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JAMES WHITLEY is Senior Lecturer in Mediterranean Archaeology, Cardiff University. His publications include *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece* (1991) as well as many articles.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ANCIENT GREECE

JAMES WHITLEY

*School of History and Archaeology
Cardiff University*



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The following abbreviations are used in giving photographic credits and museum numbers.

Acr.	Acropolis Museum, Athens
ASCS Athens	The American School of Classical Studies at Athens
BM London	The British Museum, London
BSA	The British School at Athens
DAI Athens	Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Athens
DAI Rome	Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Rome
EFA	Ecole Française d'Athènes
Hirmer	Hirmer Verlag, Munich
Inv.	Inventory Number
KER	Kerameikos, DAI photo number
Met. Mus.	Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
Neg. nr.	negative number (or photo number)
NM Athens	The National Museum, Athens (sometimes Athens NM)
TAP	Tameion Archaialogikon Poron (Archaeological Receipts Fund, Ministry of Culture, Greece)

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As the title indicates, this book is concerned with the archaeology of ancient Greece. Any book with such a title could cover a very wide span of time and space. However, the Aegean Bronze Age has been covered by another book in the Cambridge World Archaeology series (Dickinson 1994), and this book begins precisely where Dickinson stops. Chronologically it covers the period 1000 to 300 BC, that is, the periods known as the Early Iron Age, the Archaic and the Classical. I touch on the very beginning of the Hellenistic period, but do not discuss that period in any detail. After Alexander the Great, the Greek world widens to well beyond the confines of the Mediterranean, and its material culture changes too. In many ways Hellenistic archaeology has more in common with Roman archaeology than with the material culture of Archaic and Classical Greece. Geographically, the book concentrates on the Aegean, that is the area of modern Greece and the western coast of modern Turkey. The Greek settlements in the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea I do not discuss at all – my only excuse for this neglect being my complete ignorance of these areas. I glance at developments in the west (that is south Italy and Sicily) in the eighth and seventh centuries in particular for the simple reason that one cannot understand the ‘Orientalising’ phenomenon in Greek history and archaeology without reference to Greek and Phoenician activity in the western Mediterranean. The actions of Greeks, Phoenicians, Etruscans and other Italians in the western Mediterranean comprise a topic that undoubtedly deserves a book of its own in the Cambridge World Archaeology series, but I am not the one to write it.

No one writes a book (or no one ought to write a book) without a purpose and without a readership in mind. This book has two main purposes and is intended for two principal groups of readers. One purpose is to introduce students and others to the material evidence from Greece which dates to these periods – that is, to Greek archaeology and Greek art. In this sense, the book seeks to answer the question, what kind of evidence does Greek archaeology provide? But the book’s principal purpose is to show how this material can be used to address a whole range of questions which are, in the broadest possible sense of the term, historical. To put it another way, what is the evidence that Greek archaeology provides evidence *for*? When I use the term historical I do not mean to suggest that the questions we ask should be determined by our literary sources – far from it. Nor do I wish to endorse the belief that, because we have written sources, Greek

archaeology is simply another kind of 'historical' archaeology. The relationship between written and material evidence is invariably more complex than it first seems. Both kinds of evidence are equally mute unless we have a question or interest we wish to pursue. In Classical studies recently there has been a convergence of interest between historically minded archaeologists and archaeologically minded historians. Both groups are asking sophisticated questions of the material evidence, regarding such topics as trade, cultural exchange, urbanism, gender, mortuary practices, state formation and the relationship between domestic, civic and sacred space. The true historical potential of Greek archaeology is at last being realised.

These two purposes relate directly to the two main groups of readers for whom this book is written. In one sense this is a textbook for advanced undergraduates and beginning postgraduates. This does not mean it is a suitable introductory text for first-year students in universities in Britain, North America or Australia (though I hope they will find it a useful supplement). Such students will undoubtedly be better served by some of the many introductory books on Greek art and archaeology already available. If one simply wants a general impression of what Greek art looks like, and the main stages of its development, then it would be wise to turn first to those books written by William Biers, John Boardman, Robin Osborne, John Pedley, Martin Robertson, Nigel Spivey and Susan Woodford. But if one wants to know what Greek archaeology is good *for*, then this may be the book for you.

The second audience I had in mind was what might be called a general archaeological readership: that is, archaeologists who work in other parts of the world (Anglo-Saxon England, Jomon Japan or the Hopewell cultures of Ohio and Illinois, for example) who may want a reasonably up-to-date synthesis on this period and area. Those familiar with the Cambridge World Archaeology series should therefore expect a summary description of the relevant material, and of past and present avenues of research, and some general historical conclusions. I have indeed attempted something like this, but it seems to me that a straightforward synthesis of the Greek material is impossible. This is not simply because the quantity of material is now quite beyond the grasp of most individual scholars (it is certainly beyond me). It is rather that the material record of Greece is not simply just another material record, no different in principle from any other to be found in India, Nigeria or the Southwestern United States – or at least no different from other kinds of 'historical' archaeology, such as the archaeology of medieval Europe or colonial America. The archaeology of ancient Greece comes to us with a whole package of interests, values, preconceptions and metanarratives, which have given the subject its particular character. The archaeology of ancient Greece is the least innocent of all kinds of archaeological endeavour.

One of the features that distinguishes Classical Archaeology in general and Greek archaeology in particular from the archaeologies of other times and places is the proportion of its material record that has been called 'art'. There are, for

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example no fewer than five books in the Thames and Hudson 'World of Art' series on Greek painted pottery (all relevant to the period covered by this book). It has long seemed that the *archaeology* of ancient Greece is just there to provide a kind of backdrop for its *art*. But as more and more Classical archaeologists have engaged in field survey, petrography or quantitative analyses, such a view has seemed less and less tenable. Recently there has been an attempt to rescue the traditional subjects of Classical Archaeology from their dangerous proximity to such low-status activities by coining the term 'Classical art history'. Classical art historians can continue to study sculpture and 'vase painting' without having to take a close interest in broken pottery from survey or excavation, or bothering overmuch about the contexts in which such art was found or used. This book takes the opposite position. Archaeology is the study of material culture. All art is material culture, though not all material culture is art. Classical art history therefore is archaeology or it is nothing.

Like Caesar's Gaul, this book is divided into three parts. It is arranged by theme rather than by period or class of material. Part I deals with the history and character of the subject, and tries to get the technical matter of chronology out of the way as soon as possible. Part II deals with the major themes and problems in the study of Archaic Greece, and Part III with those of Classical Greece. My reason for choosing this arrangement is that the book is there to be read, rather than just consulted. A textbook (however good its index) is not an encyclopaedia. It should have a narrative thread, a series of arguments that engage the reader's interest. Of course, like everyone working in Classical studies, I know that there can be no generalisation without an equal and opposite qualification. But I have allowed myself the luxury of being a little glib at times, and tried to confine my qualifications to the footnotes. A further principle I have tried to adhere to throughout is that objects must be understood in context: that is, in the social context in which they were originally used and the archaeological context in which they were found. For every major object or class of objects I discuss I have then tried to give the original publication which states where it was found. This has resulted in a much longer bibliography than some might find suitable, but at least this enables the sceptical reader to check up any facts about which she/he may be (perhaps justifiably) suspicious.

This book has its distant origins in the time I was a student at the British School at Athens, where Hector Catling introduced me to dimensions of the subject I had never encountered before. It seemed strange then that there was no comprehensive book on the subject (this seems less strange now). Some parts of this book were first aired as seminars in Oxford, Cambridge, London or Cardiff, and many of the themes have been tried out on several cohorts of Cardiff students. But this is not in general a reworking of material I have published elsewhere. It was written in the numerical order of the chapters, beginning with chapter 1 and ending with chapter 15. Sue Alcock is primarily responsible for getting me started on this enterprise, and for gaining the approval of the Cambridge World Archaeology

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Board. A grant of study leave for 1997 to 1998 by my home institution Cardiff enabled me to start work on this book, leave which I took in Cambridge. The departments of Classics and Archaeology in Cambridge gave me the status of Visiting Scholar for the academic year 1997–8. The libraries of the Faculties of Classics and of Archaeology and Anthropology have been essential, and I would like to thank the staff in both libraries for dealing with my often difficult requests. Access to the Ashmolean Library, Oxford has made the work of revision much easier than it would otherwise have been, and I am grateful to John Bennet for help in this regard.

For help and advice in obtaining illustrations and photographs I would like to thank Ian Jenkins, Robin Osborne and Anthony Snodgrass and the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge. I am grateful to the following for allowing me to reproduce photographic images: the British School at Athens; the British Museum, London; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the Centre for Ancient Documents, Oxford; the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (in particular the Agora Excavations and the Alison Frantz archive); the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the Ecole Française d'Athènes; the Musée du Louvre, Paris; the Musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer; Hirmer Verlag, Munich; Antikesammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Preussischer Kulturbesitz); the Deutsche Archäologische Institut, in both Rome and Athens; the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen; the Tameion Archaialogikon Poron (Archaeological Receipts Fund), Ministry of Culture, Athens; and Dr Herbert Hoffmann. I would also like to thank those who have given me permission to reproduce plans and drawings: Professor John Camp and the Agora Excavations; Dr Ian Jenkins and the British Museum, London; Drs M. Popham and J.J. Coulton, Oxford; Professor J.N. Coldstream, London; Professors W. Hoepfner and E.L. Schwandner (Berlin and Munich); Professor John Cherry, Ann Arbor; Professors Ian Morris and M.H. Jameson, Stanford; the editors of *Hesperia*; Professor A.M. Snodgrass; and Dr Ruth Westgate.

Many of the ideas in this book have been developed through conversations with a number of scholars, more indeed than I can remember. I would however like to thank those who have sent me offprints or unpublished drafts of their work: Sue Alcock; Stelios Andreou; Carla Antonaccio; John Bintliff; J.N. Coldstream; M. Cuozzo; Brice Erickson; Jonathan Hall; Herbert Hoffmann; Sanne Houby-Nielsen; Sally Humphreys; Irene Lemos; Ian Morris; Oswyn Murray; Lucia Nixon; A.M. D'Onofrio; Robin Osborne; F. de Polignac; David Ridgway; A.M. Snodgrass; Nigel Spencer; and Ruth Westgate. The text as it exists now has benefited from the advice and criticism of those who have read parts of it in draft form, in particular Ian Morris, Robin Osborne and Ruth Westgate. I have benefited too from the comments of CWA's anonymous referees, and that of the series editor, Norman Yoffee. It is Anthony Snodgrass however whom I must single out for special thanks. He has read the whole of it more or less as I wrote it, and whenever a chapter was sent out, helpful comments would be returned to me within the week. Lastly, I would

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like to thank my wife, Christina Hatzimichael. Despite having a thesis of her own to complete, she too has read it all in draft, and offered invaluable advice on many points. She has also, of course, supported me in countless ways, both small and large, from when I began to write the book until I finished it. This book is dedicated to her.

All this is not to excuse any of the manifest failings of this book that may result from my not taking the excellent advice of all those who have helped me. As another scholar once wrote, any omissions of this kind should be put down to 'obstinacy, and not to ingratitude'.

A note on the spelling and transliteration of Greek names

The transliteration of Greek names has always caused difficulties. Modern Greek presents few problems – phonetic transliteration is usually straightforward (though phonetic transliteration can be a very misleading guide to the original Greek spelling – 'i' in English can stand for eta, iota or any diphthong involving iota). Ancient Greek names are an entirely different matter. These have come down to us first through Roman writers such as Pliny and Vitruvius, who employed their own forms of transliteration, and then via Renaissance scholars. Ancient Greek names have often first been latinised and then (in some cases) anglicised. So, for example, Athinai became Athenae and then Athens; Korinthos became Corinthus and then Corinth. Since the nineteenth century there has been a reverse trend, to transliterate into English directly from the ancient Greek; Korinthos has made a comeback (in, for example, Shanks 1999).

Those with a Classical education can usually find their way through all this, but those without (including many students of Greek archaeology) often find the whole business baffling. This is especially so when writers are themselves inconsistent. Readers may think that they have a right to expect consistency from writers of textbooks. I am sorry to disappoint them. Here are my reasons.

If consistency is a virtue, ostentatious pedantry is a vice – and one that I have been keen to avoid. So, while I have in general used modern transliterations of ancient Greek names (Olynthos not Olynthus; Herodotos not Herodotus; Selinous not Selinus), some anglicised forms have become so familiar (e.g. Syracuse for Syrakousai) that it would be absurd to drop them, 'without the appearance of pedantic precision, or affected singularity' (Dodwell 1819a: v). The same applies to many latinised forms (e.g. Mycenae not Mykenai; Aeschylus not Aischylos; Euboea not Euboia). Other 'purer' forms of transliteration are just ugly; I sincerely hope that Thoukydides will never supplant Thucydides.

A note on bibliographic conventions

It is a version of the Harvard system of referencing that, as with all other volumes of this series, has been used in this book. The Harvard system has the advantages

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of logic, clarity and consistency; it is also the system with which most students and most scholars (at least, those outside of Classical Studies) are most likely to be familiar. Ancient texts lie somewhere outside the purview of the Harvard system proper, and I have used the standard conventions for referring to books of the *Iliad* or of Herodotos' *Histories* (conventions which do not depend upon edition or page number). Readers can therefore consult the Loeb editions, Oxford Classical Texts or Penguin translations as they please. Traditionally, however, Classical Archaeology has employed its own system of referencing, one that makes extensive use of footnotes and standard abbreviations. Those who delve into some of the works cited in this book are likely to come across references which take forms such as 'BSA xxxix (1938–39), 52–64' or 'AM lx/lxi (1935–6), pl.84' (Boardman 1961: 84). The former refers to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* vol. 39 (1938–9), pages 52–64; the latter to *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung* (or *athenische Mitteilungen*) vol. 60–61 (1935–6), plate 84. Like many others who have come to Classical Archaeology from prehistory, I have never entirely rid myself of the suspicion that the reason Classical scholars have held on to their own system for so long is that it helps to keep outsiders out. Mastery of abbreviations, like mastery of the Classical languages, is, after all, the mark of a true scholar. For those still baffled by all this, a full list and explanation of all standard abbreviations (bibliographic and otherwise) in use in Classical Archaeology is given in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991), 1–16. It is a sign of the times perhaps that this journal too has now gone over to its own version of the Harvard system, without entirely dispensing with abbreviations and footnotes.