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978-0-521-66129-4 - Cults and Rites in Ancient Greece: Essays on Religion and Society

Michael H. Jameson

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Cults and Rites in Ancient Greece

This volume assembles thirteen highly influential articles written by Michael H. Jameson over a period of nearly fifty years, edited and updated by the author himself. They represent both the scope and the signature style of Jameson's engagement with the subject of ancient Greek religion. The collection complements the original publications in two ways: firstly, it makes the articles more accessible; and secondly, the volume offers readers a unique opportunity to observe that over almost five decades of scholarship Jameson developed a distinctive method, a signature style, a particular perspective, a way of looking that could perhaps be fittingly called a "Jamesonian approach" to the study of Greek religion. This approach, recognizable in each article individually, becomes unmistakable through the concentration of papers collected here. The particulars of the Jamesonian approach are insightfully discussed in the five introductory essays written for this volume by leading world authorities on polis religion.

MICHAEL H. JAMESON received his B.A. in Greek from the University of Chicago at the age of seventeen. After serving in the U.S. Navy, he returned to the University of Chicago where he earned his Ph.D. in 1949, with his dissertation "The Offering at Meals: Its Place in Greek Sacrifice." He spent 1949–50 at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens with a Fulbright Fellowship. After three years at the University of Missouri, he accepted a Ford Fellowship at the Institute for Social Anthropology at the University of Oxford in 1953–4. In 1954 he became Professor of Classics at the University of Pennsylvania, and later director of the Graduate Group in Ancient History until 1976. In that year he was appointed Professor of Classics at Stanford University; in 1977 he became Crossett Professor of Humanistic Studies, a position he held until his death in August 2004. Throughout his long career he received numerous awards and visiting fellowships, including a Guggenheim Fellowship (1966–7). He wrote over sixty articles on the political, ecological, and social aspects of the practice of religion in the ancient Greek polis. As an epigrapher he published many inscriptions in *Inscriptiones Graecae*. As an archaeologist he began the excavation of Halieis in 1962, and was a director and organizer of the Argolid Exploration Project, an archaeological, ecological, and ethnographic survey during the period 1979–83, which resulted in numerous publications, especially *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (1994), co-authored with Tjeerd Van Andel and C. N. Runnels. His teaching and example inspired a generation of scholars.

ALLAIRE B. STALLSMITH, now Associate Professor of History at Towson University in Towson, MD, wrote her Ph.D. dissertation under the direction of Michael H. Jameson. Her publications include "One Colony, Two Mother Cities: Cretan Agriculture under Venetian and Ottoman Rule," in J. Davis and S. Davies (eds.) *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, Hesperia Supplement 40, 2007, and (as Allaire Brumfield) *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year* (1981).

PAUL CARTLEDGE is the inaugural A. G. Leventis Professor of Greek Culture Emeritus, in the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge, and a Leventis Senior Research Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. He is the author, co-author, editor, and co-editor of some twenty-five books, co-edits two monograph series, and sits on the editorial advisory boards of three learned journals. His most recent publications include *Ancient Greece: A Very Short Introduction* (2011), and *After Thermopylae: The Oath of Plataea and the End of the Graeco-Persian War* (2013).

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Essays on Religion and Society

MICHAEL H. JAMESON

edited by ALLAIRE B. STALLSMITH

with an Introduction by PAUL CARTLEDGE



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University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

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www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521661294

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First published 2014

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Jameson, Michael H., author.

Cults and rites in Ancient Greece : essays on religion and society / Michael H. Jameson with Paul Cartledge ; contributions by Fritz Graf.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-66129-4 (hardback)

1. Greek prose literature – History and criticism. 2. Greece – Religion. I. Cartledge, Paul.

II. Graf, Fritz. III. Title.

PA3257.J36 2014

292.08 – dc23 2014024303

ISBN 978-0-521-66129-4 Hardback

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Prefatory note

The collection of the essays in this book results largely from the encouragement of my friends and former students, Ed Cohen, Allaire B. Stallsmith, and Victor D. Hanson, and my friend Paul Cartledge. The Arete Foundation provided much appreciated support to bring research spanning almost fifty years into some degree of uniformity in style, and Irene Polinskaya and Hilary Connell furnished the hard labor this required. I am also most grateful to Pauline Hire and Michael Sharp, successive editors at Cambridge University Press, for their advice and support.

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Preface

The idea of this volume was conceived as long ago as 1997, but a number of circumstances have interfered with its timely development and fruition. The delay was mostly due to three factors: Mike's deteriorating health, his many publishing commitments, most pressing of which was the Halieis Project, and the time and energy he dedicated to caring for his ailing wife Virginia. It would be unfair to Mike's memory not to mention that some traits of his personality may have additionally contributed to the delay. One of these was his singular modesty, which urged him to give a place of priority to that which was due to others (e.g., requests for professional opinion from colleagues, peer reviews, readers' duties, contributions to *Festschriften*, etc.) before that which was due to himself. Another trait was his unceasing curiosity about things new and exciting which often made him more interested in his students' research than in republication of his own papers.

A steady progress in the preparation of this volume was nevertheless being made when it was interrupted by Mike's untimely death in 2004. Since then, the delay (related to the editorial process) has been beneficial in one irrefutable sense, in that it has allowed perspective on his work both to lengthen and to sharpen – he really is, it can now clearly be seen and unequivocally stated, one of the all-time greats of our discipline. In the meantime it has also been possible to secure the services as commentators on Mike's selected papers of four leading world authorities on the multifarious, deeply complex, and sometimes irreducibly alien topic of ancient Greek (pagan, pre-Christian) religion.

A few words about the rationale for this collection need to be added. The volume assembles articles on cults and rites in ancient Greece written by Mike over a period of nearly fifty years. They represent both the scope and the signature style of Mike's engagement with the subject of ancient Greek religion. Each article in this volume has had a lasting impact on scholarship since the time of its publication. The present collection complements the original publications in two ways: firstly, it makes the articles more accessible than they have previously been, scattered as they were throughout journals and conference volumes. Secondly, in presenting the articles next to each

other under one cover, the volume offers readers a unique opportunity to observe that over four decades of scholarship Mike developed a distinctive method, a signature style, a particular perspective, a way of looking that could perhaps be fittingly called a “Jamesonian approach” to the study of Greek religion. This approach, recognizable in each article individually, becomes unmistakable through the concentration of papers collected here. The particulars of the Jamesonian approach are insightfully discussed in the introductory essays of Cartledge, Graf, Faraone, Parker, and Bremmer.

The topic of cults and rites now occupies the central place in ancient Greek studies that it rightfully deserves. When Moses Finley, however, edited a “new appraisal” of “the legacy of [ancient] Greece” a quarter of a century ago, he explicitly excluded consideration of (pagan, pre-Christian) religion, on the grounds that ancient Hellenism’s religious legacy was Christianity.¹ That may, in a sense, be true. But it may also have given the false impression that religion somehow wasn’t an important, let alone a central, part of the ancient Greece from which the Hellenic legacy to the Western world has been variously derived. Four years later, an attempt was made by Finley to correct that impression in his Foreword to a collection of essays entitled *Greek Religion and Society*, all of which were fixedly devoted to various putatively central or fundamental aspects of ancient Greek religion, such as festivals and divination and shrines.²

In that same year, 1985, a very good English translation of Walter Burkert’s 1977 *Griechische Religion* appeared, an augury of the bright and still shining future of Greek religion studies.³ Two decades further on, after the appearance of work by Bremmer, Faraone, Graf, Henrichs, Mikalson, Parker, Price, and Versnel, to name only a very select few, there is no need for and indeed no thought of offering an apology for a work such as the present collection of essays that is in the fullest sense devoted to that same topic.⁴

Mike was born in London on the Ides of October 1924 and died on August 18, 2004, just short of his eightieth birthday. A memorial service was

¹ M. I. Finley, ed., *The Legacy of Greece: A New Appraisal*, Oxford 1981.

² P. E. Easterling and J.V. Muir, eds., *Greek Religion and Society*, Cambridge 1985. Finley began his Foreword by making the point about Hellenism’s legacy being, strictly speaking, Christianity, continued with the observation that (pre-Christian) Greek religion was “fundamentally alien,” and then summarily commented on the eight essays. Contributors included – besides the editors and Finley – J. Gould, N. Richardson, N. Coldstream, P. Cartledge, S. Price, and M. Robertson. Among the highly selective list of works in English recommended to students for further reading was Mike’s “Notes on the Sacrificial Calendar from Erchia,” *BCH* 89, 1965, 154–72, for its discussion of the Diasia festival.

³ *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. J. Raffan, Oxford and Cambridge, MA 1985.

⁴ Relevant works by these authors, among many others, will be found in the General Bibliography at the end of this book.

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held in the Memorial Church, Stanford University, on October 20, 2004, all aspects of which were lovingly prepared by his distinguished colleague Maud Gleason. Presided over by the Senior Associate Dean for Religious Life, Rabbi Patricia Karlin-Neumann (not intentionally, but not unfittingly either, for halachically Mike was Jewish), the service included a family remembrance by one of his sons, reflections by two Stanford colleagues, remembrances by colleagues from three other universities (Illinois, Tokyo, and Berkeley), and a reading of four brief tributes. Five further tributes by colleagues (some also former students), which for lack of time could not be read out in full, were posted online.⁵ Also posted later was “A Tribute to Mike,”⁶ which reprised and augmented an earlier (2002) posting of tributes; this contains contributions from another of his sons, from colleagues, and from other collaborators and former students.

Another memorial has been quite literally planted, in the form of a memorial tree at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, thanks to the efforts of Irene Polinskaya. Dr. Polinskaya is also co-editor of a volume of scholarly studies dedicated to Mike’s memory.⁷ Finally, a Michael H. Jameson Fellowship Fund, also devoted to furthering the objectives of the ASCSA, has been established by the Arete Foundation of Mike’s former student Edward E. Cohen and his wife Betsy.

Thus fortified by this wealth of deep personal affection as well as huge collegial respect for Mike, we present this volume to readers as an epitome of Mike’s unique contribution to the field of Greek religion, submitting that we felt it our duty to see it through publication, as a form of sincere but ever inadequate tribute to a very special mentor and colleague.

In the excellent company of Martin Ostwald,⁸ we end this Preface by quoting some “winged words” delivered at an earlier funeral, those of Achilles over the corpse of his beloved Patroclus (*Iliad* 22.389–90, in Richmond Lattimore’s trusty translation):

*And though the dead forget the dead in the house of Hades,
even there I shall still remember my beloved companion.*

Paul Cartledge, Irene Polinskaya, and Allaire B. Stallsmith

⁵ www.dfki.de/~jameson/mhj/memorial-service/

⁶ www.geocities.com/btse1/mhjtribute.html/

⁷ A. Matthaiou and I. Polinskaya, eds., *Mikros hieromnemon: Meletes eis mnemen Michael H. Jameson*, Athens 2007.

⁸ www.geocities.com/btse1/mhjtribute.html/ostwald

Acknowledgments

It is now twenty years since the “paper-collecting project,” as he called it, first became the subject of my correspondence with my dissertation advisor Michael H. Jameson. During its lengthy gestation this volume grew to include some of the best examples of the “Jamesonian approach,” his signature scholarly style: rigorous, thorough and based on all the evidence.

This book would not have appeared in print without the help of colleagues who deserve my warmest thanks: Paul Cartledge gently guided the process and wrote the Introduction. Mike’s student Irene Polinskaya organized the structure of this volume; her good judgment and tact were essential to its genesis. Another student, Mark Alonge, Assistant Professor of Classics at Boston University, kindly assisted with manuscript interpretation. Anthony Jameson was very helpful in locating pictures and documents and generously arranged financial assistance from the Jameson Foundation. Michael Sharp of Cambridge University Press was unfailingly generous with editorial help. I owe thanks to the librarians at Towson University and to Rudy Dallal for technical assistance. My colleagues at Towson University supported my commitment to honor my dear teacher, mentor, and friend, Michael H. Jameson. He will be sorely missed by those of us who experienced his wit, his patience, and his intellectual generosity.

Allaire B. Stallsmith

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AbhBerl	<i>Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
ABL	C. H. E. Haspels, <i>Athenian Black-figured Lekythoi</i> . Paris 1936
ABSA	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> . Oxford 1956
ActaAth	<i>Acta Atheniensa</i> . Swedish School in Athens
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AncW	<i>The Ancient World</i>
Anecd. Bekk.	I. Bekker, ed., <i>Anecdota Graeca</i>
Annal. E.S.C.	<i>Annales. Economie, sociétés, civilisations</i>
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
AntK-BH	<i>Antike Kunst Beiheft</i>
AntW	<i>Antike Welt</i>
AnzÖstAkadWien	<i>Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</i>
ArchCl	<i>Archeologia classica</i>
ArchDelt	Ἀρχαιολογική Δελτίον. 1915–
ArchEph	Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς
ARV ²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> , 2nd edn. Oxford 1963
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i> . 1898–
ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente</i>
AthMitt	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i> . 1876–
AV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attischen Vasenmaler</i> . Tübingen 1925
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BÉFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
BerSächsGesWiss	<i>Berichte über die Verhandlungen der [Kgl.] sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig</i> . 1848
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
BLund	<i>Bulletin de la Société royale des lettres de Lund</i>
BPhilWoch	<i>Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift</i> . 1881–1920

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List of abbreviations

BWPr	<i>Winckelmannsprogramm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
CAF	T. Kock, <i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> . Leipzig 1880–8
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CGS	L. Farnell, <i>Cults of the Greek States</i> , 5 vols. Oxford 1896–1909
CIG	A. Böckh <i>et al.</i> , eds., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Berlin 1828–77
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CPhS Suppl.	<i>Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> . 1925–
Dar-Sag	C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, <i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments</i> . Paris 1877–1919
EGF	G. Kinkel, <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Leipzig 1877
<i>Etym. Magn.</i>	<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . 1923–
FHG	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Paris 1841–70
Fornara	C. W. Fornara, <i>Translated Documents of Greece and Rome I: Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War</i> , 2nd edn. Cambridge 1983
FuB	<i>Forschungen und Berichte</i>
FuF	<i>Forschungen und Fortschritte</i>
GGA	<i>Göttingischer gelehrte Anzeigen</i> . 1739–
GGR	M. P. Nilsson, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion: Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft</i> , 2nd edn, 2 vols. Munich 1955; 3rd edn, 2 vols. Munich 1967
GLP	D. L. Page, <i>Greek Literary Papyri</i> . London 1942
GRBM	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HallWPr	<i>Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm</i>
Hastings, <i>ERE</i>	J. Hastings, ed., <i>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , 12 vols. 1908–1921; index vol. Edinburgh 1926
HdA	<i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Berlin 1931–
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HThR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
IC	M. Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>
IDélos	F. Dürrbach, ed., <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . Paris 1923–37
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . 1873–

<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
<i>IvO</i>	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, eds., <i>Inscriptiones von Olympia</i> , 1896
<i>JDAI</i> (= <i>JdI</i>)	<i>Jahrbuch des [kaiserlich] deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i> . 1886–
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i> . 1898–
<i>L'AntCl</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
<i>LegSac</i>	J. von Protz and L. Ziehen, eds., <i>Leges graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae</i> . Leipzig 1896–1906
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>LSAM</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> . Paris 1955
<i>LSCG</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris 1969
<i>LSS</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément</i> . Paris 1962
<i>MAL</i>	<i>Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i>
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> . 1928–
<i>Meded</i>	<i>Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome</i>
<i>MÉFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité</i>
<i>ML</i>	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, eds., <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> , Oxford 1969, rev. edn. Oxford 1988
<i>M-W</i>	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, eds., <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> . Oxford 1967
<i>MusHelv</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>NotScav</i>	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i> . 1876–
<i>NouvClio</i>	<i>La Nouvelle Clio</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd edn
<i>OCT</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Texts</i>
<i>PACA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the African Classical Associations</i>
<i>PCG</i>	R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds., <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . Berlin vol. 1 1983, vol. 2 1999
<i>PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>PGM</i>	K. Preisendanz et al., eds., <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i>
<i>PLG</i>	T. Bergk, <i>Poetae Lyrici Graeci</i> . Leipzig 1882
<i>PMG</i>	D. L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford 1962
<i>PP</i>	<i>La parola del passato</i> . 1946–
<i>RE</i>	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart 1893–

<i>RÉA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>RÉG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RevHistRel</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> . 1827–; Neue Folge, 1842
<i>RivIstArch</i>	<i>Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte</i>
<i>RivStClas</i>	<i>Rivista di studi classici</i>
<i>RömMitt</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i> . 1886–
Roscher, <i>Lex.</i>	W. H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> . Leipzig 1884–1937 (repr. Hildesheim 1992)
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . 1923–
<i>SitzBay</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München</i>
<i>SitzBer</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
<i>SitzHeid</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Heidelberg</i>
<i>SitzWien</i>	<i>Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, Sitzungsberichte, Philosophisch–historische Klasse</i>
<i>SMSR</i>	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni</i>
<i>Syll.</i> ³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn. Leipzig 1915–24
<i>SymbOsl</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>TGF</i> ²	A. Nauck, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 2nd edn. Leipzig 1889
Tod	M. N. Tod, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> . Oxford vol. 1 ² 1946, vol. 2 1948
<i>Trag.Adesp.</i>	<i>Tragica Adespota</i> in Nauck, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 837–958
<i>UppsÅrsskr</i>	<i>Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift</i>
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZfN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-66129-4 - Cults and Rites in Ancient Greece: Essays on Religion and Society

Michael H. Jameson

Frontmatter

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General Introduction

Michael H. Jameson – Classical Catalyst

PAUL CARTLEDGE

Each of the four parts into which this austere selection of Mike Jameson's essays has been – with difficulty – divided is introduced below by a dedicated essay from a leading international scholar. The purpose of this general introduction must therefore be different: at once broader and narrower. On the one hand, I shall attempt a brief conspectus of the entire – vast – range of Mike's published scholarship.¹ On the other, I shall say far less about his Greek religion studies than would otherwise have been called for.

If I may begin on a personal note: I first encountered Mike Jameson in 1967. Not in the flesh, but on the page, when I was a second-year undergraduate student at New College, Oxford, studying earlier Greek history with – or rather under – the formidable Geoffrey de Ste. Croix. Mike was then Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, and also Dean in Penn's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. I encountered him at last in person almost two decades later, in 1984.² Mike was then a Visiting Fellow both at Darwin College, Cambridge (of which Moses Finley was then Master), and at Jesus College, where Finley had been a Fellow. He was on sabbatical leave from Stanford, where he was Professor not

This essay is based, now somewhat distantly, on an address I gave at the Mark Hotel in Manhattan, on May 13, 1995, as a curtain-raiser to a symposium (held at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) organized by Dr. Ed Cohen in honor of Mike's 70th birthday. The apt title of my address was suggested by Ed, and I happily reuse it here. The speakers at that symposium, all like Ed former pupils of Mike's, were Lin Foxhall, Victor Hanson, Cynthia Patterson, and Vance Watrous. Little did I know that this would be my first direct academic connection with NYU, where I lately held (in association with the Department of Classics) the inaugural Hellenic Parliament Global Distinguished Professorship in the Theory and History of Democracy.

¹ See the Complete Bibliography of his published writings below, pp. xxxii–xxxvi. A handsome, densely documented and entirely fitting biographical memoir by his old (and now also sadly late) friend Martin Ostwald, which pays due attention both to the full range of his publications and to his many awards and honors, may profitably be read in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 151, 2007, 113–23, www.jstor.org/stable/i412603.

² When stuck for a title for the Festschrift that I was co-editing with David Harvey for Ste. Croix's 75th birthday, it was Mike who happily suggested either CRUX or CRUCES. The former got the nod: hence *CRUX: Essays in Greek History Presented to G.E.M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday* (published first as *History of Political Thought*, vol. 6, 1985, then as an independent hardback volume by Colin Haycraft of Duckworth, London).

merely of Classics but also of Humanistic Studies and (by courtesy, his vita punctiliously recorded) of History – as he remained until his formal retirement in 1990.

For more than half a century Mike was a “Classical catalyst” in a whole raft of positive, innovative, and liberating ways. He facilitated, promoted, or accelerated both individual and collective programs of broadly historical research into, and better understanding of, the ancient Greeks and their culture. In terms of personnel and thematic scope, he concerned himself with the entire ancient Greek “demographic,” from the humblest unfree agricultural worker at the bottom of the social heap or (literally) in the pits of the world down a lethal mineshaft, right up to the very apex of high culture on, for example, the Athenian Acropolis. His concern with the foundations as well as the pinnacles of ancient Greek culture was utterly typical of the man as well as the scholar. He deployed, moreover, the very different and very exacting skills of epigraphy, archaeology, and what could be called retrospective ethnography with no less accomplished ease and authority than he practiced the more traditional and standard kinds of written, narrative source-based history and historiography.

Above all, Mike’s “field” of ancient Greek history was as much a literal geographical space as it was a metaphorical intellectual construct. In the Southern Argolid, especially, but not only there, he achieved what very few historians of the ancient world can legitimately claim even to have attempted – that is, made unambiguously positive contributions to new knowledge and fresh understanding by the discovery or rediscovery and scholarly publication of primary sources. The so-called “Themistocles Decree” from Troizen is doubtless the most famous of these, but, to compare small with great, an issue of the *SEG* in the mid-1990s carried an entry for a text from Epidaurus Limera in eastern Laconia that had been first published by Mike in 1953. Under the heading of “primary sources” fall, too, those mute and often humble artifacts that are the bread and butter of the intensive field-surveyor – picked up, or not picked up, but in either case properly recorded in a scientific sort of way. Again, the Southern Argolid project can stand for many.

This extraordinary achievement has undoubtedly required an exceptional, almost Herculean level of physical as well as intellectual fitness. It poses, also, a major problem of selection for anyone trying to give anything like a representative account of such a prodigiously varied and fertile *oeuvre*. Reluctantly, I have made just four choices, or choices under four headings: two techniques (epigraphy and intensive field-survey

archaeology), and two subjects or themes (religion and agriculture). All four may, and often did, coincide or overlap, as for example in Mike's contribution to the VIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (held at Athens in 1982).³ The distinction between them is therefore significantly artificial.

Epigraphy

It is, I am assured, just a rumor that Mike mastered epigraphic technique so as to be able to decipher his own handwriting. What his mastery certainly enabled him to do, from as early as his first publications at the start of the 1950s (when he was in his early twenties and at the University of Missouri), was both to publish *editiones principes* of hitherto neglected or unknown texts and to shed new light on already published documents by applying to them a formidable battery of learning and expertise.

For purposes of illustration, I cite again just the so-called "Themistocles Decree" from Troizen, which Mike published first in *Hesperia* for 1960 and then again with revisions two years later, also in *Hesperia*. If this new text did indeed, as he put it, shed "the clearest new light on the Persian Wars" (and much else besides), that was due not only – as Mike modestly claimed – to its intrinsic informational content, but also and above all to his own Renaissance-Man combination of an encyclopedic knowledge of the relevant ancient and modern literature, a truly Herodotean spirit of *historia*, an almost Teutonic aptitude for *Quellenforschung* and *Quellenkritik*, and – not least – an Anglo-American philological and epigraphic finesse. It was, moreover, utterly typical of Mike that he did not seek to hide this new light under the bushel of a specialist academic journal. Perhaps dimly recalling his schooldays in London (at the same school as was later attended by Oxford master-epigraphist David Lewis), he promptly published in 1961 a more popular version of his findings, suitable for undergraduate tyros like me, in the British journal *Greece & Rome*; and he did so under the brilliantly apt, Cavafy-esque title, "Waiting for the Barbarian."⁴

³ M. H. Jameson, "Agriculture and Greek Inscriptions: Rhamnous and Amorgos," *Acta of the VIIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, vol. 2, Athens 1987, 290–2.

⁴ M. H. Jameson, "A Decree of Themistokles from Troizen," *Hesperia* 29, 1960, 198–223, "A Revised Text of the Decree of Themistokles from Troizen," *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 310–15, and "Waiting for the Barbarian: New Light on the Persian Wars," *Greece & Rome* (2nd ser.) 8, 1961, 5–18.

Religion

I shall be very sparing of reference to his religion studies, to avoid otiose duplication of the excellent commentaries below. But I should like to begin with a selection of quotations from those four expert commentators, to convey some idea of the extreme originality and fertility of Mike's thought, experimental practice and many publications in this cardinal sphere of his scholarship in particular.

GRAF: "Michael Jameson the historian of religion was first and foremost Michael Jameson the epigrapher." "Michael Jameson, in his quiet way, was at the forefront of his generation's methodological stance on Greek religion" – right up there, that is, with J.-P. Vernant (1915–2007) and Walter Burkert (1931–). "*His essays remain models* – for epigraphers in how to think about Greek religion, and for historians of Greek religion in how to use the documents of epigraphy" (my emphasis).

FARAONE: "Michael Jameson was . . . a generalist who mastered a number of different and difficult methodologies and was interested in every aspect of Greek antiquity." "[A]nother important and practical habit of Jameson's research . . . led him to a long-standing relationship with a butcher in San Jose, who . . . supplied him with various animal innards and bones for his 'sacrificial research' on a small grill in his yard in Palo Alto."

PARKER: "[O]ne should not suppose . . . that Michael Jameson was ever capable of discussing religion in isolation from society." "Despite its surface limpidity, his writing is stuffed with thought," Jameson being a "thinker who followed his own paths."

BREMMER: "Jameson's continual freshness of thinking." "Jameson was very much an epigraphist." "Jameson's most important contributions to Greek religion, undoubtedly, are in the field of sacrifice and the nature of Greek religion." "Once again it is the context that counts for Jameson, not the grand theories." "[T]he openness regarding the problem of change and/or continuity of Greek religion we just noted is also characteristic of Jameson's work as a whole and *should serve as a model for all students of Greek religion*" (my emphasis).

Throughout Mike's career there ran like a thin red streak a manifest pre-occupation with the highways and byways of ancient, mostly pre-Christian Greek religion; and, latterly, with space, both domestic and urban. The "Themistocles Decree" inscription was originally set up, like so many ancient Greek public documents of seemingly secular content and import, within an urban religious space. His personal biography – being the product of a mixed marriage, and of an early upbringing among oriental pagans – perhaps accounts in considerable part for this concentration of interest.

It certainly helps to explain the conceptual and methodological approach he always consistently applied to the study of ancient Greek religion: a form of retrospective comparative ethnography. We recall that anthropology was one of his minor subjects in the AB he won at the tender age of 17 in Robert Redfield's University of Chicago, and that his doctoral thesis of 1949, also Chicagoan, was entitled "The Offering at Meals: Its Place in Greek Sacrifice." Nor was it irrelevant that in 1953–4 he studied at E. E. Evans-Pritchard's Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford, publishing in 1954 a brief report on the contemporary inheritance system of the Dodecanesian island of Carpathos "in its sociological and historical context" (of course).

How far biography explained his interest in Dionysus is harder to say, though in his essay on that god's paradoxical "asexuality" reprinted below,⁵ he does point out that Dionysus together with Aphrodite represent "two of the great joys in life." This article, unusually I think, so far as his printed words were concerned, is marvelously (laugh-out-loud) funny as well as – *comme d'habitude* – wondrously erudite. Here we find the normally sobersided Michael Hamilton Jameson (good Scotch names those last two) explicitly "putting the phallus in its place," and uttering, deadpan, remarks of mindbogglingly earthshattering import, such as, "A cigar may sometimes be only a cigar, as Freud warned, but a phallus, I submit, is always a phallus." His further, entirely serious suggestion that the Athenian vase painters' iconography of a tree trunk draped in Dionysus' feminine dress and surmounted by a mask might be meant for a phallic representation of the god was perceptively hailed by one reviewer of the book in which the article originally appeared as "the book's most provocative statement."

Agriculture and slavery

To come back down to earth, I deal penultimately with Mike's own brand of "History from Below." His overriding concern with the normal, the characteristic, the everyday, even the humdrum often led him to seek answers to historical problems in – and from – the soil. His very first published article (1951) was devoted to the hero Echetaeus, who took his name from a key element of the traditional Mediterranean scratch-plow, its handle.⁶ With

⁵ M. H. Jameson, "The Asexuality of Dionysus," in T. Carpenter and C. Faraone, eds., *Masks of Dionysus*, New York 1993, 44–64 (chapter 4, this volume, pp. 62–80).

⁶ M. H. Jameson, "The Hero Echetaeus," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Association* 82, 1951, 49–61 (chapter 1, this volume, pp. 9–21).

this inaugural publication Mike, so to say, staked out his scholarly terrain. Given the enormous amount he wrote on ancient Greek agriculture, from so many points of view, it is invidious as well as probably biased to pick out, as I have, just two of the major contributions he made to understanding it “from the point of view of labour” (in W. E. Heitland’s phrase),⁷ or, as he himself did not shrink from putting it, from the point of view of class. Separated by twenty-five years, “Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens” and “On Paul Cartledge, ‘The political economy of Greek slavery’” offer arguably still the best introduction to one of the key questions in all ancient Greek history.⁸ They are both models of proper method when dealing with the most recalcitrant of sources for ancient social and economic history, and also elegant and (to me, largely) persuasive expositions of a vital hypothesis: that the use of slave labor in intensive peasant agriculture could have been critical to the effective functioning of the world’s first direct, participatory democracy, the self-government of the (mainly poor) People by the People for the People. “Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens,” in other words, represents at the same time “Democracy 2500,” a foundation stone of our western heritage (to which I return at the close).

Intensive field survey

Mike’s concern with, and for, the little people “without history” (E. R. Wolf’s telling phrase) was also rampantly evident in this final field of his endeavors. Since the 1970s, along with Anthony Snodgrass of Cambridge, Mike was one of the two foremost proponents within Classical Greek archaeology of intensive, collaborative field survey, or “archaeology without digging” as I’ve seen it labeled. He was of course also involved in more conventional styles of archaeology, for example excavations at the Franchthi Cave and at Eel Harbor (Porto Cheli, ancient Halieis), both in the Argolid. But even here he pushed the boat out, technologically speaking. I can’t resist quoting from one of his Halieis reports: “The camera was balanced for true vertical alignment by a very sensitive specially designed gimbal. Shutter release was by short wave radio transmitter on the ground to a radio receiver at the

⁷ W. E. Heitland, *Agricola: A Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the Point of View of Labour*, Cambridge 1921.

⁸ M. H. Jameson, “Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens,” *CJ* 73, 1977–8, 122–45, and “On Paul Cartledge, ‘The Political Economy of Greek Slavery,’” in P. Cartledge, E. E. Cohen, and L. Foxhall, eds., *Money, Labour and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece*, London 2002, 167–74.

camera. Control of position and orientation of camera, whether suspended from balloon or airfoil, is effected by one or two lines supplementing a tether line.” Almost a DIY manual of aerial photography there . . . and, he continues, “the 1968 season brought further advances.” Moreover, “Refinements . . . are scheduled for future seasons,” which turned out to include a flotation tank equipped with a propeller to circulate fresh water, and a new type of waterproof paper.⁹

However, it is Mike’s advocacy of field survey in general, and his exemplary practice of same in the Southern Argolid in particular, that specially merit our pausing. A tome of 654 (big) pages rather deceptively entitled *A Greek Countryside* (1994, 1995) still constitutes the gold standard for publication of this kind of inevitably collaborative project.¹⁰ Yet even the expansive subtitle, *The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*, doesn’t fully prepare the reader for the extent and nature of the required collaboration. Two names besides Mike’s appear in the co-author credits (the oceanographer Tjeerd van Andel and the prehistoric archaeologist Curtis Runnels), and the ancient historian Mark Munn together with Runnels are listed on the title page as responsible for the (huge) Register of Sites. But the inspiration, going back some forty years (to 1950, in the dark aftermath of the Greek Civil War), was always Mike’s, and, as van Andel and Runnels themselves stated in their own book of 1987,¹¹ “Without Mike Jameson, co-director of the project, it would never even have begun; his insight has been evident and pervasive throughout the study, as it will continue to be in all of its publications” – of which no fewer than five in all were originally envisaged.

Briefly, *A Greek Countryside* sets out the results of over forty years of both extensive and (especially) intensive field-survey and post-survey study of an area of the Argolid region in the northeast Peloponnese. The study area comprised some 200 sq. km. in all, and was found to contain well over 300 sites, under human occupation in some shape or form for about 50,000 years all told. No one except Mike, probably, has read or will read, or could or should be expected to, every one of the almost 1,000 items listed in the Bibliography. There, cheek-by-jowl, you will find a work on the structure of Homeric catalogues and another on “systematics and the precise measurement of time over the past 500,000 years.” It would be a shame, though, indeed shameful, if historians of Classical Greece were to be

⁹ M. H. Jameson, “Excavations at Porto Cheli and Vicinity, A Preliminary Report, I: Halieis, 1962–68,” *Hesperia* 38, 1969, 311–42.

¹⁰ M. H. Jameson, *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*, with Tj. van Andel and C. N. Runnels, Palo Alto, CA 1994.

¹¹ Tj. van Andel and C. N. Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis: A Rural Greek Past*, Palo Alto, CA 1987.

discouraged and disconcerted by “a history largely without names and even without historical events,” or were to content themselves with reading only the two “History” chapters, together perhaps with the technical epigraphical and historical appendixes. For then they would be passing up the multifarious – and no doubt multivariate – delights of topography, sedimentology, petrology, oceanography, palaeobotany, ethnography, and other ancillary scientific disciplines now routinely considered part and parcel of any such enterprise, that are served up, too, as appetizingly as they can possibly be.

All the science in the world, however, was not enough for Mike. Among his most cherished informational resources was that lowest of low-tech phenomena, human beings. In seeking out local inhabitants, participant observers, to act as his privileged informants, he demonstrated what was by no means the least important or admirable feature of his methodological approach: namely his constant willingness, indeed eagerness, to make the most extensive use of Greek local knowledge, and, wherever possible, to see things (as distinguished anthropologist Clifford Geertz had it) “from the native’s point of view.”

The last words should be Mike’s, so I end with three quotations. First, a paraphrase of his tribute to one of his own chief mentors and most distinguished fellow-laborers in the vineyard of Greek topographical studies, Eugene Vanderpool, doyen of Attica studies. Like Vanderpool, Mike too “has shared his knowledge and love of the [Argolic] countryside with all who have wished to learn,” and “his tenure of the [Argive] land is *eis ton hapanta khronon*.”¹²

Second, a long and explicitly autobiographical quotation from Mike’s published response to, and in, *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, a collective volume edited by Ian Morris and published in 1994 in the Cambridge University Press’s *New Directions in Archaeology* series:

[W]hy had I, at one time bilingual and with an abiding interest in non-Western cultures, on the road as I thought to a career in archaeology, become captured by Greece – its language, literature and history, in that order, not its archaeology until later? The sheer power of Archaic and Classical literature and art and the intellectual inventiveness of cultural life can be challenged by other remarkable periods . . . What is more difficult to match (and this is where my fascination becomes more personal) is the small scale and variety of the societies of Greece, the possibility of following the interplay of force and principle, of the public and the personal,

¹² M. H. Jameson, “The Leasing of Land in Rhamnous,” in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography presented to Eugene Vanderpool*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 19, 1982, 66.