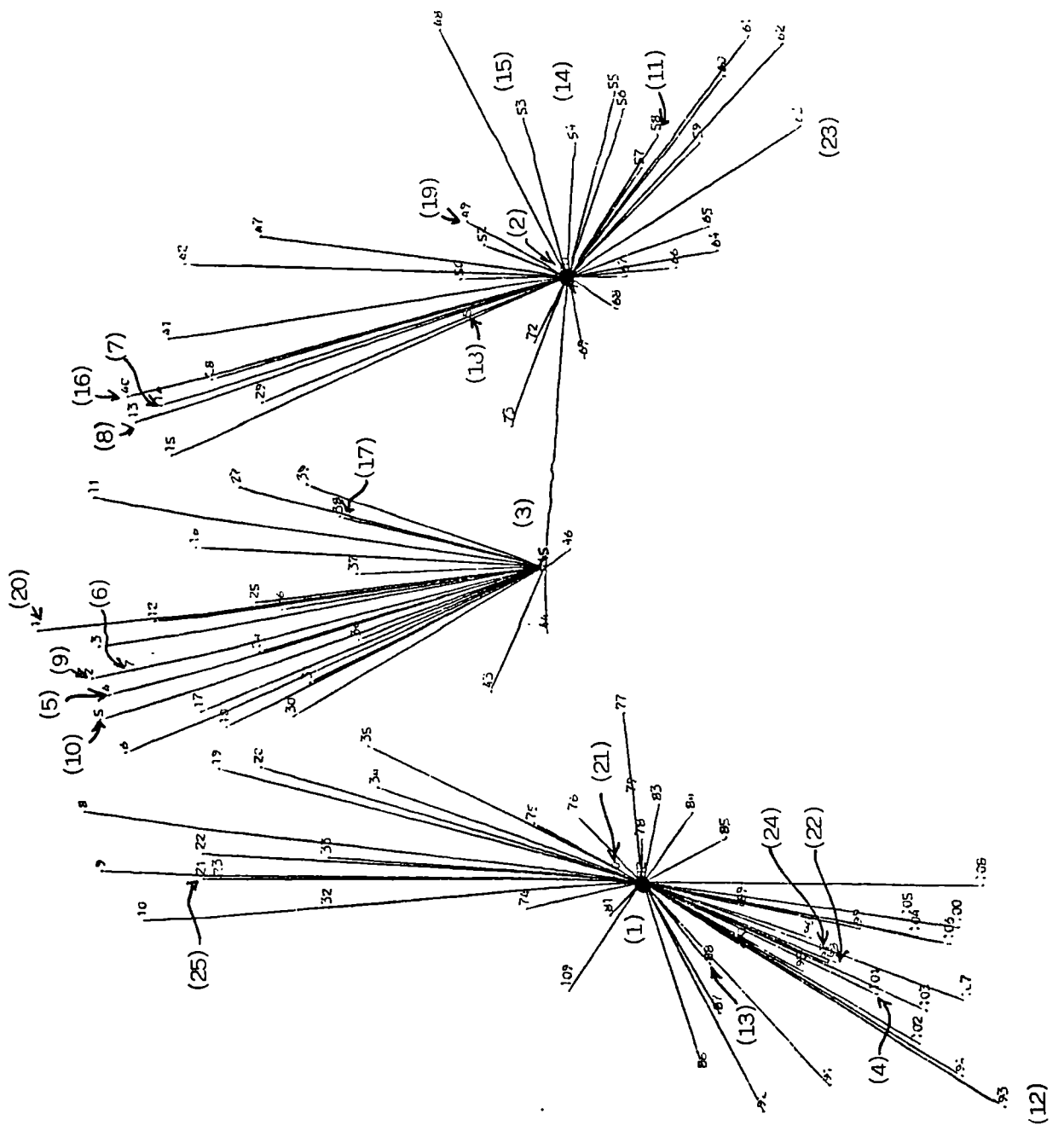


Figure 6.19

guide to evidence which does or might exist but which hasn't been researched or brought to bear on the problem, and this is considered to constitute one of its potential contributions to history and archaeology. There has to be some kind of 'filtering' of results at the first most coarse level of analysis, after which it may transpire that some deserve reappraisal and can be analysed more closely. If one is in doubt about a particular result, and thinks it may reflect a particular historical situation overall, the model guides one towards the relevant sites about which uncertainty exists. After examination of the available evidence, one's doubt may be confirmed or denied, in which case the result is pursued or rejected. But it must be considered in terms of the overall situation to be of any real significance; otherwise every result could be researched, even 'stretched' to support some very far-fetched hypotheses about individual sites, which is no different to doing such without the model, and defeats the *object of trying to deduce where evidence is lacking*. And to deduct from some specifics to the whole the result must 'look right' for all or most of those archaeologically and/or historically 'major' sites for which there exist sufficient evidence and against which it may be tested. If it is right for most of those, and on inspection the doubtfuls turn out to support the general picture, then the handful or only site for which evidence is lacking might justifiably be inferred to be of the same order as the known, and might warrant archaeological (re-)examination. After all, the evidence against which results are being 'tested' is not exempt from the interpretive process; it is not 'objective'; it may come in various diverse forms which are not readily comparable; and it could anyway require re-examination or reinterpretation in the light of new evidence or new hypotheses. So, a result which generally 'looks wrong' and would not suggest that a search of the evidence would be profitable, would be quickly rejected at the first screening. If, on the other hand, a major site is 'missing' when most or all of those thought to be approximately of the same

rank are present, then we may suspect that there are or were other sites in the vicinity which have not yet been found. Once systematic experimentation has been conducted and the approximately correct parameter range is found (by trial and error), the latitude for debate about a result is considerably reduced.

6.8 Site Appendix.

This appendix consists only of those sites used as a database for the MISIM and, whilst I have tried to be thorough, it does not claim to be exhaustive. Where possible I have referred to a PECS entry, a summary of Excavations in Greece (abbreviated after the authors, Leekley & Efstratiou, LE, or Leekley & Noyes, LN), and/or A.Schachter's Cults of Boiotia (CB), all of which have full, if not complete, recent bibliographies, and to DAG, GDA, GG, GGP for the Geometric period evidence. Relatively little-known sites discussed in chapter 6 have been given rather fuller entries to indicate more precisely the sources of information.

AKHARNAI

No:50. Location: 388E/537N I.10 Nea Psara, nr.HS.382, in the vicinity of Akharnai (formerly Menidi). DAG 193 (hero-cult). GG 134, 346. GGP 402 (MG & LG). PECS 6. Identification: uncertain, arguments based on no.inscriptions mentioning Akharnai found in Menidi buildings (reuse of stone). Deme Akharnai must be in region, here or at Liosia or between.

AKRAIPHNION

No:7. Location: mod.Akraiphnion (formerly Karditza). AREps 1935:145 (LG & PC), 1974/5:18 (170 graves, C.7 to Hell., main period of use c.600-450, most graves richly furnished), 1975/6:16 (400 graves, over 2000 vases, some 'Tanagran' terracottas), 1980/1:22 (total no.graves 663). BCH 13:407-8 (marker inscription on border with Kopai), 60:3-10, 95-112 (temple, walls), 98:95-118 (history), 102:696 (73 new

graves). LE 14-15. PECS 27-28. Identification: certain.

AIGALĒOS (mod.)

No:72. Location: mod.Aigelaos. AJA 64:71 (LG). DAG 268 (new cemetery inaugurated c.775-700). GG 134. GGP 32,84. Identification: unknown.

ALALKOMENAI (?)

No:22. Location: 751E/945N I.8 Levadhia, HS.410, mod.Kato Agoriani. AD 28 B 272 (G graves). CB 111-114. Chiron 6:19-22, (inscriptions). LE 26. Identification: uncertain. This is MS 2 L's suggestion, 25f.

ALIKI (mod.)

No:66. Location:390E/300N K.10 Laurion, HS.355, nr.mod.Aliki peninsula, between Glyphada and Voula. DAG 193-4 (hero-cult). GG 134. GGP 401. LN 29. LMTS 112. Identification: probably the centre of the ancient deme Aixone.

ANAVYSOS (mod.)

No:63. Location: Tumulus nr.Ay.Georgios chapel, S.of mod.Anavysos. AREps 1976/7:10, 1979/80:15-16 (100 graves, use extends throughout C.8, assoc.goods mostly pottery, prob.local, contemporary 2-roomed building nearby). Eliot Coastal demes 75ff, 104ff (other remains in vicinity). GG 78, 80, 120. GGP 22 (MG), 401 (LG). LN 2. Identification: Ancient deme Anaphlyston around here.

ANTHEDON

No:11. Location: 163E/037N I.9 Khalkis, HS.437, mod.Mandraki. AJA 6:96-107 (bronze hoard and C.8/7 finds). BCH 26:323-6 (inscriptions). BSA 35:135 (chemical analysis of bronze slag). DAG 308. HS&L 32-33. Kirk Comm. 194. LMTS 48. PECS 59. Identification: certain. A

large and impressive site.

ARGOS

No:101. Location: 458E/127N K.7 Tripolis, mod.Argos. Most AREps of the 1970's and 80's, note esp. 76/7 (further G cemetery located). Bergquist AGT 18-22. Hagg DGDA 1974. DAG cf.index. T.Deshayes Les Fouilles de la Deiras 1966:215ff (hero-cult). EGAW 45-46 (G suit of armour). GG 146-56 (one of only 5 places where C.9 burials are distributed over > 1km). LN 57-59. PECS 90-91. Tomlinson A&A 15-22. Identification: may have been several settlements under present city, but definitely Argos. Unlike Mykenai & Tiryns it suffered no detectable damage at end LHIII B. Grave offerings become extremely plentiful after c.750.

ASINE

No:108. Location: 590E/996N K.8 Korinthos, HS.19, mod.Kastraki. AREps 1973/4, 74/5, 75/6, 76/7 (at least 4 G buildings). BCH 95:874, 96:96, 650 (PG, G & A finds). DAG cf.index. O.Frodin & A.Persson Asine 1938. GG cf.index (154 & 327 temple Apollo Pytheas). Hagg Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine 1973. LMTS 39, 83-4. PECS 100-01. Identification: certain. No other site has produced a greater proportion of imported pots, pottery style unique in Argolid in Atticizing tendency (GG 152).

ASKRA

No:20. Location: Pirgaki, approx. 7km NW of Thespias. AREps 1981/2:27-28 (G to late R on Pirgaki site), 1982/3:32 (very large site, occupied intermittently from PG to LR, in Cl.times at least covered over 20 hect. Small Cl.& R site 1km W of Pirgaki is findspot of IG vii 1883-4, only epigraphic evidence for Askra). Fossey Diss. 187-191 (LH,G,A,Cl,Hell,R, very thick ground cover of potsherds). PECS 101 (great quantities sherds to be seen). Identification: probable.

ASPLEDON (?)

No:8. Location: 803E/077N T.8 Atalandi, HS.399, nr.mod.Pyrgos. Comm. 198 (says no sign of later than Myk. yet, but cf.HS.p.115 (A, Cl)). Included as Cat.site. Identification: probable.

ATHENS

No:70. Location: mod.Athens, originally around the akropolis. Travlos PECS 106-10. GG 50 (one of only 5 sites with burials spread over > 1km in early C.9) 109-39 and index. Bergquist AGT 22-24 (for sanctuaries). LN 4-10. As with Argos, we might be dealing with several discrete settlements in the G period (see GG fig.44 p.136).

ATHIKIA

No:85. Location: 630E/320N (in square) K.8 Korinthos, HS.51. AJA 61:169-171. Hesperia 33:91-93 (Korinthian style G burials). WC 26, 156 (G graves, A,Cl.settlement). Weiburg Corinth 7(1) no.s 69-72.

AULIS

No:14. Location: nr.053E/944N I.9 Khalkis, nr.HS.433, mod.Nisi, on Yeladovouni promontory, around convent of Ay.Nikolaos. AREps 1955, 56, 58-60/61. Bakhuizen Salgaeus 96-100, 152-56. CB 82-97. Kirk Comm 191 (politically independent until C.5). LE 16-17. PECS 126-27.

AY.GERASIMOS (mod.)

No:81. Location: 618E/442N K.8 Korinthos, HS.59, on a slight rise nr.the shore about 2km. W of ancient Lekhaion. AJA 24:4, 27:160. WC 22 (occupied since at least C.7).

AY.IONNIS (mod.)

No:2. Location 979E/068N J.9 Psakhna, HS.405, mod.Ay.Ionnis. Two hillocks on what was the E bay of lake Kopais, on the eastern a fortress larger than Tiryns, the western apsidal houses and cist grave cemetery. HS 118 (LH, G, Cl). LE 17-18.

AY. MARINA (mod.)

No:4. Location: 945E/045N I.8 Levadhia, HS.403, mod.village. LE 17.
 Buck Hist.Boiot. 13. Identification: unknown. Occupation in G period
 inferred.

BERBATI

No:96. Location: nr.554E/205N K.8 Korinthos, nr.HS.5, nr.mod.
 Prosymni. The settlement is 1200m WNW of HS no.5, an akropolis on NW
 rim of the basin, which is shut off on all sides by a steep limestone
 cliff, except for a gorge into the Argos plain in the SW. Low passes
 lead to Mykenai (NW) and Korinth (NE). Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:304-307
 (wide scatter G, A, Cl). DAG 57, 153, 337 (re-occupied in G, LG
 growth). Saflund Excavations at Berbati 81ff (G pit in re-used
 chamber tomb).

BRAURON

No:55. Location: 600E/374N K.10 Laurion, HS.368, beside small bay on
 E coast Attika, a small hill c.400m W of bay. DAG 398 (temple built
 on Myk. house foundations). Ergon 1957:23 (G burials). GG 126 (G
 plaques, Eleusis school). PECS 163f (active from late C.8).

DENDRA

No:99. Location: nr.560E/148N K.8 Korinthos, between HS.6 and 7, west
 of Manessi-Dendra villages, on low hills above the plain NE of Tiryns.
A&A 41. Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:283-285 (G plentiful, also A, Cl). DAG
 57 (continuity questioned), 153 (Myk.tomb reused in G). Persson New
Tombs at Dendra 101 (poss.PG and G re-use of tombs).

DRAMESI (mod.)

No:28. Location: 309E/904N I.9 Khalkis, HS.432, a large mound on NW
 side of mod.Dramesi. AD 1 A 55 (Neo.> LHIIIB), 26 B 217f (brief a/c N
 cemetery). Fossey Diss. 86f (identification Graia?). Hesp.
 Supp.8:39-42 (identification Hyria?). HS&L 19 (no G or PG found here
 yet). Kirk Comm. 191 (if Hyria identification correct, then Hesiod
 refers to it independent of Cat., frgs.181, 253). LE 21.

Identification: uncertain. Dramesi was obviously a large settlement, and has produced all periods from Neo. to LHIII C including MH painted and Minyan ware. It has not been properly excavated, and the 'gap' between LHIII C and Cl. is considered more likely a product of this than actual occupation.

DRAPHI (mod.)

No:53. Location: mod.Draphi, on S.slopes of Mt.Pentelikon. BCH 80:246, 81:516, 82:681 (G cremations, G, A and Cl.graves). DAG 268 (new cemetery c.775-700). GG 134. GGP 401 (LG finds from graves).
LN 22. Identification: the ancient deme Phigaia?

ELEON (?)

No:27. Location: 173E/877N I.9 Khalkis, HS.427, mod.Eleon, formerly Dritsa. Roesch Cahiers d'histoire 19:279f. Fossey Diss. 114-119 (sherds of all periods reported, an extensive ancient settlement).
 Identification: uncertain.

ELEUSIS

No:73. Location: 205E/533N I.9 Khalkis, HS.386, mod.Eleusis. Mylonas PECS 296-298. DAG via index. GG 79-80, 332 (G burials, oldest votives C.8; but cf. LMTS 43). GGP 402 (EG > LG). AREps 1982/3:10 (G peribolos, mid.C.8).

ERETRIA

No:42. Location: 460E/914N I.10 Nea Psara, HS.562. Jacobsen PECS 315-317. AREps 1979/80:21-22, 1980/81:7-9, 1981/2:17-18, 1982/3:15-18. DAG via index.

ERYTHRAI (?)

No:38. Location: nr.mod.Ay.Meletios, 8km.E of Pantanassa. Pritchett Studies in Ancient Greek Topography (I) 104-6. Fossey BICS 18:106-109. Kirk Comm. 192 (rightly says no reason to choose between Myk.sites, since this assumes that a Catalogue site is a Myk.site). Not exca-

vated to my knowledge. Cf.Hdt.9.15.3, 5.74.2, 6.108, 9.19.3, Strabo 9.2.24. Identification: uncertain.

EUTRESIS

No:31. Location: 952E/795N I.9 Khalkis, HS.417, mod.hill Arkopodi, 2km.N of Parapoungia, ca.3km.NE of Leuktra. Goldman Excavations at Eutresis in Boiotia 1931 (G sherds p.8). Fossey Diss. 196-200 (G sherds).

GLISAS (?)

No:16. Location: 110E/919N I.9 Khalkis, HS.426, mod.Syrtzi/Tourlega (official name = Hypaton). AD 25 B 224-227 (G - C1 cemetery).
LEII:24. Kirk Comm. 193. Identification: uncertain, this is *HS&L's suggestion, 29-30.*

HALIARTOS

No:19. Location: 836E/924N I.8 Levadhia, HS.409, mod.Haliartos. Roesch PECS 374-75 (one of first cities to mint coins with shield device). LN 23-24. Kirk Comm. 193 (large settlement).
Identification: probable.

HERA AKRAIA

No:74. Location: 610E/550N I.8 Levadhia, HS.75. BSA 64:233-240 (doubt about settlement), BSA 72:197-202 (doubt about date). But see Wiseman Land of the Ancient Corinthians 33. GG 85f, 173-75, 321f, 327. Salmon WC 26, 28, 95 (offerings improve through G period and much greater in late C.8).

HERAION

No:98. Location: 520E/184N K/8 Korinthos, HS.4. Waldstein The Argive Heraion 1902. Mason PECS 90. Bergquist AGT 19-22. GG 145-152.
Note: this site is not implied to be a settlement. It was included because of its unquestioned importance at this time; the nearby

remains are referred to here as Prosymna.

HYRIA (?)

No:13. Location: 264E/983N I.9 Khalkis, HS.435, mod.Vlisha (formerly Tseloneri). Fossey Diss. 94-96 (large settlement, including LHIIIB-C). Catalogue site. Identification: uncertain.

HYSIAI (Boiotia)

No:37. Location: 050E/736N I.9 Khalkis, HS.424, mod.Pantanassa chapel. Bequignon PECS 510 (s.v.Limes). Fossey Diss. (records LHIII, and PC). Occupation in G period inferred. Identification: uncertain, though all seem agreed.

HYSIAI (Argolid)

No:93. Location: just S mod.Achladokampos on road from Nauplion to Tripolis. McAllister PECS 401 (but includes one ref. to Hysiai in Boiotia). Levi Paus.Guide to Greece (I)188 n.146. Occupation in G period inferred. Identification: uncertain.

ISTHMIA

No:78. Location: 725E/418N K.8 Korinthos, HS.63. Broneer Isthmia (I) 1971 (temple), (II) 1973 (but Broneer's high date for first temple (ca.700) is challenged, eg.Coulton JHS 95:271f, Robinson AM 99:57 (tiles) and Salmon WC 60f.) Broneer Hesp. 27:27 (G habitation debris). Broneer PECS 417f. DAG 58 (poss. cont. occup. Myk-G).

ITONION (?)

No:21. Location: nr.Alalkomenai railway station (Spyropoulos' 1973-5 site, AD 27 B 317f, 28 B 271f. Ergon 1975:12-26. AReps 1975/6:17 (beneath Building A of Spyropoulos' "supposed Itonion" there may be a G cremation cemetery). Identification: uncertain.

KABIRION

No:24. Location: 8km.W of Thebes nr.junction of route to Thespiiai with old road to Levadhia. Bequignon PECS 429 (MG sherds earliest

finds). LE(III)25. Langdon AJA 86:596f (questions G date for figurines).

KAKI THALASSA (mod.)

No:61. Location: in sq.640E/270N K.10 Laurion, HS.363. GG 132, GGP 402. DAG 203, 268 (new cemetery inaugurated c.775-700).
Identification: unknown.

KALLITHEA (mod.)

No:71. Location: district between Athens and Phaleron, mod.Kallithea. McAllister PECS 432 (cemetery from C.8). AD 19 B 65ff (G graves). DAG 268 (new cemetery inaugurated c.775-700). Identification: unknown.

KALYVIA (mod.)

No:59. Location: N of Mt.Panion, at mod.Kalyvia. GG 134. Levi Paus.Guide to Greece (I) 90 n.188. Identification: probably Prospalta.

KENKHRAEA (Korinthia)

No:83. Location: 724E/384N K.8 Korinthos, HS.65, 10km SE of Korinth, 4km S of Isthmia. Will Korinthiaka 215. Salmon WC 143-45. Scranton PECS 446 (an important and extensive town) LN 79. Levi Paus.Guide to Greece (I) 134 n.13 (modern road cutting runs through middle of Artemis (?) temple). Identification: certain. No G finds yet but the site has been only partially excavated (harbour area, now mostly submerged) and it is inconceivable that site such as this (triangular alluvial plain c.600m deep on broad straight beach c.500m long) was unsettled at this time.

KENKHRAIA (Argolid)

No:94. Location: about 20km W of Lerna, on right hand side of gorge, mod.church atop. McAllister PECS 445-6 (more about the pyramid than the site). Tomlinson A&A 36f (lots of tile & pottery frags., and signs

of fortifications beneath mound. Unexcavated). This site is high in the hills but there is considerable ploughland around it, and it has an excellent water supply. Occupation in G period inferred.

KEPHALARI (mod.)

No:102. Location: nr.mod.Kephalari. Settlement outside cave. AAA 6:13ff (full excavation of main cave). Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:324-5 (N, G and Cl). AREps 1979/80:28 (MH, LHIIIB, Cl, deserted thereafter till C.6 AD).

KEPHISSIA

No:49. Location: under suburb of same name. Eliot PECS 447. GG 134. AJA 65:299ff. Identification: secure. Kephissia was one of the original twelve synoikisers (Strabo 9.1.20).

KERATEA (?)

No:60. Location: a little NW of mod.Keratea, N.of Mt.Panion, SE of Kalyvia. McAllister PECS 447. GG 134. Levi Paus.Guide to Greece (I) 90 n.189. Identification: uncertain (Kephale?). Site hardly known.

KHALKIS

No:40. Location: 293E/000N I.9 Khalkis, HS.555 (and vicinity). Bakhuizen Chalcis-in-Euboa 1976. Archaeologia 3:65-9, 4:53-7 (plans of ancient city, topography & settlement). GG 199-201. McAllister PECS 216-17. BICS 18:9 (may have been home of Cesnola painter). LE 59-60.

KHORSIA

No:32. Location: 365E/794N I.8 Levadhia, HS.420. Roesch Cahiers d'histoire 15:374-76. Busings AA 1972:74-78. Identification: secured by inscription (Buck HB 11). Occupation in G period inferred.

KLEONAI

No:88. Location: 525E/332N K.8 Korinthos, HS.47, 4km. NW of Ay. Vasilios. RE Supp.6:606. GG 85 (MG). Hardly excavated.

Identification: probable.

KOKKINIA

No:69. Location: in mod.Piraios area. GG 78, 134 (earliest graves not much later than c.850). DAG 150 (G burials). Identification: fairly secure.

KOPAI

No:5. Location: 911E/048N I.8 Levadhia, HS.401, mod.Topolia. Roesch PECS 461-62. LE 38 (cemetery A > Hell.). Kirk Comm. 192 (some PG sherds now found). Identification: certain. Included because PG and A found, and Catalogue site.

KORINTH

No:82. Location: 628E/408N K.8 Korinthos, HS.56, 3.5km inland from Gulf of Korinth, c.9km W of the Isthmus. Robinson PECS 240-44. Salmon WC 1984. Hesp. 41(1972) passim (urbanisation and growth of the state).

KORONEIA

No:23. Location: 728E/948N I.8 Levadhia, the akropolis site (HS&L 28). BCH 44:388, 45:522, 47:521-22. AD 28 B 271-72. Identification: uncertain; several sites in vicinity confused. Cf.Schachter CB s.v. Athena Itonia for discussion.

KOROPI (mod.)

No:57. Location: modern Koropi. Eliot PECS 857. GG 133-34. DAG 268 (new cemetery inaugurated c.775-700). Identification: deme Sphettos.

KOUKOUVAONES (mod.)

No:52. Location: 1.25 km.NE of HS.381. GG 134. HS (p.)109. GGP 402. Identification: probably deme Sypalettos.

KREUSIS

No:35. Location: just across the tiny coastal plain from HS.422, mod.

Livadhostro. McAllister PECS 470 (well preserved fortifications).
 Fossey Diss. 204-208 (includes LHIII B, archaic bronze fished up off
 shore). Kirk Comm. 195 (missing from Cat., no PG or G yet).
 Occupation in G period inferred. Identification: probable.

KROMMYON

No:77. Location: nr.mod.Ay.Theodoroi, at widest point between
 Geraneia and the Gulf. Salmon WC 25, 48, 58. GG 85-86 (start c.800 or
 shortly thereafter). AD 17 B 52-3 (graves from MG).

KROMNA

No:79. Location: nr.HS.64, at the base of Ag.Dimitrios ridge.
 Wiseman Land via index, PECS 470. Salmon WC 24, 35, 156.
 Identification: secured.

LARYMNA

No:1. Location: 027E/123N T.9 Psakhna, HS.413, mod.Larymna. (The
 site is much eroded.) LE 124. AJA 20:32ff (history and topography).
 There is another site nearby (Pazaraki) which may be part of Larymna.
 Identification: probable.

LEBEDEIA

No:10. Location: 660E/000N I.8 Levadhia, HS.412, around Tripolithari
 hill N of mod.Levadhia. Roesch PECS 492. LE 26-7. Kirk Comm. 195
 (absent from Cat., but important in A. and Cl. periods). Occupation
 in G period inferred. Identification: secure.

LEFKANDI (mod.)

No:41. Location: nr.mod.Lefkandi. Popham & Sackett Lefkandi 1968.
AREps 1981/2:15-16, 1982/3:12-15 (apsidal 'heroon', PG pots show 'con-
 tact' with East, Thessaly, Makedonia). GDA 195-99, 348. DAG 71-2,
 245, 281, 332, 423, 429. GG 196, 200, 313. LE 66-7. Identification:
 Xeropolis?

LEKHAION

No:80. Location: on the Gulf 3.5 km.N of Korinth. Will Korinthiaka 26, 37, 223, 530. Salmon WC 31, 34-5 (road from Korinth to Lekhaion is lined with G graves (those who fell by the wayside? TR)) and via index (harbour at least c.600, first dated grave early C.7). Stroud PECS 493 (not excavated; one of largest harbours in Greece, ca.10 hect.) Identification: very probable.

LERNA

No:107. Location: 454E/025N K.8 Korinthos, HS.13, mod.Myloi. Angel The People of Lerna 1971. Hagg DGDA 62-64, 92 (22 G graves, none of other periods). DAG 337 (fresh wave of burials LG). AREps 1979/80:28 (EG burials). Identification: uncertain.

LIOSSIA (mod.)

No:51. Location: mod.Liossia - area around and between this village and Menidi. GGP 83, 402. GG 134. DAG 203. Identification: unknown.

LOUTRAKI (mod.)

No:76. Location: mod.Loutraki. Salmon WC 26, 157 (may have been substantial settlement). Stroud PECS 687 (s.v.Perakhora; stone lion now in Copenhagen found here). AREps 1978/9:12 (remains of undated temple damaged by construction of flats). Identification: Therma?

MAGOULA (mod.)

No:103. Location: 448E/065N K.7 Tripolis, HS.15. BCH 31:28. Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:325-6 (architectural remains of A date). AREps 1979/80:28 (extensive EH, MH settlement found).

MARATHON

No:48. Location: nr.mod.Plasi. Pritchett's suggestion, Studies 2:1-11 (in Studies 1 he preferred the Brexiza site, p.83-88). There are several more or less small sites within one kilometer of each other in this area and I have let this site serve for all because it has seen more attention than the others. For biblio (fairly exten-

sive) see Wyatt PECS 550, and LN 17-18. Identification: uncertain.

MARKOPOULO (mod.)

No:58. Location: mod.Markopoulo. GG 134. LN 18-19. AREps 1976/7:12. Identification: uncertain.

MEDEON

No:17. Location: 915E/933N I.8 Korinthos, HS.407, Kastraki hill nr.mod.Davlosis, c.4km N of Onkhestos. AM 63/4:177-185 (LHIIIIB then Cl). Buck HB 12 ('Dark Age' (?) remains). Occupation during G period inferred. Identification: uncertain.

MEGALI KATAVOTHRA (mod.)

No:3. Location: 999E/093N T.9 Psakhna, HS.406, mod.village of this name. LH and Cl according to HS (p.118), and unexcavated. Occupation in G period inferred. Identification: unknown.

MEGARA

No:45. Location: 035E/488N K.9 Aigina, HS.390, under mod.city. Legon Megara and the Megarid 1981. Biers PECS 565. GG 85-6. DAG 60. AREps 1983/4.

MERENDA (mod.)

No:56. Location: mod.Merenda, 3km.NE of Markopoulo. LN 19. GG 35, 78, 133. AD 25 B 127ff (another G cemetery discovered). AAA 5:298ff (archaic kouros and kore in cemetery). Identification: ancient Myrrhinous ?

MYKALESSOS (?)

No:15. Location: nr.mod.Rhitsona. McAllister PECS 600f. Fossey Diss. 102-108. Kirk Comm. 191. DAG 158, 268 (new cemetery inaugurated c.775-700). Identification: uncertain but this seems to be the best site in the area.

MYKENAI

No:95. Location: 503E/227N K.8 Korinthos, HS.1. Mylonas Mycenai 1972, PECS 600 (4 G period houses on akropolis, conditions improved c.650-550 when temple and terrace built). Hagg DGDA 64-71. Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:294-305. GG 85, 152, 322, 347 (G imports from Korinth; communications with Argive plain close in LG). Identification: secure.

NAUPLIA

No:106. Location: 523E/043N K.8 Korinthos, HS.9. Wace PECS 610. LMTS 80, 265 (some PG; but see Hagg DGDA 71-75, only 1? PG burial (30 G burials)). Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:308-311. Identification: secure.

NEMEA

No:87. Location: nr.463E/318N K.7 Tripolis (nr.HS.46), 1km SE of Koutsomandi. Williams PECS 617-18. AJA 86:387-400. AREps 1979/80:24-25 (early temple), 1980/81:12-13, 1981/2:20-21 (significant quantities LG pottery below enigmatic Early Korinthian 2-roomed building), 1982/3:24-25 (large quantities C.8 & C.7 pottery). Hesp. 53:171-192 (masses of A, Cl votive material in 'Heroon' section). Identification: secure.

NISAIA (?)

No:46. Location: 046E/467N K.9 Aigina, HS.391, mod.Palaikastro. Legon M&M 32. Bequignon PECS 510. PAE 1934:50 (G graves). Identification: uncertain.

OLMOUS (?)

No:6. Location: 870E/030N I.8 Levadhia, HS.400, on hill S of mod. Stroviki. LE 33. BCH 1974:644 (Neol. to LH, Cl). Occupation in G period inferred. Identification: uncertain.

ONKHESTOS

No:18. Location: 889E/906N I.8 Levadhia, HS.408. McAllister PECS 652. HS&L 30-31. (LE(III)27 has wrong HS number). Kirk Comm. 194 (absence of PG & G sherds prob. accidental, since Hymn Apollo (ll.230-38) shows

sanct.well established in late C.7 or early C.6, confirmed by Hesiod frg.219 West). Identification: generally agreed that site is on ridge between two Boiotian plains, and this site likely candidate.

ORKHOMENOS

No:9. Location: 745E/060N I.8 Levadhia, HS.396, close to mod. Orchomenos (formerly Skripou). Roesch PECS 654. LE 27-29. RE Supp.14(1974)290-355 (full historical a/c of Orkhomenos). Schachter CB 108-9, 179-81, 140-1. Kirk Comm. 198.

ORNEAI

No:92. Location: c.1km NE of Gimnon, c.1.5 km.SSW of Leontion (Pritchett's map, Studies 2:101). Kirk Comm. 211 (also goes for Gimnon site). AREps 1961/2:31. Identification: uncertain. HS&L looking for Myk.sites so exclude this possibility. Included on assumption that it is correctly identified, and therefore Cat.site.

OROPOS

No:47. Location: 462E/821N I.10 Nea Psara, HS.430, mod.Skala Oropou. The settlement has not yet been excavated; attention has focussed on the sanctuary, c.3km to the N. Wiesner RE 1939 s.v.Oropos. LN 2. Eliot PECS 656. Identification: secured by inscription. Occupation in G period inferred.

PAGAI

No:43. Location: mod.Alepokhori. Bequignon PECS 510. Legon M&M 32-33. LN 21. Identification: confirmed.

PERAKHORA

No:75. Location: 696E/538N I.8 Levadhia, HS.73, two ridges (mod. Magoula) just S of Perakhora village. Wiseman Land 36. There was certainly settlement around here from EH to Roman times, perhaps moving sites between periods. Aspokambos (mod.) c.4km NNE of Perakhora village seems to have been the most important in A and C1

times (see Wiseman 34-36). No pre-Archaic finds have been made here however, and the older settlements seem to be toward the Korinth-facing coast. Therefore I have taken Magoula as a reference point for inferred G occupation somewhere in the vicinity. DAG via index.

PHALERON

No:68. Location: 350E/380N K.9 Aigina (in square), HS.350. GG 134-5 (cemetery starting c.710 poor; most graves have no offerings). DAG 268. Identification: fairly secure. One of the original twelve synoikisers (Strabo 9.1.20).

PHLIOUS

No:86. Location: 353E/273N K.7 Tripolis, HS.45, nr.Koutsis. Pritchett Studies 2:96-101. Biers PECS 707-8 (occupied ENeol.to Byz, Myk.scanty). Hesp. 40:397-427 (the 1970 excavations), 42:100-120.

PLATAIA

No:36. Location: 988E/735N I.9 Khalkis, HS.423, just outside (to NE) of village of Plataia (formerly Kokla). Bequignon PECS 510. LE 30. Kirk Comm. 193. Fossey Diss. 139-147 (finds include 2 G stone tripods). Identification: fairly secure (Hell. & R inscriptions).

POTNIAI (?)

No:26. Location: nr.mod.Takhi, 3km from Thebes on Leuktra road. AE 1976:12-17 (PG to Cl cemetery). LE 37. Identification: uncertain.

PROFITIS ELIAS (mod.)

No:105. Location: 560E/080N K.8 Korinthos (in square), HS.11. AREps 1962/3:16. LN 60 (traces of Cyclopean walls around hill, town remains below). Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:307f (suggests temple archaic). Included because LH finds, 'Cyclopean walls', and Archaic material at hardly excavated site. Identification: Lessa?

PRONAI

No:100. Location: nr.523E/043N K.8 Korinthos, nr.HS.9, on the east land side of the fortress of Palamedi. PAE 1953:191ff (settlement mainly G). Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:310 (dense G to Byz). Wace PECS 610 (G finds outnumbered Myk. in 1950's). Hagg DGDA 71-75.

PROSYMNA

No:97. Location: nr.520E/184N K.8 Korinthos, nr.HS.4. I refer to the finds made about 1km NW of the Heraion by this label. LMTS 78 (abandoned LHIIIB reoccupied LG). Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:286-89. Tomlinson A&A 33.

SCHOINOKHORI (mod.)

No:91. Location: 385E/185N K.7 Tripolis, HS.16, nr.Schoinokhori village. Bintliff BAR Supp.1977:331-332. Identification: Renandin suggests Lyrkeia, HS disagrees.

SKHOINOS (?)

No:12. Location: SW corner of lake Paralimni. There are three sites in this area, for which this serves as a label. 'Ougkra' site: AD 21 B 199-202 (Myk, G, A graves, complex of buildings, sherds Prehistoric to Byz). 'Khelonokastro' site: AREps 1968/9:19 (A temple, akropolis with Myk and A walls). 'Kamilovrysi' site: AREps 1971/2:13, 1973/4:19, 1977/8:3 (MH, Myk, PG, G tombs, building with assoc.PG pottery). Identification: Skhoinos here somewhere.

SIKYON

No:109. Location: nr.498E/505N K.8 Korinthos, nr.HS.77, nr.mod. Vasiliko. Griffin Sikyon passim. DAG 337 (burials/settlement suggests reoccupied in C.8, swift advance to prosperity). Identification: secure.

SIPHAI (?)

No:34. Location: N of Aliko, c.10km SE of Thisbe on ridge on S side of small coastal plain. BSA 65:243-63 (G to C.4 small finds, C.5

temple, other later buildings). LE 15. Identification: uncertain, could be Tipha.

SKOLOS (?)

No:39. Location: nr.Neokhoraki. Pritchett Studies 1:107-09 (cemetery G, A and C1 sherds reported S of village), 2:178-80. BICS 18:106-08. Kirk Comm. 191. Fossey Diss. 154-63. Identification: uncertain. Skolos cannot be Ay.Meletios site, since provenance of Diocletian edict, and that is inconsistent with Skolos as a ruin in Pausanias' day (9.4.3).

SOLYGEIA

No:84. Location: 705E/343N K.8 Korinthos, HS.52, on low hill S of mod.Galataki. HS p.29 (1000 vases, 50 figurines ranging from subG to early C.5). GG 322 (temple built after 700).

SPATA (mod.)

No:54. Location: 530E/417N K.10 Laurion, HS.371, several sites in vicinity of mod.Spata. LN 26. DAG 268 (new cemetery inaugurated c.775-700). AREps 1981/2:12 (chosen as site for new Athens airport).

TANAGRA

No:29. Location: not mod.Tanagra. 5km SE of mod.Tanagra (formerly Vratsi) at Graimadha. AJA 78:152-56 (good a/c with town plan). LE 33f. Roesch PECS 876-77 (not systematically excavated). Identification: secure (15 proxeny decrees of city of Tanagra).

TENEA

No:89. Location: 603E/289N (approx) K.8 Korinthos, HS.50, nr.mod.Klenia. Salmon WC 24, 156 (large sherd-scatter; largest site outside Korinth if sherds are a reliable guide; cemeteries, not settlement, found). DAG 95f.

THEBES

No:25. Location: 035E/847N I.9 Khalkis, HS.416, mod.Thebes. Ancient

finds are widely scattered in an area considerably larger than the modern town, and are all subsumed under this entry. AD 20 B 240, 21 B 197, 26 B 211 (cemetery G to Cl, mostly A burials), 22 B 247 (summary of topography and remains of ancient Thebes). DAG 70-71. CB 77-81. LE 34-37.

THESPIAI

No:30. Location: 895E/828N I.8 Levadhia, HS.418, nr.mod.Thespiiai, formerly Erinokastro). Roesch Thespies et la Confederation Beotienne 1965. Roesch PECS 911-12. Kirk Comm. 191.

THISBE

No:33. Location: 723E/805N I.8 Levadhia, HS.419, Palaiokastro & Neokastro hills, NW of mod.Kakosi. Kirk Comm. 193 (current absence of PG and G not significant since Myk. & Cl sites occupied different hills). Identification: Thisbe must be around here.

THORIKOS

No:62. Location: 644E/167N K.10 Laurion, around HS.361. Mussche et.al. Thorikos (fasc.4 & 5 in particular). Eliot PECS 489. LN 26-27. Hesp. 30:299ff (PG & G graves).

TIRYNS

No:104. Location: 531E/076N K.8 Korinthos, HS 8. Hagg DGDA 75-87. GG 36, 326, 355 (work in precious metals in EG known only here and at Argos so far. Megaron on akropolis deposit c.750-650). Blegen Korakou app.4 (pp.130-134, 'The so-called temple of Hera at Tiryns'). LMTS 39, 79 and index (Neol.- G, fading out after that). Bintliff BAR Supp.1972:276-282.

TRAKHONES

No:67. Location: 370E/370N K.10 Laurion (in square), nr.HS.352. AM 1973:1ff (LG & proto-Attik graves). GGP 403. GG 133. DAG 268 (new cemetery inaugurated c.775-700).

TRIPODISKOS (?)

No:44. Location: in central depression of Gerania, nr.W end of Megarian plain. Legon A&A 33. Identification: very tentative. No investigation of this site had been undertaken by 1981. Occupation in G period inferred.

VARI (mod.)

No:65. Location: 426E/287N K.10 Laurion, HS.357, just N & W of mod.Vari. Several sites close together subsumed under this entry. BCH 82:672 (LG vases in Myk.cist tombs, G & later cists and burials). GG 133-4 (mostly A & C1 cemeteries c.800m S of above). DAG 268 (new cemetery inaugurated c.775-700). Identification: deme Anagyrous must be round here.

VOULIAGMENI (mod.)

No:64. Location: 400E/260N K.10 Laurion, HS.356. GGP 59, 403 (LG finds from unknown sites in vicinity). GG 134. Eliot Coastal Demes 26-34. Identification: Halai Aixonides probably.

ZYGOURIES

No:90. Location: 536E/303N K.8 Korinthos, HS.48. Blegen Zygouries (174-76 G pots in tomb xviii). DAG 337 (fresh wave of burials in LG).

Conclusion

We are always trying to state past reality in terms of certainty, but all that we are ever able to do is to render our own impression of it.

P.Geyl

Debates with Historians
1962:9.

It seems to me rash to try to draw relatively firm conclusions on broad historical questions unless one is completely aware that such conclusions are staging posts. Conclusions are useful in history as tools to consolidate gains made, only in order to move on again.

One such gain is a negative conclusion. I think I have shown beyond reasonable doubt that 'the aristocratic stage' in Greek history is a myth. I have also offered three reasonably detailed 'case studies', one on Homeric society, one on Argive society, and one on Athenian society, to show that early Greek history can be reconstructed without recourse to 'aristocrats'.

Another negative conclusion which is small in itself but which has large implications is the demonstrated inadequacy of 'the trade hypothesis' and 'the search for metals argument' as explanations for the Greek expansion overseas. I have argued that the burst of innovation and population in some parts of Greece in the eighth century was a direct consequence of the institutionalisation of slavery in Greek societies; that slaves were the only products of personal labour (toil of the spear) for which there was a strong pressure to dispose of surplus; that slavery was thus intimately bound up with the development of markets; that slaves were the main 'trade' of emporoi and emporion; and that the invention of coinage in Lydia and its subsequent adoption by the Greeks was predicated on the slave trade. But if there is one firm conclusion to be drawn from my study of this subject, it is that current discussions grossly underestimate the

impact of slavery on Greek society when they consider it merely in terms of 'labour'.

Much the same may be said about the subject of war; its impact on Greek societies is seriously misrepresented when considered merely in terms of politics. War was an economic enterprise. It was a method of acquiring things by tough, manual labour of a very specific (and honourable) kind: fighting. And the same point may be made about Greek religion, the particularly neglected domain being (again) economics. The public purse, filled by war, was banked in religion.

The alliteration in my title referred to the slavery, violence and egalitarian hypotheses developed throughout the thesis. Stylistic considerations apart, I wanted to stress that slaves are people, not just abstract 'labour'. The second hypothesis argued that rather more attention than is commonly allowed should be paid to the role of power in shaping ancient Greek society. I have discussed at some length the need for a revision (downward) of the role of compensatory power, in accord with the general downgrading of the role of 'trade' (as conceived nowadays) in that society. I have not neglected the role of conditioned power, but this last has, I think, been identified as a subject which might repay further research rather than one on which any conclusions might yet be drawn. Condign power has been my main concern, for its importance is the substance of the violence hypothesis.

A conclusion which arises implicitly from this thesis is that an eclectic interdisciplinary approach can offer new insights on an episode of major societal change such as that experienced in ancient Greece around the eighth century BC. From conceptual tools developed in sociology to mathematical models developed in geography, my understanding - and, I hope, this thesis - has been enriched through a dialogue with other disciplines.

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