

**Interpreting
the Seventh Century BC
Tradition and Innovation**

Edited by

Xenia Charalambidou and Catherine Morgan

ARCHAEOPRESS ARCHAEOLOGY

ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD

Gordon House
276 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7ED

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978 1 78491 572 8

ISBN 978 1 78491 573 5 (e-Pdf)

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Cover images: Sanctuary of Herakles by the Elektran Gates at Thebes.

Foreground: dinos or louterion depicting Herakles killing the Centaur Nessos while abducting Deianeira
(© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Archaeological Receipts Fund; photograph: S. Mavromatis).

Background: concentration of unpainted jugs massed together in the ash altar (photograph: V. Aravantinos).

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Printed in England by Oxuniprint, Oxford

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

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Editors' Preface

This book has its origin in a conference held at the British School at Athens in 2011 which aimed to explore the range of new archaeological information now available for the seventh century in Greek lands. We place on record our warmest thanks to the staff and students of the School for their support both at that event and during the preparation of the book. The majority of contributions have been developed from papers given at the conference, benefitting greatly from the rich discussion which took place: additional chapters were solicited from authors who in many cases had been present at the event. We are grateful to Estelle Strazdins for copy-editing the final manuscript: the chapters by Roland Étienne and Jean-Sébastien Gros were translated from the original French by Catherine Morgan. The Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports retains copyright in all images of Greek sites and artefacts supplied by ephorates and museums and reproduced in this book.

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1. Introduction: interpreting the seventh century BC

Xenia Charalambidou and Catherine Morgan

It is surely no accident that a spate of recent publications on the seventh century has coincided with a sense of shifting scales and intellectual boundaries in many other areas of Mediterranean archaeology. To give but two examples, the desire for a large-scale pan-Mediterranean perspective, freed of the constraints of Hellenocentrism (let alone polis-centrism), is admirably reflected in the collection *La Méditerranée au VIIe siècle av. J.-C.* edited by Roland Étienne (2010a). With its focus on large processes and landscapes, and its neo-Braudelian approach, this offers both a much-needed breadth of vision and recognition that phenomena such as ‘orientalizing’ (on which more below) must be understood on sliding scales from the pan-Mediterranean to the diversity of local experience. At the same time, Thomas Brisart in his 2011 *Un art citoyen*, addresses directly the intellectual place of orientalizing art in socio-historical enquiry. Recent scholarship has sought to deconstruct essentialist views of Greek and eastern art, to critique the association between style and ethnicity, and to reposition Greek orientalizing within the complex network of connections in and around the eastern Aegean (e.g. Gunter 2009; Skinner 2012, 213-14). Brisart takes the further step of considering why and how ‘orientalizing art’ was created as it was, and seeking to integrate it within the mechanics of polis-formation and socio-cultural change in what he terms the ‘protoarchaic’ period (rightly separating the cultural phenomenon of orientalizing from overarching period nomenclature).

Our book complements these developments. It presents material data, combining accounts of recent discoveries (which often enable reinterpretation of older finds), regional reviews, and archaeologically focused discussion of historical and art historical approaches and interpretations. The aim is to make readily accessible the material record as currently understood and to consider how it may contribute to broader critiques and new directions in research. The geographical focus is the old Greek world encompassing Macedonia and Ionia, and extending across to Sicily and southern Italy, considering also the wider trade circuits linking regional markets. The book does not aim for the pan-Mediterranean coverage of recent works: given that much of the latest innovative and critical scholarship has focused on the western Mediterranean in particular (see e.g. Dietler 2010; Dietler and Lopez-Ruiz 2009; Kistler *et al.* 2015; Riva and Vella 2006a), it is necessary to bring old Greece back under the spotlight and to expose to critical scrutiny the often Athenocentric interpretative frameworks which continue to inform discussion of other parts of the Mediterranean.

A prominent view of the seventh century finds its clearest expression in Robin Osborne’s widely quoted observation (1989) that a ‘crisis in archaeological history’ affected a period which has attracted little intellectual interest, not least due to the lack of textual evidence and the relative poverty or poor visibility of the material record in comparison with the surrounding centuries. In important respects this observation no longer bears scrutiny. Much of the new information now available challenges current methodological and interpretative norms, as we will see. Indeed, the rich collection of papers in Étienne 2010a leaves the impression that even the published data, on which contributors largely drew, strain an interpretative framework grounded in the largely Anglo-Saxon and Athenocentric scholarship of the 1980s and early 1990s. The ‘crisis in archaeological history’ as expressed in 1989 was a comment on concerns about historiography current at that time. The eighth-century boom and the emergence of the polis as the chief goal of enquiry made it easy to pass quickly from the eighth to sixth centuries - *longue durée* history has its casualties, especially when ‘progress’ is perceived as unidirectional (Morgan 2009a; compare Morris 1998; 2009).¹ While the concerns prominent in 1989 have not disappeared, they can now be better placed in context. Roland Étienne’s second introductory chapter below addresses the intellectual history of approaches to the seventh century, thus providing a bridge between our two volumes. Jan Paul Crielaard further observes (in the final chapter) that the perspective of literary history has slipped from view: as he reminds us, A. R. Burn, author of *The Lyric Age of Greece* (1960), would surely be perplexed by our perceived difficulties with the period.

What kind of histories should we therefore be looking to write, and what are the challenges in thinking about archaeological material, shaping usable data and making them accessible? Some of the most trenchant criticism of Archaic and Classical Greek archaeology in recent years has come from social and especially economic historians (Osborne 2014). The prominence and forceful expression of this critique, at least in Anglophone scholarship, does

¹ E.g. Morris 1998: 28 ‘in most parts of Greece, the seventh and early sixth century saw the unfolding of patterns initiated at the end of the eighth’.

not mean that it should be allowed to drive archaeological agendas. As Roland Étienne has emphasized, there are difficulties with both models currently prominent (Étienne 2016). The ‘Mediterranean’ perspective with its emphasis on connectivity and the distinctive potential of a sea of risk and opportunity runs the risk of ahistoricism which we wish to avoid: grounding it in specific period narratives remains a challenge (Broodbank 2013 is the most effective combination of period analysis and regional framework to date). By contrast the focus on growth as a socio-political driver under the influence of New Institutional Economics is in itself contentious and has led to a deeply problematic hunt for proxies in the archaeological record (Morris 2005b; cf. Étienne *et al.* 2011). Yet it is another matter to ignore the challenges of engaging in and helping to shape larger narratives of this kind. Recognizing when individual or multiple data sets constitute big data, how to interrogate them and to appreciate where complexity lies, are questions rarely addressed for this period, even though the sum total and complexity of available data across regions can be considerable, as a number of contributors show. Quantification is part of the problem, although questions of methodology and the robustness of resulting data are rightly raised (see mostly recently Verdán *et al.* 2011). But data do not have to be hard to be usable, as long as there is a balanced appreciation of the place of a particular data set in its wider context (Davies 2013). Naturally, historically embedded, materially driven narratives have the potential to be plural and complex, and the critiques of social and economic historians reflect one broad direction of thought. But whatever approach is taken, it is clear that ‘more stuff’, while helpful, is not in itself enough. Questions of historiographical and interpretative methodology are central, and are to varying degrees explored in the chapters that follow.

Research agendas which explicitly acknowledge the significance of the seventh century are now moving forward in various ways. For example, the University of Thessaly *Aristeia* project on *The Social Archaeology of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greece*, directed by Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, extends to c. 600 BC.² This is not just a matter of shifting the chronological goalposts. A wide range of fundamental concepts need to be revisited, from the nature and significance of regions, to periodization and the effect of the fine slicing of sub-disciplines within Classical archaeology. Many chapters in this volume also show the impact of the large-scale application of science-based archaeology (in the form of petrographic and chemical analysis of pottery) which has previously played a transformatory role in prehistoric and Late Roman and Byzantine archaeology.

Periodization by century is an entirely modern preoccupation and it is reasonable to question the significance of the block(s) of time so delimited (Golden and Toohey 1997; Kotsonas 2016). Recognition of the fact that the seventh century can neither be viewed in isolation nor squeezed between the ostensibly more visible and dynamic eighth and sixth centuries is but the first step. As Xenia Charalambidou emphasizes in her chapter below, in some regions ceramic typologies are insufficiently developed to recognise and/or provide close relative dating for seventh-century contexts. The radiocarbon-based absolute chronology of the Aegean Iron Age (as that of the wider Mediterranean) also continues to be debated. A low chronology places the transition to Submycenaean in the second half of the 11th century (Fantalkin 2011b; Fantalkin *et al.* 2015, with previous bibliography; Toffolo *et al.* 2013), while higher dates have variously been proposed (Wardle *et al.* 2014 ; Nijboer 2016 with previous bibliography). These differences are largely played out by the end of the eighth century, and no serious attempt has been made to extend revisions after 700 BC. But the fact remains that the absolute chronology of the preceding centuries has a direct impact upon our understanding of the pace and often the nature of events and processes especially at the start of our period. Hence the title of this book, with the added detail that the sub-title *Tradition and Innovation* is also a tribute to Robin Hägg’s pioneering *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century BC: Tradition and Innovation* (1983a). The title is a clear statement that seventh century is not here viewed autonomously but in connection with the centuries that preceded and followed it.

Alongside this, periodization has also been revisited. It is now generally recognised that the centuries from the end of the Bronze Age to the beginning of the Archaic period should be characterized not in terms of sharp discontinuities (as the long-assumed Bronze Age-Iron Age divide), but of cumulative occurrences which created complex sequences of overlapping continuity, discontinuity and change (see e.g. Kotsonas 2016; Lemos and Kotsonas forthcoming; Riva and Vella 2006b). This in turn raises the question of what makes a period, and how periods are best named. The use of the term ‘orientalizing’ in the Greek world, as in other Mediterranean regions, is particularly problematic in this respect, and has been subject to sustained recent critique (see e.g. Riva and Vella 2006a). Used to describe a period, it implies an act of interpretation not evident in names such as Early Iron Age or even Archaic, suggesting that the period is best characterised by artistic and/or cultural influence from the ‘east’ (Purcell 2006). Eastern luxury imports and influences upon local manufactures can be traced back into the tenth century at sites such as Lefkandi, even though a thickening of connections in the eighth century is widely acknowledged (Stampolidis

² <http://aristeia.ha.uth.gr/index.php>

2003). What, therefore, is the quality of ‘orientalizing’ distinctive to that part of the seventh century which has come to bear the name? This question has been much debated, to the extent of rejecting altogether the use of the term as a chronological marker. It is not our purpose here to re-open this discussion. Although we recognize the impossibility of discounting the accrued cultural connotations of the term ‘orientalizing’, for the purposes of this book we will avoid it unless in a strictly art historical sense (a point to which we will return).

How, then, should we approach the seventh century? As we have seen, the tendency to pass quickly over it *en route* from the eighth to the sixth is largely a consequence of the supposition that an eighth-century Greek ‘renaissance’ led directly to the Archaic polis world (Morris 1998; *contra* Duplouy *et al.* 2010). Initial critique of an eighth-century ‘big bang’ emphasized long-term continuities from the Late Bronze Age, decoupling the physical notion of the polis/acropolis from the political institutions of later times (a view summarized by Sarah Morris 2003: 10–11). Yet both poles of the argument are unduly reductive. One can accept that poleis existed as self-identifying political communities throughout the Early Iron Age, regardless of their exact form, and still argue that the socio-political content of membership (or citizenship) could also change. This did not necessarily happen in a steady or unidirectional fashion: some developments were of longer term significance than others, but all in their different ways were of their time (Duplouy *et al.* 2010: esp. 303–5; Morgan 2009a). The polis itself was a variable phenomenon across the Greek world, often not the only form of political allegiance and with a finite life at least as the principle tier of political identity (Beck and Funke 2015; McInerney 1999: 1–7; Mackil 2013; Morgan 2003; 2009c).

A closer look reveals a rather varied and jagged set of developments through the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries. The timespans of individual developments or sequences of development often reflect the agents and clients involved. Let us take two examples. First, apparently sudden innovations in the post-Bronze Age material record, such as the appearance of monumental fortifications or temples, are the consequence of the way in which identified needs were met through social and technological choices and adaptations which may in turn have led to the (re-)shaping of circles of craftsmen and patterns of mobility of longer term significance (for analogous discussion of prehistoric evidence, see Kiriatzis and Knappett 2016). Secondly, and in a similar vein, the interpretation of apparently sudden changes in settlement, and the abandonment of old sites and the creation of new, demands that we address issues of scale and context in order to understand decision making and underlying motivation in each case. While such changes are often described as acts of synoikism, it is important to recognize the extent to which this concept was developed by later geographers, notably Strabo, in order to characterize the changes that must evidently have taken place in order for their contemporary worlds to appear as they did (Clarke 1999: chapter 5; Morgan 2003: 171–6). This is not to deny that the idea of synoikism was of much greater antiquity, merely to note that of itself it has little explanatory value. Evidently sharp changes in the material record of the kinds identified by several contributors to this volume may reflect a variety of processes, agency and decisions on matters ranging from the form and role of individual cities (through single acts of planning as at Cumae, discussed by Matteo D’Acunto, or emerging consensus as at Athens, discussed by Anna Maria D’Onofrio) to movements of people around the Euboean Gulf (discussed by Xenia Charalambidou). It is important to understand the scale of these changes in terms of their relationship both to local trajectories and to wider patterns. In the case of the late eighth-century Cyclades, for example, what are often termed acts of synoikism (such as the establishment of a major settlement at Palaïopolis on Andros, coincident with the abandonment of Zagora) are points of major local decision making which both followed a period of substantive if incremental change within the older settlements and reflected large scale pan-regional processes (Morgan 2012: 39–42). Recognising synoikism in the material record immediately raises questions of causality, agency and timespan.

A further area of enquiry concerns developments in the expression of a wide range of social values, from *aretē* to the nature and role of luxury, the location of different forms of expression, or the notion of what a deity might find pleasing as an *agalma*. For the makers and consumers of material culture, how did this translate into the selection of materials, artefact types, styles or forms, or new emphases on particular qualities such as monumentality? Can we, as often assumed, read back from the selections made to the underlying values? How did values expressed in visual and poetic cultures align? The seventh century saw innovation and experiment in a great variety of objects from personal possessions to public art (notably sculpture and painting), not all of which sit easily in an evolutionary sequence leading to the major developments of the sixth and especially the fifth century, despite varying scholarly approaches to this problem (D’Acunto 2013b; Donohue 2005: chapter 2; Rolley 1994: chapter 1 and part 3). Seventh-century concerns included the quality of monumentality in the sense of the often massively over-life size (Rolley 1994: 145–147; Stewart 1990: figs 42 and 43), the creation of relatively large portable images with implications for the conduct of ritual activity (Kourou 2000; Morgan 2008; Moustaka 2002; 2009, Weill 1985: 207–14), and more generally, the role of sanctuaries and cemeteries (Prost 2010; Rolley 1994: 29–40). By contrast, the use of combinations of materials as gold and ivory for large scale divine images was, on the surviving textual and archaeological evidence,

a development of the late seventh and primarily the sixth century (Donohue 1997; Lapatin 2001: 42-60). Certain seventh-century developments were plainly of longer-term significance in the material expression of social values, but not all experiments lived on. Here too, we return to the significance of material expressions that are specific to short time periods, people or places in relation to underlying ideas.

This leads us to a final concern - the re-integration of scripts and texts into their wider material context as sources of information about events and practices, as parallel expressions of attitudes to objects, material display and luxury, and as artefacts deployed within social contexts. Since the creation and early use of the Greek alphabet are now seen to reach far back into the eighth century, with the earliest evidence potentially as early as the late ninth century depending on one's preferred chronology (Janko 2015), the seventh-century can be re-problematized as a period when the technology of writing was well-established, further epichoric alphabets were formed, and a diversity of uses of writing are observed. These developments continued through the sixth century. By c. 500 BC at the latest there is substantial evidence for literacy reaching deep into the social fabric, to judge from the herders' inscriptions found on the Attic hills around Vari and Voula (Langdon 2015), and for the widespread creation of epichoric writing systems, even though their political significance remains a matter of debate (Johnston 1999; 2012; *contra* Luraghi 2010). An important development in the study of early script use has been recognition of its place within a continuum of marking strategies used to convey information much of which cannot now be 'read' directly, but which is more or less comprehensible in context (Johnston 2004). Script as an artefact is rightly distinguished from the content of communication handed down to us in written form, itself of course merely a selection of the verse, song, and other oral communication likely current at the time. Reintegrating the written, the oral and the material record in their diverse forms can only deepen our understanding of the role of various channels of communication in increasingly complex states and of what we may generally term the 'poetics' of the seventh century.

With these considerations in mind, we turn to the issues and materials discussed by each contributor. It is worth making clear from the outset what the book does not do in order to understand what we are trying to achieve. It does not provide a universal coverage of the seventh-century Mediterranean, nor even of Greek lands (though it comes close to the latter), nor does it present a new agenda for the study of the seventh century. Rather, in the spirit of assessing what we now know and can know about the wider Greek world, we seek to marry broad geographical coverage of the archaeological record with thematic discussion, analysis of methodological and conceptual problems, and presentation of new material data and syntheses, many of which also recontextualize old information. The book is thus designed to take stock, open discussion, and make accessible a wealth of new archaeological information.

Following on from this introduction, *Roland Étienne* examines the history of approaches to defining the seventh century as a period, and assesses the factors which may be seen to distinguish it. His discussion of the idea of a 'long' seventh century brings to the fore questions of analytical scale and perspective, chronological and geographical, which in various ways reappear in other chapters (hence, for example, *Rune Frederiksen's* view of a 'short' seventh century when describing the development of fortifications). These questions are immediately taken up in *Antonis Kotsonas's* chapter on Crete, where he examines issues of regional definition and coherence to which we will return, as well as the problem of 'orientalizing'. Kotsonas explores the assumed role of Crete in the development and modern scholarly characterization of 'orientalizing' art, and its historiographical implications for our understanding of the island. As already noted, there has been extensive scholarly critique of the term 'orientalizing', especially concerning wider assumptions about the nature of contacts with the east and the direction and force of cultural influence. Reviewing the archaeology of the island as now understood, Kotsonas calls into question the idea that the seventh century can be treated as a stand-alone 'orientalizing' phase.

And yet, to paraphrase Thomas Brisart (2011: 55-6), the ancient Greeks developed an art that evoked in a global manner the prosperity and luxury that they attributed to the populations east of the Greek world (not least in their poetry). Conceived in this way, Brisart suggests that 'orientalizing art' is a perfectly justifiable term; however, the conception itself must be understood in the broader context of the role(s) of art in the seventh century. This helpfully brings into focus a number of lines of enquiry pursued in the chapters that follow. *Georgia Kokkorou-Alevras* looks at large-scale sculpture, noting monumentality as a distinctive phenomenon of the seventh century and considering from the perspective of the history of scholarship the importance of locating the place of innovation (here she emphasizes the roles of Naxos and of Crete). A new set of questions surrounds the nature and role of sculpture in the seventh century as opposed to the eighth, with genuine innovation that must be understood in context and not retrospectively from the perspective of a Classical ideal or literary tradition (a point made also in *Catherine Morgan's* discussion of temple construction). Sculpture in stone may be the best preserved, but it is only part of the story - as we have emphasized, it belongs within a context of rapid artistic and technological development in a range of

media. The following two chapters focus on distinctive aspects of this. *Eva Simantoni-Bournia* considers story telling with reference to a pair of monumental relief amphorae from Thebes and Xobourgo on Tenos. The depiction of Artemis on these vases is, she argues, an ‘optical transcript’ of a passage in the *Iliad* (21.479-84), an identification which takes us to the question of shifting relationships between the oral, the written and the visual as media for story telling through the seventh century. Eighth-century vase painting has rich symbolic and narrative content (and the corpus of pre-eighth-century scenes is also growing; see D’Agata 2012 with bibliography), but it was not dependent upon, or automatically even parallel to, epic poetry (Langdon 2008). As Anthony Snodgrass has observed, we tend to use the term ‘Homeric’ very loosely to convey a sense of the epic or heroic, even though the subjects of few eighth-century depictions can be linked even with the earlier composition, the *Iliad* (Snodgrass 1998). However, if we accept Martin West’s case for dating our *Odyssey* in the last third of the seventh century (West 2014), with an earlier proto-version in which individual episodes began to be recast into the narrative we know, both being the work of West’s Q poet (a different hand than that of the *Iliad*), then the seventh century becomes a critical phase in the formation and popularization of the epic cycle. We must also bring into this picture the developments in contemporary script use and in other poetic genres discussed later in the volume by *Yannis Tzifopoulos, Manthos Bessios and Antonis Kotsonas, Alan Johnston, and Jan-Paul Crielaard*. *Eva Simantoni-Bournia*’s chapter reminds us that coincident developments in visual and oral/textual narrative became entangled to the extent of referencing the same episodes in the same way. Her case study also draws attention to the materiality of storytelling, not just at the level of pictures on portable items such as the drinking vessels used at social events, but involving large, more durable and potentially costly household or sanctuary furniture (for story-telling on relief pithoi, see e.g. Ebbinghaus 2005, noting also McLoughlin 2011 on the nature of investment in such items). *Hélène Aurigny* then continues the focus on objects but from the perspective of manufacture, considering the technological as well as the social biography of the metalwork dedicated at the major Greek sanctuaries. She too calls into question the criteria for classifying objects as ‘Greek’ or ‘Oriental’, but her use of a series of case studies drawn from the fast-growing international sanctuary at Delphi adds the extra elements of the nature of these places as an attractor for style development and craft mobility as well as for imports (see also Crielaard 2015; Skinner 2012: chapter 4.3).

From the manufacture and design of objects, we turn to their movement and consumption. While considerable attention has been paid to the nature of port and market centres and the communities associated with them (Demetriou 2011; 2012; Luke 2003: 1-10), our emphasis is less on the centres themselves and more on the goods that passed through them and on larger regional trends in trade and consumption. Three chapters address these issues with particular reference to the eastern Aegean. *Alexander Vacek* considers seventh-century Al Mina in the context of shifting market relations between Euboea, Ionia, the Assyrian empire and the Aegean. Central to his case are quantified ceramic assemblages from the newly-restored stratigraphical sequence at Al Mina – part of a growing trend to create large and robust frameworks from quantified assemblages and to find ways to build old excavation data into them (Verdan *et al.* 2011). *Giorgos Bourogiannis* addresses similar questions with reference to the southeast Aegean, Rhodes and Cyprus, looking at Phoenician-Cypriot connections and the role of Rhodes in the Aegean. Rhodes, he suggests, ‘portrays an almost iconic Aegean paradigm of commercial interaction, functioning as a melting pot that was receptive of both Greek and oriental influence’. *Virginia Webb* then takes us back to the objects traded by considering a category of Egyptica, namely faience objects often assumed to be exotic (Gunter 2009: 141-2; Skinner 2012: 99-100), with a specific structure of production and marketing geared to different Greek clientele. She investigates the role of east Greece and the phenomenon of co-marketing, while emphasizing that Egypt itself played a relatively minor role.

So far, discussion has focused on luxury or high-cost goods, but it is important also to take into account the large intermediate category of delicacies or semi-luxuries which fall between the purely functional and the luxurious – things which make life work and feel better but need not belong with elite display, and for which demand may be elastic (Foxhall 1998). *Tatiana Theodoropoulou* explores the diverse nature of marine resources from subsistence to luxury goods. While there has been substantial interest in the sea as a resource (especially from Roman economists such as Marzano 2013), recent finds from a number of Early Iron Age and early Archaic sites take us beyond subsistence to matters as diverse as the weaving of sea silk and dyeing of luxury textiles or the creation of jewellery or amulets from marine creatures (Houby-Nielsen 2017 and forthcoming; www.chronique.efa.gr ID 4886 on Lefkandi). Consumption entails preparation and equipment. *Jean-Sébastien Gros* reminds us of the value of close study of coarse and cooking wares, often assumed to be conservative and unchanged during our period, in teasing out local or regional approaches to lifeways.

The question of what constitutes a region is implicit if not explicit in many of the chapters so far discussed. As we noted above, the place of the polis within wider forms of organization is an issue of long term significance. A major contribution of the Copenhagen Polis Centre was the demonstration that poleis were not by definition autonomous

(Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 87-94). This opened the way for consideration of their horizontal and vertical integration, of networks but also of scales of integration. By this we mean not merely the assumed relationship between poleis and ethne long implicit in Greek historical writing, but the fact that in various ways and at various times the life experience (and in some cases personal identity) of most individuals would be affected by factors outside their polis, whether trade circuits, personal mobility, or different forms of cultural or political affiliation. Recognizing these processes in the material record is a significant challenge (Morgan 2003). The question of analytical scale is addressed at the beginning of this volume by *Antonis Kotsonas*. As he emphasizes, the fragmented geographical, political and cultural landscapes of Crete raise questions of the scale of integration along a continuum from the micro-regional to the interregional and the 'global'. Old assumptions of power centres versus peripheries, active dispersal and passive reception are no longer appropriate if they ever were.

Following on from discussion of trading relationships in the eastern Aegean and Ionia, *Michael Kerschner* draws a distinction between historical and material/analytical regions. His presentation of the location and reach of East Greek ceramic production centres draws on the results of over 20 years of archaeometric analysis, highlighting the impact of large scale science-based archaeology on a range of questions from the connectivity of centres to the mobility of craftsmen. As Kerschner observes, pottery styles in Ionia do not coincide in terms of production or main distribution with individual political communities. This has a number of implications. For example, if ease of access to objects at local markets or the expression of identity via a preference for locally produced artefacts were not paramount concerns, we might look instead to the way in which particular pottery shapes or designs reflect access to semi-luxuries, in the sense of offering functional improvement or sensory pleasure. Looking more widely, the suggestion that the early ceramic record of the Black Sea colonies should reveal connections with Miletos as mother city, in the same way as long argued for Sicily and Magna Graecia, may be wrong in principle but definitely runs counter to the way in which ceramic styles are now seen to work across Ionia. The ceramic evidence presented by Kerschner is further enhanced by related data from old excavations considered by *Stavros Paspalas*. Paspalas demonstrates how such information can be built into current frameworks, in this case bringing into the picture decorative traditions which ran parallel to the better known East Greek mainstream, with distinctive Lydian connections.

Ceramic analysis also underpins *Xenia Charalambidou's* review of settlement, religious and burial landscapes in Euboea and the Euboean Gulf region (Oropos). Addressing the question of how to establish a picture of the seventh-century when archaeological contexts are hard to define largely because pottery of the period is poorly characterized, she has begun to build up a series of ceramic chronotypes, emphasizing the importance of understanding the life-cycles of wares in different contexts. Here too, the impact of large scale archaeometric analysis is becoming apparent as new research moves from prehistory to historical periods. Charalambidou's work also highlights issues of scale. Pottery may be a chronological marker and indicative of lifeways, but as in Ionia it was not a political statement in the way long supposed. Independent cities around a key waterway forged often close material relationships, and their political ties must be seen as embedded in these wider networks.

Close ties between Euboea, the Euboean Gulf and the Cyclades may be observed from prehistory to medieval times (see most recently Tankosić *et al.* forthcoming), and it is to the Cyclades that we therefore turn. On Paros, *Photini Zaphiropoulou* draws on many decades of personal research to characterize the output of one of the leading vase production centres, documenting its decorative style, wider regional distribution, and use in local context. *Maria Koutsoumpou* then discusses the pottery from the sealed adyton deposit in the sanctuary at Vryokastro on Kythnos recently excavated by Alexander Mazarakis Ainian. This illustrates inter-island exchange within the Cyclades, connections with north and south Ionia, and – a particular focus of this chapter – with Attica as embodied in the products of a newly identified workshop.

From the region, we shift focus to the individual city. The built environment of emerging cities has long been understood as socially significant, with developments in particular categories of defined or built space (temples, elite residences, or assembly areas, for example) variously cited as indicators of change in the nature and/or organization of emergent poleis. *Alexander Mazarakis Ainian* summarizes the current state of knowledge of eighth- and seventh-century architecture across Greece, assessing points of tradition and innovation and defining the changes visible during the seventh century. He suggests several possible explanations for what is characterized as a period of low archaeological visibility in different regions, including war, the abandonment of certain sites and the foundation of others, and acts of synoikism (a point also explored by Charalambidou). Mazarakis' study provides a framework for the two chapters on architecture and the series of site and regional studies which follow.

First, *Rune Frederiksen* reviews fortifications, a type of construction often neglected during our period. A leading participant in the *Fokus Fortifikation* research network (Frederiksen *et al.* 2016; Müth *et al.* 2016), Frederiksen

addresses fundamental questions of the location and preservation of fortifications during the seventh century, the motivation(s) for their construction, and their significance in characterizing the status and contemporary perception of individual settlements. As he emphasizes, new discoveries continue to challenge; for example, the location of a recently discovered stretch of the Archaic city wall of Corinth raises questions about the extent and nature of the urban settlement. *Catherine Morgan's* chapter on temple construction also takes Corinth as its focus. Her discussion prioritizes two questions, namely the rationale for inserting built space into pre-existing cult sites and the nature of the innovation involved in the buildings themselves, locating the earliest Corinthian cult buildings within technological traditions and considering the ensuing implications for the organization of craft practice. In tune with a range of recent work (e.g. Marconi 2007: 2-10; Wilson Jones 2014: 33-60), she emphasizes the risks of separating and decontextualizing aspects of art historical study, especially when developments are then presented explicitly or implicitly in terms of 'progress'. Understanding how and why choices were made and the needs identified then met requires a holistic approach to matters of resources, agency and affordance. Morgan's study also compares developments in the Corinthia with those in the wider ambit of the Corinthian Gulf. In the following chapter, *Anastasia Gadoulou* fleshes out this discussion with a systematic review of evidence of all kinds from Achaia, a region where both emerging urban centres and (sub)regional territorial organization(s) contributed to a complex overall political structure by Classical times. While the Early Iron Age record of the region is rich and increasingly well understood (not least thanks to Gadoulou's own research), this is the first close examination of the century that followed.

City sanctuaries and the religious life of major centres form the subject of studies of new evidence from Thebes by *Vassilis Aravantinos* and *Kyriaki Kalliga*. Aravantinos reviews what we now know of the archaeology of religion in Thebes after decades of rescue and systematic excavation in the modern city (where for many years he directed the Ephorate of Antiquities). Kalliga focuses on a distinctive class of small vessels from the sanctuary of Herakles at Thebes, looking at its local significance and the eclectic range of influences displayed. Immediately to the south, Athens and Attica have long been the focus of research into the political and social transformations of the eighth to sixth centuries. Three chapters focus on the Piraeus (where rescue excavation has transformed our knowledge of the later port and its wider environs: Papadopoulou 2014-15),³ on the city of Athens, and on rural settlement at Vari. *Lydia Palaiokrassa* revisits the sanctuary of Artemis by the harbour of Mounichia (on the eastern side of the Piraeus peninsula) to reassess ceramic evidence for the wealth of the sanctuary and the range of participants in its rituals. Analysis of the great central Athenian cemeteries has been fundamental to the debate about the ascription and expression of social and political status in the polis since the 1980s (Morris 1987; Whitley 1991; noting the critique of Papadopoulos 1993; d'Agostino and D'Onofrio 1993; Alexandridou 2016, 354). Seventh-century evidence from the Kerameikos in particular has played an important part in this (D'Onofrio 1993; Houby Nielsen 1992; 1995; 1996). *Anna Maria D'Onofrio* returns to the Kerameikos and specifically to the Rundbau, where she reassembles the fragmented archaeological record for a burying group which, she argues, included individuals of high status and non-Athenian origin integrated within a local descent group. The burial ritual created cultural references and a network of correspondences within which a distinctive collection of rare foreign items were deployed. *Alexandra Alexandridou* has conducted pioneering research into the relationship between burials in Athens and across Attica in order to create a broad regional picture (Alexandridou 2016). In her chapter, she examines the North Cemetery of Vari, our main source of evidence for burial practices in the Attic countryside during the seventh century and the site of tomb cults where recently deceased locals were venerated as ancestors. She considers the cemetery and its cults in the context of changes in society and local settlement structure.

Aside from Attica, the western colonies have traditionally provided the core of evidence for early city plans. Nonetheless, approaches to colonial settlement in Magna Graecia and Sicily in many ways exemplify the neglect of the seventh century. Attention continues to focus on the earliest years of Greek settlement, examining the nature and material footprint of activity and considering it within wider networks often of greater antiquity (see e.g. Donnellan *et al.* 2016). It is often acknowledged that the full impact was only really seen in the sixth century, when there is striking evidence for phenomena such as urban planning and temple building. But even this somewhat longer perspective skates over the seventh century as a period when settlement took root, relationships formed and were transformed, and major decisions were taken about community organization. *Matteo D'Acunto* presents an overview of the early city of Cumae based not only on the past 20 years of intensive excavation but also on the interpretation of old data in new frameworks. Within the city, the seventh-century record reveals a clear moment of town planning demanding major decisions about the shape of communal life. Cultural links with the Euboean motherland remained visible, but growth also involved the negotiation and expression of local relationships with

³ See also <http://www.snfcc.org/construction/archaeological-findings/> for preliminary notice of discoveries made during the construction of the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Centre at Phaleron.

indigenous and other Greek communities, notably Pithekoussai. *Jan Kindberg Jacobsen*, *Sine Grove Saxjær* and *Gloria Paola Mittica* address similar issues in the Sibaritide. From the starting point of the settlement at Timpone della Motta, they document the spread of Greek ritual practice to indigenous settlements throughout the plains of the Sibaritide at different paces and with different outcomes. *Gillian Shepherd* next reminds us that Greek migration to Sicily was no guaranteed success story. Far from being a utopian destination created by those seeking better lives, seventh-century Sicily was rife with competition, hostilities, *stasis* and failures. But for those who could succeed – whether as land grabbers, new elites or even tyrants – the rewards were great. Finally, *Maria Costanza Lentini* takes us back to vase painting with a study of a spouted krater from an eighth- to seventh-century context at Sicilian Naxos. The vessel bears a unique decorative scheme referencing Cycladic, Euboean and Attic connections.

In recent years, Macedonia and Thrace have produced rich and challenging new evidence for interactions between a variety of populations. *Sophia Moschonissioti* examines the life of the community at Mende in the Chalkidiki before and after its colonization from Eretria, looking especially at the city's shifting patterns of connections in the northern Aegean and with the southern Greek world. The variety of both imports and influences suggests that Mende and the regions around the Thermaic Gulf participated in multiple trade networks from Late Geometric times, and that these activities increased from the seventh century onwards (Tiverios *et al.* 2012). These observations about the role of geographical setting echo Xenia Charalambidou's discussion of the Euboean Gulf, and further speak to the question of the nature of regionalism, and how and when local distinctions in material culture can be observed.

One of the most exciting recent discoveries from central Macedonia is the 'basement' deposit from Methone in Pieria, a dump of refuse from nearby households and workshops which included 191 inscribed pots and potsherds mostly dating around 700 BC. *Yannis Tzifopoulos*, *Manthos Bessios* and *Antonis Kotsonas* review this material which has swiftly entered into scholarly discussion (Bessios *et al.* 2012; Strauss Clay *et al.* forthcoming). While the few longer texts have attracted attention for the insights which they offer into script use and literary beginnings, the assemblage as a whole largely consists of non-alphabetic symbols, marks, graffiti and dipinti which probably relate to trade or ownership, and which contribute to wider discussion of how information was conveyed and the nature of the groups involved. The Methone evidence certainly creates a bulge in the seventh-century Greek epigraphical record, as *Alan Johnston* emphasizes in the review chapter which follows. Nonetheless, the extensive, if more fragmentary, evidence from other parts of the Greek world provides ample scope for consideration of the ways in which the skill of writing was deployed in the seventh century with respect to such matters as alphabetic uniformity, orthography and communication on personal, social and divine levels. Both chapters in their different ways emphasize the material aspects of writing: quite apart from the essential question of dating, the objects inscribed are essential to our understanding of the nature of communication and the respective roles of the written, the visual and the oral (Morgan 2017).

The book concludes with *Jan Paul Crielaard's* reminder that for literary historians the seventh century has never ceased to fascinate. He focuses on lyric poetry, a genre often thought to represent the 'rise of the individual' but which, he suggests, has much to tell us about various forms of group identity. As he concludes, the 'rise of the community' was a significant theme for lyric poets and their audiences, pointing in turn to the seventh century as a key period of conceptualization of many shared identities.

2. Introduction: can one speak of the seventh century BC?

Roland Étienne

It is surprising, not to say unprecedented, to find three recent books devoted to the seventh century, to the extent that we can now speak of an ‘emerging’ century. I refer to the 2010 collection which I myself edited, *La Méditerranée au VIIe siècle av. J.-C., essais d’analyses archéologiques*; to the present volume which has grown from the conference *Interpreting the Seventh Century, Tradition and Innovation* held in Athens in December 2011; and to Thomas Brisart’s *Un art citoyen. Recherches sur l’orientalisation des artisanats en Grèce proto-archaïque*, also published in 2010, which, despite its somewhat enigmatic title, covers this same period.

Why did Brisart choose not to refer to the seventh century? As we will see, the issues are complex. The division by century presents our first problem. What is the significance of the years 700 and 600 BC and are historical divisions of this kind justified? The French refer to the century of Louis XIV even though the king’s reign lasted for less than 100 years and spanned the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1643-1715). The expression is used chiefly to underline the peak in literature and the arts in the time of the Sun King. Yet if one wants to study the functioning of the kingdom and the development of society then one must also include the reign of Louis XIV in what is conveniently termed the ‘ancien régime’ (i.e. the French monarchical system of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries which was brought to an end by the Revolution of 1789). This century of Louis XIV, so dazzlingly illuminated by literature and the arts, was from an economic, social and political perspective one of the worst in the history of France. The prosperity of the arts and that of the economy followed different if not opposed tempos, and both cannot be framed by the two dates of 1600 and 1700.

This example allows us to pose our first questions: was the seventh century a distinct entity and if so, what characterized it? Can it be distinguished within what we term the Archaic period, and if so, how can it be separated from the eighth and sixth centuries? We must then examine why some see it as an age of revolutions and whether the notion of an orientaling revolution as is sometimes applied is really relevant and able to express all the essential phenomena at work in Greece during this century. Developments securely placed within the seventh century include the creation of monumental sculpture and architecture, narrative religious imagery, the rise of the Greek city with the first written laws, the emergence of a new mode of battle supported by the entry of new classes into the citizen body, and, at the end of the period (600-580 BC), the invention of coinage. A fresh view, sustained by new trends in anthropological archaeology and by a history of art which has revisited the notion of style, has transformed our approach to the history of Archaic Greece.¹

It is beyond the scope of a single chapter (and one author) to address all of these issues. Instead, I have conceived this introduction as a test of the way in which the seventh century has been reported in the great historical syntheses. How has the century finally emerged and how is it addressed in recent works?² This perspective will, it is hoped, serve better to position the contributions to this volume and demonstrate their significance.

Did the seventh century exist?

This is not just a provocative question, as the division of history is not self-evident. The seventh century has emerged only slowly onto our research agendas and is liable to disappear, subsumed within the ‘Archaic period’, even in the best of books (see e.g. Finley 1970; Snodgrass 1980; Gras 1995; Settis 1996-2001 is organised on a thematic rather than a historical basis). In his 2001 *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece*, James Whitley ends his chapter 5 on the Early Iron Age in 700 and follows it with a chapter on ‘The Aegean, the Levant and the West: The Orientalising phenomenon’ which is everything but a treatment of the seventh century *per se* (rather, it seeks to identify the mechanisms and various aspects of contact with the east). The editors of the most recent collected work on the Archaic period, Kurt Raaflaub and Hans van Wees (2009), do not dedicate a chapter in Part II, *Histories* to the seventh century even though they twice feature the eighth century in chapters on ‘The Early Iron Age’ (by Catherine Morgan) and ‘The

¹ See Davies 2009 on the historiography of the Archaic period and Morris 1994b on anthropological archaeology. The concept of style has been thoroughly reassessed by Francis Croissant: see most recently Croissant 2010 (with previous bibliography) and here below. On links between production and society, see Duplouy 2006.

² See Étienne 2010a, where the seventh century is approached via current issues such as concepts of colonization, hybridity, growth, and the notion of the ‘great divide’.

eighth-century revolution' (by Ian Morris). This omission is all the more surprising since Robin Osborne long ago demonstrated the unity and dynamism of the seventh century (Osborne 1989). Indeed, Osborne himself made much the same point about invisibility (Osborne 1989: 299) in commenting on John Camp's economical treatment of the seventh century in his 1986 book on the Athenian Agora, where a chapter subheading on 'The Dark Ages and the Geometric period (1100-700)' was directly followed by another on 'Athens in the sixth century'.

In order to understand why the seventh century may or may not achieve its own individuality in the scholarly literature, it is necessary to step back and consider three currents which form our study of Greek antiquity. These currents are distinguished by the source material treated, the approaches taken and the aims pursued, although there are certain areas of overlap and (at least in recent times) common points of interest.

The first current includes some of the towering figures and monuments in scholarship, from George Grote to Karl Julius Beloch, Gustave Glotz to the *Cambridge Ancient History*.³ The earliest historians of ancient Greece had only texts to rely upon, but the results were often highly felicitous. For want of sources, they presented in geographical sequence information gathered from authors all of whom, with the exception of Homer, Hesiod and the early lyric poets, belonged to later (and often substantially later) periods. In these great syntheses, Thucydides formed the basis for the study of colonization, tyranny was of interest as a first step towards democracy, and a 'lyric age' was recognized as the flourishing of a civilization where elites were influenced by the east. For sure, the work of archaeologists was cited by Karl Julius Beloch and contributed to his vision of Greece. For Beloch, the seventh century saw the disappearance of aristocracies, while Greece remained a land of peasants and the 'griechischer Markt' was dominated by products from the east (Beloch 1924-6 contains numerous interesting notes on the seventh century, e.g. in chapter X 'Die Umwälzung im Wirtschaftsleben', 264-73, followed by chapter XI 'Die Umwälzung im Geistesleben'). Yet there is an enduring current of history which is deliberately cut off from archaeology: in his 1982 chapter in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, for example, Anthony Andrews treats seventh-century Athens with no reference to archaeological discoveries (a point of criticism noted by Osborne 1989: 297-8). L. H. Jeffery's 1976 *Archaic Greece* is again essentially a text-based geographical study, enriched by the earliest Greek inscriptions on which this great scholar was such a specialist. Jeffery recognized that the start of the Archaic period was traditionally placed at 776 BC (the date of the foundation of the Olympic games taken as a reference point ever since Grote), but nonetheless she used 700 BC as the upper limit of the period which she studied as *Archaic Greece*. In short, we cannot yet speak of the *history* of the seventh century, since neither the limits nor the substance of the century are defined.

In fact, the only people to justify this division are art historians and archaeologists. The former were quick to notice eastern influence on Greek art and the latter have worked to clarify the chronology of the well-characterized Geometric and Corinthian pottery sequences (pioneering works include Payne 1931, Desborough 1952, and Coldstream 2008, the first edition of which was published in 1968). While there are complications in detail because Geometric forms and techniques may linger to varying extents, 'eastern influences' are near ubiquitous as is a break around 700 BC (the exact date depending on region). This break, suggested by the pottery sequences, is respected for example by J. N. Coldstream in his *Geometric Greece* (first published in 1977, see now Coldstream 2003: part II), who characterises the period 770-700 as the 'Greek Renaissance'. Yet these divisions are neither natural nor essential. Some 16 years earlier, Chester G. Starr, in his *The Origins of Greek Civilisation*, structured the data differently: he entitled the third part of the book 'The Age of Revolution' and claimed that 'the age of revolution, 750-650, was the most dramatic development in all Greek history' (Starr 1961: 190). Starr emphasized the twin problems of rupture and continuity. On one hand, he had no hesitation in passing over 700 as a reference date, demonstrating the difficulty of identifying a seventh century, and confirming that respect for century divisions is hardly a matter of life and death. On the other, his use of the term 'revolution' comes as no surprise - indeed, as we will see, against all the odds this term has achieved some success in the Anglo-Saxon literature (it is perhaps ironic that the French make real historical revolutions, but it is the English who use the concept to write history).

It was Anthony Snodgrass who created the 'Copernican revolution' in archaeology. In what was first and foremost a methodological shift, he showed that archaeological material must be studied in context and that its meaning varies according to whether it comes from a settlement, a sanctuary or a tomb. This represented a break in the manner of interpretation: rejecting a diffusionist or evolutionary view of Greek antiquity, Snodgrass demonstrated that there were indeed breaks, and introduced the idea of a structural revolution which he traced to the late 8th century with a break around 700 BC (Snodgrass 1980: 15-84; the intellectual significance of Snodgrass' work is illustrated by Morris

³ Grote 1849, following discussion of myth and epic, set the beginning of Greek history at 776 BC, the traditional date of the foundation of the Olympic games. His presentation is essentially geographical: in Part II, chapters V-VIII focus on Sparta; chapter IX on 'Corinth, Sikyon and Megara, Age of the Grecian Despots', and chapter X on the 'Ionic Portion of Hellas, Athens before Solon'. This type of presentation, *grosso modo*, long served as a framework for Archaic Greek history: see e.g. Beloch 1924-6; Glotz and Cohen 1925.

1994b: 39-40). This early cut-off date was well justified and led to the development of a 'long' seventh century, akin to Fernand Braudel's long 16th century,⁴ the unity of which must be sought in a series of revolutions.

The seventh century: a century of revolutions?

The concept of a 'structural revolution' has recently been reaffirmed by Ian Morris, a pupil of Anthony Snodgrass and one of the most innovative of contemporary researchers (Morris 2009). Morris speaks of an eighth-century revolution because he takes it as proven that this was the point when, under demographic pressure, Greek societies were transformed and the conditions for the creation of the polis met (Morris 1998: 68-79; 2009). For Morris, this transformation was as important as the industrial revolution of the 19th century and determined the course of Greek history for the next five centuries.

Anthony Snodgrass described the structural revolution by distinguishing human factors (the need for political renewal, the agrarian revolution, and the role of hero cult) and material evidence (iron working, the dedication of bronzes and armour at sanctuaries, the birth of the temple and of figurative vase painting, and the spread of writing). This remains a valuable approach: data have certainly accumulated since the early 1980s, but with the exception of questions about identity and more precise research into particular regions or productions, the overall framework has not changed. Ian Morris has demonstrated developments from the original model to which he himself has contributed, raising several questions and suggesting new answers. He has fixed the break point definitively in the eighth century, defined a model of growth applicable across the Greek world, and sought to explain how Greeks avoided concentrating power at a time when the general model was monarchy. For Morris, the triumph of a 'middling ideology' over an 'elitist ideology', revealing great social tension inside cities, lay at the heart of the process which led to the formation of city-states.⁵

However, this viewpoint is not universally shared. Robin Osborne disagrees with Ian Morris on at least two points (Osborne 1989: 315): instead of advocating the eighth century, he maintains the originality of the seventh, and instead of a 'materialistic' view of change caused by population growth, he supports a change in attitudes. This he bases upon an artistic revolution (Osborne 2009: 166-7), thus: 'the worldview of the seventh-century BC artist is distinct from that of the eighth-century artist ... Three concerns dominate seventh-century art: exploring the world through myths that are rendered clearly identifiable; facing up to the gods; and communal action. Two icons, both, admittedly, in many ways exceptional, will illustrate the seventh-century view'. Analysis of two well-known vases (the Chigi olpe and the Xobourgo pithos) followed and Osborne offered a further, similar illustration using seventh-century Attic artefacts. What changed between the eighth and the seventh centuries was a world view: 'the visual arts in the seventh century BC grapple with human relationships and relations between human, animal, and divine worlds in a way not familiar in geometric art' (Osborne 2009: 161-7). Under what influence did this transformation occur? This brings us to the third and last of our revolutions - the 'orientalizing revolution'.

The seventh century: the orientalizing century?

Pierre Demargne, one of the greatest scholars of his generation on the early period and especially daedalic Crete (to which he devoted his doctoral thesis, Demargne 1947), wrote in his 1964 *Naissance de l'art grec*: 'le VIIe s., le siècle 'orientalisant', est le siècle entre tous séduisant des expériences naïves ou raffinées que peut faire un art las des abstractions et des simplifications' (Demargne 1964: 402).⁶ This is the conclusion which follows from adoption of an art historical framework based on pottery styles.⁷

⁴ Braudel 1985: 214: 'Une montée séculaire de la vie économique s'amorce peut-être vers 1470 et s'interrompt, sans doute, ou pour le moins se ralentit, avec les chertés records des années 1590-1600, le mouvement se poursuivant vaillamment que vaillamment jusqu'en 1650 ... En tout cas, durant ce long XVIIe siècle, une hausse lente, en profondeur, a favorisé l'essor de la vie matérielle...'. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is how Ian Morris envisages the trend from the eighth century onwards, leading to a continuous improvement in the *per capita* standard of living.

⁵ Morris 2009 gives a fine summary of his arguments and seeks to address the key issue, long raised but still outstanding, of how Greeks prevented an evolution towards monarchy and consolidated an egalitarian system. While content to follow his argument, I would place greater emphasis on religion. In my view, what differentiates Greek cities from those in the other great ancient Mediterranean countries is the lack of a priestly class or of any religion 'of the book'. Places of worship were not socially exclusive and there were no rites which could not be followed by any free (or perhaps even unfree) man. Exchange with the gods was not the privilege of any class: it was an open exchange concluded with a sacrifice which anyone could perform. Everyone could communicate with the gods even if intermediaries were involved (the Pythia or a seer): oracles were not the preserve of a fraction of the population. How may this situation be explained and what forces allowed this type of society to be maintained? Must one admit a random anthropological model?

⁶ Hurwit 1985 is equally enthusiastic, contrasting 'The idea of order 760-700' (chapter 2) with 'The edge of disorder: the seventh century' (chapter 3), and remarking that 'Greek culture thus continued to establish its difference and to define itself in the seventh century. It was an extraordinary age of ferment, experiment, exuberance, diversity, individuality (in a special sense) and invention' which touched all areas from lyric poetry to vases and monuments.

⁷ For an overview, see Brisart 2011; Poulsen 1912 is fundamental; Akurgal (1969: 166-70, 188-91) emphasizes the eastern origins of mythology and the Hittite models behind such motifs as the griffin; and Boardman (1999a) entitles his chapter 3 'The eastern adventure'. The Italians refer to an 'eta orientalizzante': Bianchi Bandinelli and Moretti (1978: vol. 2, part IV *L'eta orientalizzante*) begins with '1. Le tirannidi e gli sviluppi

Data and especially approaches have changed significantly since the 1960s, and the concept of orientalizing has itself been an object of change, whether through new approaches or severe criticism. Yet no one can deny the role played by eastern productions. Orientalia circulated and recent work has been devoted to identifying them among ivories, jewellery, and small faience objects, as well as bronze tripods and statues.⁸ Equally, the mythological scenes, long files of people or animals, fantastic beasts and ornamental plants, which mark seventh-century creations, notably pottery, surely relate to the east. But while these facts are generally recognized, there are many differences of opinion on the nature, extent and interpretation of the phenomenon and no consensus on the degree of 'orientalizing' or the reception of these 'influences' in Greece (indeed the vague term 'influence' is open to criticism and should probably be dropped). Everything now points to a reappraisal of the orientalizing phenomenon.

On one side are the 'Pan-Orientalists' - Martin Bernal with his 1987 *Black Athena* (which caused quite a stir in an Anglo-Saxon world in crisis over its ethnic minorities), Sarah Morris with *Daidalos* in 1992, and Walter Burkert, the English version of whose book *The Orientalizing Revolution* was also published in 1992.⁹ It is worth recalling as a point of historiographical interest that the title of the original German version of Burkert's book, published in 1984, was *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Litteratur*. The English title is catchier, but reflects the tendency among Anglo-Saxon colleagues to apply the term revolution to antiquity. Burkert's book skilfully connects archaeology, literature, and the history of religious ideas, and the introduction is a good illustration of German resistance to assuming a semitic origin for Greek phenomena. The first chapter deals with migrant artists, the second magic and medicine, and the third connections between Akkadian literature and Archaic Greek epic. I cannot judge the accuracy of the philological arguments, but I do note that the material circuits capable of explaining these borrowings and adaptations remain poorly defined both in time and space. The same stories can appear in different periods and in different social contexts without the older influencing the younger:¹⁰ what do La Fontaine's fables owe to Aesop, or Victor Hugo's *Légende des siècles* to the Song of Roland?

A recent focus on the concept of orientalia and the creation and development of seventh-century Greek styles has tended towards a general 'de-orientalization' of the seventh century. In various ways the work of Hélène Aurigny, Catherine Saint-Pierre, and Thomas Brisart demonstrates the complexity of the productions classed as orientalia, where it is hard to distinguish originals from imitations and 'bricolage' is common. Consider, for example, the sphryrelata found at Olympia, where Greek bronze plates were added to those recovered from the east, or the manufacture of decorated tripods, where the origin of the bronze used may not be the same as that of the decoration (see Saint-Pierre 2007b on sphryrelata; Simantoni-Bournia 1997: 231-4, on tripods). Were these orientalia actually recognized as such by the Greeks who dedicated them at sanctuaries? Whether offered by Greeks or easterners, orientalia were deployed in rituals which were properly Greek, and no necessary distinction was made between them and other offerings. Whatever the case, we should not oppose Greece and the east as if two frozen entities (Gunter 2009): recent research demonstrates the variety of eastern regions which themselves followed templates similar to those identified as Greek borrowings or responses to models from the east.

The most systematic critique of the concept of orientalizing, by Francis Croissant, reveals the complexity of the phenomenon evident in competition between centres to define their own style (Croissant 2003-4; 2007a; 2007b; 2010). Not only did pottery workshops choose between the models at their disposal, they also adapted them to satisfy their need to express their own identity. Croissant shows that while the creations of Greek workshops were stimulated by contacts with Egypt and Syria at the end of the eighth century, 'le nouveau vocabulaire décoratif ... sans doute dès les premières années du VII^e s. fait l'objet dans chaque atelier d'une traduction grecque' (Croissant 2010: 344). The search for exoticism had lost its appeal for designers and their clientele.

politici ed economico-sociali', without defining the period concerned; in '3. La cultura orientalizzante e le sue espressioni figurative', Fulvio Canciani reviews all areas from vase painting to architecture, and in part V. 2, Francesco Adorno's section on 'La 'cultura' ionica tra il VII e il VI secolo', is essentially art historical in conception.

⁸ For a general view of seventh-century material, see Simantoni-Bournia 1997; for overall research on orientalia, Saint-Pierre 2006 and 2007a; on Delphi, Aurigny 2010. Croissant 2010: 314 refers to the 'ambiguïté de la notion d'offrande orientalisante'.

⁹ See Whitley (2001: 102-6) for a critique of the orientalizing trend. Burkert (1992: 156 n.17) notes that the term 'orientalizing revolution' was first used by Boardman (1990: 179) about the eighth century, thus: 'This is the first really busy period of traffic, to the farthest west and throughout the Aegean, and of colonisation. We may consider first the distribution of wares and their effect, then 'colonies', then carriers; but this is not the place for yet another rehearsal of archaeological evidence for the Orientalising Revolution and the Age of Colonisation'. This passage does not, however, reveal a truly theorized notion of an 'orientalizing revolution'.

¹⁰ The works which I have read on eastern literary or religious influence on Greece are interesting from the perspective of comparative literature or civilization, but I note the difficulty experienced by West (1997: 586-624) in imagining how the transmission from eastern epic to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was actually effected. There should be as much or as little of a relationship between Greek and Vedic texts, which at least share a common Indo-European structure as the work of George Dumézil has shown. In the same direction, see Whitley (2001: 105). I therefore maintain, despite Zurbach's critique (in Étienne *et al.* 2011: 28-33) of what I term 'de-orientalization', that it is necessary to reassess connections between Greece and the east in all aspects of literature and religious practice (an archaeological history we can do without).

In short, the convenient association of the seventh century with orientalizing should probably be abandoned. As early as 1967, Karl Schefold found the habit of referring to an orientalizing seventh century infelicitous (Schefold 1967: 19). For her part, Eva Bournia suggested that the century would be better termed the Early Archaic period since the adjective 'orientalizing' as applied to it was reductive (Simantoni-Bournia 1997: 149). And Thomas Brisart followed suit in referring to 'Proto-Archaic' Greece (Brisart 2011). As we have seen, this is not purely a matter of vocabulary but of the entire conception of a period.¹¹

To construct or reconstruct the seventh century

As suggested, a division in Greek history around 700 is perfectly justified. It is not a mere reflection of a change in taste or a fashion explaining the transition between two figurative styles, but is securely established by the results of archaeological research. Let us consider the under-exploited results of Vassilios Lambrinouidakis' work in Naxos town (at Grotta and in Metropolis square; see Lambrinouidakis 1988; 2001), which demonstrate perfectly the progression from family tombs to the large tumulus around the grave of an 'ancestor' which marks the transition to civic hero cult.¹² At Xobourgo on Tenos, Nota Kourou has taken a step further in demonstrating the connection around 700 BC between the creation of city cults, the construction of cult buildings and the creation of a mythological iconography (Kourou 2002a; 2013a; 2013b). The extramural sanctuary was established at the end of the 10th century: from a funerary cult around a venerable tomb, it was progressively transformed into an ancestor shrine covering a large area and marked by pyres. In the mid-eighth century, these groups of pyres were enclosed within a low peribolos, a move which reflects a closer community organization and the rise of a few families. The major transformations took place at the end of the eighth century when an *eschara* replaced the offering pits used by individuals or families, confirming that it was the community that managed the cult. Thus the city was born around a chthonic cult. At the same time a cult room was built: within it were found two pithoi (probably to hold offerings) and a fragment of an early seventh-century terracotta relief frieze depicting a chariot drawn by winged horses - the earliest yet found in the Greek world. Another sanctuary, the Thesmophorion (previously excavated by Nikolaos Kontoleon) produced the famous pithoi now in Tenos Museum which have been published by Eva Bournia (Simantoni-Bournia 2004; 2013). This shrine too comprised an *eschara*, an altar, and a shelter for offerings.

I emphasize Xobourgo not from some Teniot chauvinism, but because it best illustrates the nature and pace of development towards the city, and the coincidence between the formation of the city, common cults, sacred architecture and the creation of an original mythology. The very large pithoi (1.5 and 1.8m tall) are an important indicator of the formation of a community which had defined the allotments due to the gods and to man. The pithoi probably contained the sacred *aparche* (i.e. that part of the crop dedicated by the community to the deity for reasons of cult) and they bore images of the city's gods and its myths. In this case, archaeology does enable us to write history.

These new developments formed part of the process whereby identity was created and asserted. Teniot pottery was rarely exported, and was thus of essentially local interest (with the exception of a stylistically Boeotian workshop which could have been created by local island craftsmen: Simantoni-Bournia [2004, 89-113], noting at 112 the Teniot origin of these Boeotian vases). This connection between artistic creation and the process of defining and asserting identity has been highlighted in the Cyclades (Naxos and Paros) especially by Francis Croissant. Croissant identifies two particular features: a precise link between a ceramic or sculptural style and a city, and a connection between the definition and assertion of identity and the armed conflicts which shook the islands during the seventh century (see Croissant 2003-4, 2007a and b, and especially 2008; Coulié 2005 and 2007; Kourayos and Prost 2008; Walter-Karydi 2008: 21-6, on the Parian 'style'). The birth of the city, which must have occurred at different moments in different regions, did not happen without clashes between (and perhaps also within) communities. There is both literary and archaeological evidence of violent conflicts during the seventh century. In the Aegean, struggles between Chalkis and Eretria (the famous Lelantine War) evidently date to the seventh century, as does the Spartan conquest of Messenia. Archilochos referred not only to war against the Thracians, but also to the fierce struggles between Naxos and Paros in which he took part. For an earlier generation, the polyandria of the end of the eighth century discovered in the cemetery of Paros attest to these conflicts and at the same time to the birth of the city. The communal burial of more than 150 young warriors in comparable vessels with no differentiating marks (apart from two amphorae depicting battle scenes) corresponds perfectly with a community of equals which had progressed far beyond the framework of the family or lineage (Zaphiropoulou 2002 and 2006a; Croissant 2008). On the coast of

¹¹ On the problem of vocabulary and the use of 'orientalism' and 'orientalizing', compare the approaches of contributors to Riva and Vella 2006a, where Purcell (2006: 28) prefers to 'drop the term Orientalizing and the baggage which goes with it', while Osborne (2006: 156) finds them still useful ('understanding that baggage, which is the baggage of Orientalism, is the most pressing task for future work on Orientalization').

¹² The results from Naxos are effectively used by Mazarakis Ainian 1999a; 2000, 183-5; 2009, 212-19.

Asia Minor, the Ionian Dodecapolis was formed in conflict against Mylai, and later on, the Sacred War surrounding Delphi transformed the character of the sanctuary (Luce 2008: 95-115). Was there any connection between these conflicts and did they generally stem from the same cause? Were these conflicts the cause or the consequence of the movement towards identity definition and assertion, linked to the establishment of physical or mental boundaries? What was their relationship with the hoplite 'revolution'? Whatever one's view of this hoplite revolution, there was certainly a close relationship between the enlargement of the citizen class and the transformation of modes of combat (Whitley [2001: 179-85] offers a nuanced summary of the problem).

This is not the place to write the history of the seventh-century Mediterranean. I merely suggest that this history is possible, and it is no more than a story which has shattered into pieces, leaving us only fragments of the puzzle. Thanks to archaeology, these pieces are beginning to form a coherent picture. However, it takes exact inventories of material evidence (objects, buildings or cemeteries) from cities selected as representative samples to understand how each community followed its own pace and responded differently to change (as Whitley 2010 has shown for Crete and Morgan 2003 for ethne). I do not know whether we are yet able to isolate specifically seventh-century data in many regions, but this is surely a goal for future archaeology. This objective has already been fulfilled for part of the Middle East, where Israeli colleagues have demonstrated the dynamism of Palestine and Cyprus at the centre of Mediterranean traffic (Faust and Weiss 2005). Yet recent syntheses on the Archaic economy are a little disappointing not least because they do not allow us to pinpoint seventh-century phenomena. The scarcity of shipwrecks suggests that one should not exaggerate trade, and the contraction of settlement in some regions (notably Attica) likely indicates local difficulties.¹³ The role of eastern Greece must surely be better appreciated since this was where formative developments for the new era occurred. Ionian Greeks were present everywhere from Methone (Bessios *et al.* 2012) to Egypt via Al Mina. The Ionian amphictyony around Mycale (the centre of the Dodecapolis) and the joint foundation of Naukratis at the end of the seventh century are interesting phenomena because they lie 'beyond the city'. In this shifting of balances in the Mediterranean, Ionians were surely the winners. It is hard to accept Horden and Purcell's suggestion that there was a constant process of rebalancing in which everyone achieved their due gains (Horden and Purcell 2000), and I prefer to follow Ian Morris's view that there were definite winners and losers (Morris 2005a; Étienne 2010b: 3-5). One should also consider the neighbours of the Greeks: the destruction of Smyrna by Alyattes in 600 BC, the Cimmerian raids, and the Babylonian conquests and the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar II at the end of the seventh century would certainly have had an impact on the Greek Mediterranean.

Yet I would not justify the break evident around 600 BC on the grounds of these 'political' dates. Three phenomena, more or less well dated, were to transform the living conditions of the Greeks for the centuries to come: the invention of coinage (600-580 BC), mass market slavery, and a philosophical 'revolution' embodied by Thales and the Milesian School. Aside from the discussion which has surrounded the exact date, mechanism of diffusion and function of the first coin issues, coinage would eventually affect the entire system of Mediterranean trade and Greek social life in all its aspects (Le Rider 2001). The emergence of coinage is perhaps related to the spread of the slave market which one tradition attributes to Chios: one would like to know more about the circumstances of this spread and the factors behind it (Andreau and Descat 2006: 42-5). The third turning point concerns attitudes. Thales' cosmology is based on the natural elements (water) with no recourse to divine forces to explain the world and how it works. One sees here a kind of secularization of thought.¹⁴ For the purposes of our discussion, Thales can be characterized as a practitioner of geometry, and it was this line of thought which led to the birth of the architectural orders. Monumental architecture, as monumental sculpture, assumes a concept of rhythm and the calculation of proportion. In this sense, the Doric order, of which the first evidence entirely in stone dates to the beginning of the sixth century (the temple at Syracuse was the earliest certainly to have a stone entablature), was a genuine 'revolution' which happened as a consequence of an intellectual 'revolution'. Greek architecture was born of the rationalization which led to the concept of rules applied to material creations, and the same is probably true of monumental sculpture which borrowed its models of rhythm from Egypt. These rules were subject to consensus in the same way as laws in the city.

The year 600 BC marked a break which led to the flowering of the city, while the seventh century could be considered as a formative period, and perhaps one characterised by painful birth-pangs. The seventh century definitely exists: it remains to write its history.¹⁵

¹³ Morris (1998: 77) returns to the problem of the seventh-century depression attributed by Camp to a period of drought leading to population decline. Despite objections previously raised by Morris and Snodgrass, Morris seems now to agree on the fact of a depression although he does not comment on its causes. Osborne's overview of the Archaic economy (2007: 277-301) is enlightening on the seventh century; see Zurbach (2011a: 30) for critique.

¹⁴ The penetrating analyses of Vernant (1962: 101-18, 'Cosmogonie et mythes de souveraineté'; 119-30, 'La nouvelle image du monde') reveal the significance of this revolution.

¹⁵ See Étienne 2010b for an approach to the problems; Zurbach 2011b gives a sense of what remains to be done.