Craft production in the early city state: some historical and material contexts

Fine accomplishment, and risk (with an aside on the skeuomorph)

Let me continue with the aryballos of Figure 1.1. It is an accomplished piece. Recognisably fine is the ceramic fabric, Korinthian in its smooth, consistent and regular colour and texture. Slips, applied by brush, were turned to contrasting dark by a clever, careful, and necessarily practised manipulation of kiln and firing environment (Noble *1988;* Winter *1978;* further references in Oleson *1986:* 300-15). Clay body and slip al so required very precise preparation. The techniques used to produce Korinthian pottery are those commonly employed to produce fine ware in Greece generally in the first millennium BC, from protogeometric pottery style to red figure and beyond. The potters of Korinth were staying with a wider and old tradition of fine ware manufacture.

The appearance is highly regulated; the workmanship is of the sort where achievement seems to correspond closely with the idea (of its design): lines are fine, precise and regularly spaced, and there appears to be control over shape and height too. There is a sense of 'prototype' or concept of' right shape' behind the easily recognisable aryballos (and other shapes too). This term has been used most usefully by Miller (1985a: 9, 44, 166-7; see also Boast 1990). It is based upon anthropological studies of categorisation (Mervis and Rosch, 1981; Rosch, 1976, 1978) and is related to the concepts type and token. The strong sense of prototype makes possible studies such as those of Neeft (1987) which concentrate on one pot shape. Emphasised is a clear and explicit sense of correctness as well as tradition (though the shape of the aryballos is new to Korinth in the seventh century). As with geometric Korinthian of the previous centuries, the pots of the late eighth century and after were decorated on a banding wheel (a turntable), and probably often with a multiple brush (Boardman 1960). All this affords a good degree of certainty that the desired result could be achieved: regulated linearity. Geometric is the product of a *workmanship of certainty* (Pye 1980: 4-5, 24 and *passim,* and on workmanship generally).

There is a change which comes at the end of the eighth century. The figured aryballos here was drawn upon free-hand and then the surface was scratched or incised. It displays immense control. But whereas the painter of geometric decoration (which continues to be produced alongside figurative, when it is known as sub-geometric or linear) must have been quite certain of achieving the desired appearance, the precision and regulated accomplishment of figured scenes such as

Figure 2.1 Geometric workmanship of certainty. A pyxis from Messavouno Cemetery, Thera, and typical later 'subgeometric' aryballoi.

these were achieved at *risk* of the painter's hand or brush slipping, and they depended largely on the painter's individual care, judgement and dexterity (as opposed to the traditional and shared technology of banding wheel and multiple brush). Pye (1980: 5) illustrates the contrast with the example of printing versus writing with pen.

I propose that such risk on the part of the potter is a significant reason for the development of figured Korinthian pottery. The figures are painted free-hand with silhouette and outlined features. A mistake in painting could be corrected perhaps - the oxide slip wiped off. But the incision through the applied slip into the body of the pot was a scar that could not easily be removed. Incision marks decision, finality, and risk of spoiling the work's regulated surface and decoration. It also heightens the appearance of regulation, with its ability to render very fine detail.

Whether the idea of incision came from metal working, as has often been mentioned (for example Cook 1972: 48), is irrelevant. Cook has added *[ibid.)* that an origin in metal working 'would account for the unnecessary incising of outlines in earlier black-figure work'. Such an observation supports my contention here that incision displays risk; and the more incision, the more risk.

Relationships between potting and metal working are central to an argument developed over a decade by Michael Vickers and then with David Gill (Vickers and Gill 1994) that Attic, and perhaps more generally archaic and classical Greek, ceramics were copies of metal vessels - skeuomorphs. Korinthian kotylai were often pared down to eggshell thickness - imitating metal plate? Applied to seventh-century Korinth, such arguments for the primacy of imitation of metal would undermine or exclude the interpretations I offer here. Let me now counter the view that skeuomorphism is an adequate explanation of archaic and classical Greek ceramic forms.

I first argue that one of the main features of all design is skeuomorphism. Far from being unusual, it is ubiquitous. Ideas are taken by designers and makers from all sorts of sources and applied or translated into another medium. It is of interest to note possible sources for design (metal forms, natural forms, anthropomorphic forms etc.), but it is of greater note, I suggest, to consider the reason why such borrowings are made. Here Vickers and Gill propose that Attic ceramics *emulated* precious metal vessels, that they were cheap substitutes for high status items.

The process of emulation is potentially a powerful social explanation, as so ably indicated by Miller for example (1982) as well as Vickers and Gill. But there still remains the question of why certain designs were used and not others, and for ceramics to be explained by reference to metal forms still leaves the question of interpreting and explaining the design of metal vessels themselves. Reference may be made to the inherent properties of a material (for example metal being suited to plate and riveting), but what of iconography, for example, and what when the medium is such a plastic one as clay (so amenable to many processes of forming and making)?

So the argument does not go far enough, even if Korinthian ceramics were *in* emulation of metal vessels and nothing more. There is still a need to encounter the imagery, the distribution and the use of *ceramics*. I would also argue that the concepts of skeuomorph and emulation do not take us far into understanding design, making and workmanship. The idea of incision may have come from metalworking, but the interesting question is in what circumstances did it *make sense* to incise clay. There are many ways to make a vessel look as if it were metal, and in this regard incising the surface is not very convincing.

Two master ceramicists, Yang Quinfang and Zhou Dingfang, from Yixing, China, made a rare visit to the west in 1995; I was lucky enough to witness their working practices (also Wain 1995a). The design of the teapots they make is some five centuries old. Traditional designs explicitly copy metal forms (Wain 1995b). One of the potters actually uses archaeological bronze age pieces as inspiration and is known for his teapots inlaid with silver.

Skeuomorphism is fully accepted: radically new designs copy leather, basket, wood and bamboo forms. In making a teapot techniques are used which superficially relate to metal working: beating clay and luting slabs. But it is *superficial* resemblance because they are *not* the same techniques. These master craftworkers spend long apprenticeships acquiring the skills necessary for working *clay*. Beating clay is not the same as beating metal; luting is not welding or soldering. The tools and associated skills are entirely different from metal working and have different traditions. Most notable is the considerable effort in the preparation of and constant attention to the raw material, the *zisha* clay. Metal as a source of a design idea, emulation as a social urge or force may help understanding, but there is much more to the practical knowledges of clay-working, the *chaînes opératoires* (Lemonnier 1976; Pelegrin, Karlin, and Bodu 1988), the apprenticeships and learning, the workmanships, the raw materials, the aesthetic systems.

After this digression into design theory, let me return to Korinthian perfume jars. This aryballos appears in two-tone upon the pale ground; there are two dark slips. Such polychromy occurs infrequently, but regularly, with more elaborate designs; its use is a mark of Johansen's *style magnifique* Johansen 1923: 98f). Payne proposed its origin in 'free painting', that these designs were copies of wall-paintings (Payne 1931: 8, n. 1, 95 7; discussion by Amyx 1983: esp. 37-41); he relates this to the complex scenes depicted. But slip on slip was used for many plain linear aryballoi (for quick reference see Neeft 1987). I suggest instead that polychromy was another mark of technical mastery; adding a secondary colour of slip complicates an already difficult

process. I am not aware of any study which has investigated the technical difficulty, or otherwise, of producing colour upon colour, slip upon slip, in the black figure process (Farnsworth and Simmons (1963) do not deal with the issue). But it is something else which risks spoiling the vase (pers. comm., Michael Casson).

Korinthian potters opened space in the Geometric linear field for figured designs, such as on this aryballos, which are intricate and complex. But a great increase in time and labour expenditure is perhaps not involved; the key factor would seem to be risk. Estimates of labour investment are difficult to make. Studio potter Michael Casson (Ross-on-Wye) reckons a contemporary craft potter could throw perhaps 200 aryballoi in a day. His experience and recollection of the hand throwers in the Stoke factories of the 1940s and afterwards lead him to think that they could throw far more. Much of the decoration, like the pot shapes, is repetitive. The areas of freehand and incised figured work are set off in linear friezes by border lines and areas of repeat geometric and floral devices. These all require much less skill, dexterity and risk, and could be undertaken by someone of less experience than the frieze painter, an apprentice perhaps. The less precise and regulated handles of many aryballoi, and their application to a more accomplished thrown body also indicates a subdivision of production into throwing by someone of more skill, and the application of handles by someone of less skill. Painters who have acquired the skills necessary for figured painting in miniature are needed, as are new fine brushes (Casson considers this the decisive factor), but the designs within the small linear bands opened on the pots, with their predominantly 'confident' line (few breaks, hesitation, signs of holding back), were probably quick to produce. Many indeed are 'hasty' and 'free'. The workmanship of risked hand and brush is new, but occurs within a frame (literally) of dependable technological and technical practice and knowledge.

This is mainly a miniature style: most figured friezes are only a few millimetres in height, most aryballoi less than eighty millimetres. Held in the palm of the hand, or between finger and thumb, the designs upon this aryballos are at the threshold of visibility. The figured scenes particularly invite scrutiny and recognition of the accomplishment of precision and regulation, and so by contrast the new mode of painting. This, I propose, is the significance of miniaturism. It defines a personal space within primary reach (of the human arm), close-up.

A sample of 2,000 Korinthian pots

I will be making reference to a sample of nearly 2,000 well-published and complete pots conventionally classed as protokorinthian. This sample comprises all complete pots known to me (1,951 items as of 1991) with figured decoration, and those which have geometric or linear decoration (conventionally termed 'sub-geometric' proto-korinthian) from the main sites of discovery. The sample is drawn in part from the lists of Amyx (1988), Benson (1953 and 1989), Dunbabin and Robertson (1953), Johansen (1923), Neeft (1987 and 1991), Payne (1931 and 1933). Beginning with a decision to include no fragmentary material, each reference to a complete vessel was followed to trace an illustration and description. Also consulted were all the main excavation reports, museum collections reported in *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum,* and

minor studies, for stray figured pots and for complete linear or sub-geometric vessels, although aryballoi are covered adequately by Neeft (1987).

Differential publication means that the sample is probably somewhat biased towards figured wares and aryballoi (percentages of different types of pots are therefore meaningless), but I attempted to include as full a range as possible of design types in the sample. Given the art historical significance, there is good reason to believe that figured protokorinthian will elicit publication, and that a heavy reliance on published material will not be inappropriate. First hand encounter with many protokorinthian pots is impractical for all but a very few scholars, given their dispersion around the art museums of the world- a factor of perceived art historical value. Nevertheless, the sample, descriptions and illustrations of many pots were checked in visits to the major collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the British Museum, London, the National Museum, Athens, Korinth, the Museo Nationale Paolo D'Orsi, Syracuse, the Museo Nationale, Naples, and the Louvre, Paris. So attempts were made to ensure that the sample was as 'representative' as possible, though, as is usually the case with archaeological sources, the sample is in no way a random representation of some 'real' population. The sample is the result of an encounter with a discourse and its constitution of an object - protokorinthian.

Nothing is assumed about the meaning of this designation 'protokorinthian', only that such pots were probably made in Korinth. An argument will be presented later for the abandonment of the term.

Fine-grained classification is not necessary for the sorts of interpretation presented here. Accordingly, and to avoid controversy, a coarse relative chronology was adopted - earlier and later. Some further justification of this chronology is, however, offered here.

The sample begins with the emergence of protokorinthian style (Neeft 1987: 17-19). This includes the appearance of aryballoi. There are stylistic changes to other pot shapes (see, for example, Coldstream 1968: Chapter *3;* Neeft 1975, on the *kotyle).* I have not included pots classed as transitional (to ripe Korinthian) on pragmatic grounds, that publication is not as detailed or complete. Nor have I included the aryballoi with pointed base, scale decoration and the like, dated later by Payne (1931, catalogue nos. 478,478A, 479,479A, 802A, 643-5), in spite of Neeft's comments (Neeft 1987: 275 and Chapter 5). On the other hand, unwilling to accept a fine-grained relative chronology based on stylistic criteria but mindful also of the ambiguities of classification, I have allowed some geometric and transitional pots (as conventionally classified) to slip into the sample.

I found difficulty in accepting the conventional chronological divisions - early, middle 1 and 2, late-into which protokorinthian is normally split. Relative chronology is, of course, based on the observed strati graphic sequence of shape and decoration. But the number of good stratigraphic contexts containing a lot of varied protokorinthian is surprisingly small. The big Italian cemeteries, including Pithekoussai, are of only limited use, offering some synchronic groupings and correlations (see Neeft's review: 1987: esp. 301f). The stratigraphies of the sanctuaries Aetos on Ithaka (Benton 1953: 255-60; Heurtley 1948) and Perachora (Payne 1940) were mixed and

only offer coarse chronological conclusions, the case with most sanctuaries. Even the so-called Potters' Quarter at Korinth (Stillwell 1948) was not particularly **well** excavated (Williams 1982:15-18) and cannot be trusted (Charles K. Williams, pers, comm.); it is also lacking in figured vessels. Hence most of the relative chronological sequence has come to depend on stylistic and typological interpretation of distinctive figured pots. This is open to the charge of circularity (recognised as a general problem by Neeft (1987:301)).Stylistictypological analysis also often makes an assumption of linear development. Morris (1987: 17, 163f) has heavily, and I believe rightly, criticised some assumptions behind style and early Hellenic chronology on the grounds that they do not consider social aspects of use (particularly emulation - inter-class rivalry). Even accepting a sequence to figured decoration, most of the linear sub-geometric pots are very difficult to place with any accuracy. This is not to deny that there are recognisable changes in the design of these pots with time, but diagnostic features are so often few or lacking (Neeft 1987: 315).

Consider Neeft's major study of sub-geometric aryballoi (1987) and his assessment of chronology, a defining aim of his book. He assumes that a uniform linear develop-ment is natural, and that exceptions are 'deviations' *(ibid.:* 260). There are however stratigraphical co-occurrences of typologically more and less developed aryballoi - conical and globular *(ibid.;* 305f; Johansen 1923: 17). And he summarises, 'dating within the ovoid period on stylistic grounds (that is, on a supposed development of decoration) is generally impossible because there is no single, rectilinear development for the period as a whole' (Neeft 1987: 315). I take this apparent methodological contradiction to mean that a general temporal trend of shape is discernible (Johansen's globular to ovoid), but then chronological supposition becomes difficult. But this seems to presume an independence of shape and decoration: Johansen's sequence of *shape* is accepted as a starting point, while *decoration* of ovoid aryballoi does not conform with it. As indicated, the evidence of grave groups is not at all conclusive. Given this, these inconsistencies, the difficulty of assessing a presentation which makes no use of quantified or statistical description, and a conception of style in accordance with those I have criticised above (descriptive attribute and independent force), I am unwilling to accept any of Neeft's fine-grained chronology.

It is for these difficulties also then that a minimalist distinction has been adopted between *earlier* and *later.* This is *approximately* equivalent to conventional early and middle 1, followed by middle 2 and late: globular and conical aryballoi succeeded by ovoid and pointed or piriform. I still consider there to be a great deal of overlap.

It seems reasonable to accept the approximate association of the foundation of some early Greek colonies in Italy and the style protokorinthian. Hence, following standard absolute chronologies, the pots were made between approximately 720 and 640 BC or later (Amyx 1988 II: Chapter 3; Neeft 1987: 363f). Again, though, a precise absolute chronology is not crucial to my argument.

The aryballos in a workshop
An area out by the west wall of the old city of Korinth was excavated in the 1940s. From the quantity of broken pottery it was thought to be the pottery production area

of Korinth, and has been named the Kerameikos or Potters' Quarter, on analogy with Athens (Stillwell 1948). One of the earlier main buildings, from towards the end of the seventh century, the South Long Building, was interpreted by Stillwell (1948: 15) as a stoa, a row of shops or booths in which pottery was sold. Roebuck too (1972: 121-2) has this building as part of a potters' agora away from the main agora of the early city. There are no remains of kilns; Stillwell claimed they would be temporary structures (1948:17). Presumed water channels were found dating from the production of late Geometric pottery; one later is more elaborate, replacing those which are earlier and less regular *(ibid.:* 11-12). There is nothing to connect these channels with pottery production, but for Salmon

> There can be little doubt that they were connected with it . . . [they] are too large in scale to have been built to serve a single establishment. The numerous early channels were perhaps the result of competitive enterprise by individual workshops; but by the *mid* seventh century they combined to provide themselves with a common superior service.
> (Salmon 1984:96).

He considers the Potters' Quarter an economic foundation and a

> direct result of the rapidly increasing popularity of Korinthian ware . . . the development of the quarter was a conscious attempt by an enterprising potter - either accompanied or soon followed by others - to exploit an expanding market by producing large quantities of fine wares with simple geometric decoration.
> *(ibid.;* 97).

However Williams doubts (1982: 17-18) that this South Long Building was a single unit, as claimed by Stillwell (1948: 15, followed by Salmon 1984: 101-2). For Williams, this and the later North Long Building are better interpreted as part of 'city blocks' of housing. He interprets the Potters' Quarter as a relatively self-contained and well-populated residential area with its own cult-sites and cemeteries, in an early 'city' which appeared not centralised, but as a collection of villages, like the area of Archaia Korinthos today (Williams 1981: 412f, 1982: 18). Roebuck too (1972) envisages a village-based early city.

The site of the 'Potters' Quarter' seems to be a compromise between the demands for raw materials and access to farmland (in this 'city' of farmer villages) (Arafat and Morgan 1989: 315). Whitbread (1986: 391-2) has doubted the viability for pottery manufacture of clay in the gorge next to the Potters' Quarter *(contra* Stillwell 1948: 3). He contends (Whitbread 1986, Chapter 6.6 and 6.7) that suitable sources are in the area of the Anaploga well *(ibid.:* 383—4) and further north near the later tile works, with the best clays being associated with lignite deposits *(ibid.:* 392-3,398-9). I would however argue that the identification of clay sources is very difficult, those at Korinth have not been identified with certainty, and no sharp association with manufacture can be surmised. My experience of studio ceramics at Cardiff and

Carmarthen Colleges of Arc in Wales indicates that raw material is a very flexible concept. It frequently depends not upon the character of a clay deposit, but on the willingness to invest labour and energy in the preparation of a clay body of desired characteristics. Consider this in the context of the variable and, for potting, difficult characteristics of Korinthian clay deposits (Farnsworth, Perlman, and Asaro 1977: 459-61; Farnsworth 1970). Whitbread does suggest clay processing based upon several types of clay (1986: 375-6), It is enough to say that there are sufficient supplies of clay at hand in the area of Korinth, that transportation of clay from distant sources was unnecessary (Arafat and Morgan 1989: 315), but the careful processing of raw material was essential.

The deposits of the so-called Potters' Quarter produced only a fraction of the range of known Korinthian wares (Benson 1984; Stillwell and Benson 1984). There was a dump of workshop debris from the seventh century BC in the Anaploga Well, to the south of the Potters' Quarter towards Akrokorinthos (Amyx and Lawrence 1975). Note might also be made of the discards from a later potter's workshop found at Vrysoula (Pemberton 1970: esp. 269). There is the later tile works too, to the north of the city (discussed by Salmon 1984: 122). It seems likely that there were several or more places where pots were made in the archaic city (see Jones 1986: 175-89 for a general summary of traces of pottery production). The range of wares produced in the Potters' Quarter, from fine clay fabrics to terracotta figurines and tiles, indicates that a variety of skills were to be found there. On the other hand, the absence of some classes of wares (particularly figured: Stillwell and Benson 1984: 10-11; see also Amyx and Lawrence 1975: 6-11), and the lack of any candidates for a production site of earlier (late geometric) Thapsos ware (references see pp. 65-6) indicates that different types of pot may indeed have had their specialists.

Estimates of the scale of production of ancient ceramics, based upon what has been found of the output, are notoriously difficult to make. The most reliable attempt remains that of Cook (1959). He estimated the rate of survival of Attic Panathenaic amphorae, a pottery form produced in fixed and known numbers for prizes in the games, as one quarter of 1 per cent *(ibid,;* 120). Cook's figure of total Panatheaic amphorae upon which he based his fraction of those remaining has been raised by Johnston (1987), but not enough to cause a significant alteration. Cook accordingly suggested 500 workers were involved in the whole Attic pottery industry of the fifth century, and half that in Korinth at its height of production.

Salmon (1984: 102-3) stresses that the Potters' Quarter specialised in mass production. He also cites the apparently extraordinary numbers of Korinthian vases (most later than the period of my study) found in the Greek colony of Megara Hyblaia - perhaps 30-40,000 complete vases found in the period to 575 BC (Vallet and Villard 1964), these of course representing only a fraction, and perhaps less than 1/500. I might also add here the high relative numbers recovered so far from Pithekoussai, yet only a fraction (1,300 graves, constituting no more than 10 per cent) of the ancient cemetery has been explored (Ridgway 1992b: 46). Although the number of sites in the western Mediterranean with Korinthian imports is considerable

Figure 2.2 The so-called Potters' Quarter, old Korinth; the cutting for perhaps an angle tower in an archaic defensive wall is in the foreground; Akrokorinthos in the background.

(Fig. 4.1), Salmon concludes that 'pottery production was an almost insignificant sector of the Korinthian economy even though many Greeks used the ware' (Salmon 1984: 101); he is here largely following Cook's figures for people involved in the industry. Snodgrass (1980a: 127f) also notes the quantities of ancient Greek ceramics recovered, and again plays down the importance of fine ware production, arguing that the archaic economy was dominated by only a few activities: agriculture, warfare and religion *(ibid.:* 129-31).

Stylistic attribution of individual pots and fragments to artistic hands, with its associated style histories, assumes a workshop structure of masters and apprentices, necessary for the learning and transmission of skills and styles. The logic of this position has been criticised elsewhere (Shanks 1996a; see also Whitley 1997). Differences in painting and style can indeed be identified, but this is a pragmatic pursuit, one interested in discovering artistic ego and personality. Arafat and Morgan (1989: 323) have criticised assumptions made of specialisation in the production of Korinthian pottery: 'mass production is commonly identified on the basis of quality of output, and fine work is automatically equated with small workshops and mass production with "industrial areas" (Benson 1985)'. They relate this model to what may be termed *metanarratives* of the discipline - overarching conceptions (in narrative form) of the character of ancient Greek society and history (Shanks 1996a, for full definition and discussion). One metanarrative of classical art history requires individual hands and workshops producing art-works; the extensive distribution of Korinthian ceramics and associated ancient histories of Korinth as a trading power, with the supposed economic role of colonies, has led to market determinism and the terminologies of mass production and industry. This is particularly evident in Salmon's recent account (1984) of Korinthian pottery and its export. As indicated already, he has the Potters' Quarter as a foundation of an enterprising entrepreneur exploiting an expanding market. He also repeats the old story of the decline of Korinthian pottery: mass production led to a decline in quality, consumers recognised its complacent poorer quality, superior Attic wares were taken instead *(ibid,f* especially page 111f)- Consider here also Coldstream's remark that 'the success of Korinthian commerce must owe something to the high artistic and technical qualities of Korinthian artifacts' (Coldstream 1977: 167). Market forces are often taken to account for everything, as, for example; according to the old economic model of Blakeway (1932—3; see also the standard accounts of Boardman 1980; 16f and *passim;* Dunbabin 1948: Chapters 8 and 9). I concur with Arafat and Morgan (1989; 323) when they criticise this imprecise and unreflective use of economic terms. I will return to general models of the ancient economy.

Arafat and Morgan (1989) have suggested another and more social approach to the question of the organisation of the production of Attic and Korinthian pottery. They distinguish four archaeologically visible factors which affect the level of personal investment in pottery production:

  clay sources and their location;
  the acquisition, practice and transmission of potting and painting skills;

necessary workshop equipment;
the spatial organisation of production.

Korinthian clay sources would have been quite close at hand, and those who produced pots could have quite practically extracted and prepared day themselves. Fine figured decoration required, of course, considerable investment in the acquisition *of necessary skills.* The skills required for throwing in miniature are also quite considerable (Michael Casson pers. comm.). Arafat and Morgan remark that 'it is not surprising to find a number of cases of family involvement, especially in view of Plato's reference to potters teaching their sons *{Republic* 421)' (Arafat and Morgan 1989: 327); they suggest extended families as the basis of workshops. I would also stress here the experience necessary for regulating the black figure firing process, with its alternation of reduction and oxidising atmospheres at critical temperature points. Miniaturism, as I have written, makes skills more critical in producing accomplished pieces. Equipment, Arafat and Morgan claim, would not be an expensive outlay. But I consider that quality of wheel and brushes in particular would be crucial for miniature figured pieces, but not so much in terms of cost as *design.* Regarding the spatial organisation of pottery production, Arafat and Morgan contrast the scatter of facilities at Korinth with the concentrations in the city centre of Athens, perhaps representing a 'distinction between the household and the household cluster or village as the unit investing in such facilities' (Arafat and Morgan 1989: 328), *oikos* as contrasted with 'suburb'.

The demands of the agricultural cycle in Greece *and* slack periods in the spring and dry summer would suit a seasonal production of pottery; wet winter weather would make clay extraction more difficult, clay drying, and outdoor firing less predictable and controlled (Arafat and Morgan 1989: 328; citing Arnold 1985: Chapter 3). There is a related issue of whether demand for pottery would stand the permanent removal of a small but significant proportion of the population from agricultural production. Religious festivals, when there would be an increased demand for ceramic dedications, also came at gaps in the agricultural cycle (Morgan 1990: Chapter 2, referring to Arnold 1985: Chapter 6, p. 161, Fig. 6.6). Korinthian was exported widely; trading ventures may be considered most likely in the summer sailing season, again fitting with a seasonal production of pottery.

What are we looking at in this production of pottery in the early polis of Korinth? Two centuries of connoisseurship have paid great attention to fine figured wares, but what is the relationship of this interest to the significance of ceramic production in the seventh century BC? Snodgrass points out (1980a: 127) that the sample of recovered archaic Greek ceramics may be a reasonable one, equivalent to 70,000 voters in an opinion poll in modern Britain. It is feasible to estimate basic parameters of the original industry, and here I wish to consider further the relative scale and importance of the production of figured pots.

The sample upon which my study is based consists of 1,951 complete pots derived from the main publications. Many linear or plain pots do not receive full publication, and so could not be included; the numbers and proportions of these are not reliable

for estimating the division of pottery manufacture. Complete pots (and indeed fragments) bearing painted friezes of varied figures, particularly incised, do elicit notice and publication; they are significant to art history, are collected and achieve good prices in the art market, they are chronological indices, signify trading links, and may have iconographic significance. They are heavily invested with meaning for conventional antiquarian and disciplinary interests. So the number which remain outside my sample is likely to be relatively small. Of 804 earlier pots, seventy-five bear figured decoration in a frieze or friezes (accounting for more than 25 per cent of the surface). There are 122 figured, out of 1,147, later pots; I have not counted simpler friezes containing only silhouette animals such as dogs (there are many of these). So, in total there are 197 figured pots, about one tenth of the sample.

My sample does not include fragmentary material. The works of connoisseurship and stylistic attribution do. Dunbabin and Robertson (1953), Amyx (1988) and Benson (1989) found it possible to attribute 241, 296, and 294 pieces respectively to protokorinthian hands or workshops. Even allowing for fragmentary material unattributed to hands or workshops, relatively few figured pots are known, probably under 500.

Cook's proportion of pots surviving is probably somewhat high as the Panathenaic amphorae were prizes, special and valued. So if the number for seventh-century Korinthian is scaled up by 1,000 (instead of Cook's 500), there were 6,250 figured pots produced a year. To shelve this average annual production would require about 320 metres of shelf, enough to cover the walls of a large workshop.

Estimates of labour investment are difficult, but I suggest instructive. I have already discussed workmanship and held that there was no major increase in labour investment over the previous geometric canon of linear decoration. Figured work was painted in a context of repetitive design (linear, floral, geometric; consider again Figures 1.1 and 3.1, in comparison with Figure 2.1). Figured pots would be quick to produce given a division of labour into skilled throwers and figure painters, less skilled finishers {handles definitely, perhaps necks), and painters of lines and simple decorative devices. There was a dependable technological framework, centuries old, of clay and slip preparation, kiln building, regulation and *management*. These did require considerable experience to achieve successful results, but only very fine brushes would have had to be invented for miniature work. I repeat Casson's estimate that a skilled thrower could produce more than 200 aryballoi in a day. Cup forms are quicker by far: thrown accurately in less than thirty seconds by factory piece-workers, specialised throwers in the 1940s; kotylai could be separately turned down to their egg-shell or 'metal-plate' thinness in a few moments more.

So the production of figured and sub-geometric wares can be divided into the following grades of task.

Low skill: clay extraction, clay preparation (according to formulae), weighing of
   clay for throwers (crucial), water supply, pot handling, kiln building, kiln
   stoking.
Medium skill: slip preparation, throwing simple forms, turning and surface finish-

ing, handle and neck attachment, equipment maintenance (wheels and brushes), simple turntable and repeat decoration.
High skill: throwing closed forms, miniature figure painting, kiln management.

This range would certainly suit household-based production and associated apprenticeship, particularly since the skills are mostly traditional (by the seventh century BC), specialised, but well-tried. Arafat and Morgan (1989: 317) conclude their discussion of the organisation of Attic workshops with a unit-size estimate of six members of an extended family. A workshop of six to eight people could easily turn out several hundred fine Korinthian aryballoi (mixed figured and sub-geometric) a week. The conclusion is unavoidable that the production of figured pots needed only a few workshops. The character of the fine ware meant that the workshops would have had a marked technological independence from the rest of society: traditional but specialised skills would require considerable investment of time to acquire and maintain. This would fit with production based upon a family or other kinship group. Transmission of knowledge would be from parents to offspring, as a peasant economy would have found a long permanent apprenticeship a costly use of labour; Gallant (1991) details the economic vulnerability of the Greek peasant economy. Black figure added a new but limited dimension with miniaturism and figure painting.

There is difficulty in gaining a reliable quantitative estimate of the remnant remaining of early archaic Korinthian pottery production, both figured *and Sub-geometric,* and therefore an estimate of total production is impossible. Many seventh-century Korinthian pots which do not carry figured decoration are of simple surface design, mostly linear. With or without the use of multiple brushes production would have been very rapid. Consider again the modern production rates of hand-throwers given above: a workshop could produce several thousand geometrically decorated cups in a twelve-week season. Salmon (1984: 97, 111) does write that protokorinthian was designed for large-scale production, and this notion is found generally in discussions especially of the development of Korinthian from smaller to larger quantities and from earlier tentative artistic experiment to later application of easy decorative formulae (for example Cook 1972: 50). But there is nothing at all to stop the manufacture of standard and repetitive designs by small household-based production units. I repeat the criticism made by Arafat and Morgan (1989: 323) about unreflective economic interpretation. The consensus, as reported for example by Salmon (1984), is that there is no need to envisage large-scale factories; a small-scale cottage industry could quite easily accommodate the production of both figured and sub-geometric styles. Full-time, year-round production again seems unnecessary.

In summary:

The notions of industrial districts in the early polis of Korinth and commercial mass production should be put to one side.
The new figured and incised wares required the specialised skills of only a few workshops. These need only have been small units, and they would have had a technological independence from the rest of society.
Producing figured designs was an interplay of tradition and innovation in terms of

technique (workmanships of certainty and risk), technology (new brushes), and design (the geometric and figuration, reintroduction and development of new pot forms such as aryballoi, this latter point elaborated below).

A new workmanship of risk was an experiment of only a few workshops.

Elaborate figured designs were never more than marginal to the bulk of production of Korinthian pottery.

Production need only have been on a seasonal basis, related to, or compatible with religious festivals and sailing season.

The character of production is compatible with the range of skills acquired in a small family-based workshop.

The workshops were spread round an early city of loosely connected farmer villages.

Different workshops probably had their own specialities.

Pots and figured subjects

An aryballos has led discussion to the organisation of ceramic workshops in archaic Korinth. To what extent is the aryballos in Figure 1.1 'typical'? What were they producing? This section will present some general characteristics of the wares produced in Korinth at the beginning of the seventh century BC.

Up to the last decades of the eighth century Korinthian potters had produced a range of wares characterised by geometric ornament with very little figured design. Within a generation new pot forms, as well as old, carried a much wider range of designs, including figures, representations of animals and people.

The vessel forms are dominated by the miniature form of the aryballos. Other shapes are listed here.

Closed vessel forms: perfume and oil jars, jugs and containers for liquids.
The aryballos, alabastron, lekythos, oinochoe, olpe, amphoriskos, hydriskos, spherical vase and ring vase.

Open shapes: bowls and the like for mixing wine and serving food and drink.
The krater, *dittos* or *lebes* and stand, plate and *kalathos*.

Cups: the different names relate to the handles and body shape.
The *skyphos, kotyle, kyathos* and *kantharos* (the latter two terms sometimes used interchangeably).

Lidded forms: squat and tall boxes.
The pyxis.

An indication of how common they are in the sample is given in Table 2.1 (the figures are for broad guidance and do not carry any statistical weight, as indicated above).

The pots were painted in slip with decoration arranged mostly in horizontal friezes. In the descriptions and interpretations that follow the frieze is taken as a basic organising unit of surface design. Some contain figures, others geometric ornament; others are composed of lines of different weight and sometimes colour. There are 1,676 friezes upon 804 earlier pots and 4,470 upon 1,147 later pots in the sample

Table 2.1. *Korinthian pot forms*

	earlier	later
aryballoi	674	975
other closed forms	52	59
open vessels	3	33
cups	43	42
lidded 'box' forms	32	38
total pots	804	1147
sum total	1951	

Table 2.2. *Types of frieze painted upon Korinthian pots*

	earlier	later	total
geometric friezes	1148	2145	3293
linear friezes/surfaces	329	397	726
figured friezes	199	199	2127
components of figured friezes			
people alone	2	9	
people and animals	21	49	
animals	151	987	
dogs	25	883	
total	199	199	

(totals: 6,146 friezes painted on 1,951 vessels). Table 2.2 shows the relative proportions of different kinds of frieze: most are geometric or floral in character, but the number containing animals and people rises markedly.

How is this range of ceramic and painted design to be understood? There is a clear sense of decorative order {regular design principles giving a sense of distinctive style). The vessel forms do form a complete range of table ware, but not in the proportions in which they occur in sanctuaries and cemeteries; ceramic production cannot easily and entirely be explained in functional terms of the provision of vessels for the table. Nevertheless many vessel forms are designed to accompany dining and drinking. Figured painting is dominated by bodily forms, animal and human; there are few other features other than floral and abstract ornament. Some scenes are of hunting and violence, races and contests, wild and undomesticated creatures and monsters. Some have been interpreted as illustrations of myth (consider immediately the aryballoi illustrated in this chapter). References to rural everyday life are almost entirely absent. Influence is clear of elite eastern iconography (the beasts and fights, rich floral forms, most obviously).

Table 2.3 records initial reactions to viewing the scenes painted in friezes upon the pots in the sample. War, banqueting, drinking, hunting, contest: these are conventional 'aristocratic' pursuits. It does not take much sensitivity to notice that archaic and classical Greek style, indeed culture, was dominated by what may be termed aristocratic interest. The supposition may be prompted that the pots are part of an

Table 2.3. *The subject matter of figured friezes: a record of initial reactions*

	earlier	later	totals
battle	4	12	16
violence or aggression	8	2	10
man or men and animals	6	6	12
hunt		12	12
animals fighting (usually lion attacking another animal)	7	6	13
lion attacking man	2	1	3
procession or race	2	7	9
beauty contest and judgement		1	1
parataxis or juxtaposition	36	15	51
figure scene of uncertain subject	6	3	9

aristocratic style, interest or ideology. More specifically it may be wondered if these pots served the symposion? Awareness of critiques of ceramic value (that fine wares were expensive items for social elites) may elicit an alternative, but related, supposition: that Korinthian potters began producing cheap wares attending to interests of lower classes in emulating their social betters (Vickers and Gill 1994). I have already dealt with the idea that black and red figure ceramics were skeuomorphs of plate vessels. I can also remark here that the suppositions of emulation are premature. For what of other aspects of design? What exactly was the character of 'aristocracy' and its ideologies? How did the potters respond to 'aristocratic' interest? Was there some system of commissioning? How do ideological forms operate? What of the details of the consumption of style. These are just a few questions begged.

Eighth- and seventh-century Korinth: political histories

οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους Βακχίδαι πλείους ὄντες διακοσίων κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ κοινῇ μὲν προεστήκεσαν τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες, . . . ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ ἕνα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡροῦντο πρύταυιν, ὅς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἶχε τάξιν

The Bakchiadai, descendants of Herakles, were more than 200 in number and held authority; all of them ruled the city in common . . . they chose each year one of their number to be *prytanis* and exercise the functions of the king.
Diodorus 7.9.6

ἦν ὀλιγαρχίη, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἤγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων

It was an oligarchy who called themselves the Bakchiadai. They ran the city, and married only among themselves.
Herodotos 5.92bl

Diodorus (7.9.3) and Pausanias (2.4.4) record the transition from a monarchy in Korinth to an aristocratic oligarchy, the Bakchiadai. The name asserts a claim to a common ancestry; Herodotos remarks upon their endogamy: they defined themselves through birth and descent. Andrewes has doubted that there were major

differences between the character of the hereditary monarchy and the appointed magistracy of *prytanis:* 'the political machinery of the monarchy was not much changed by the Bakchiadai . . . their annual magistracy was not so different from a king that the continuity of the system was broken' (Andrewes 1956: 48).

> καὶ οἱ Βακχιάδαι τυραννήσαντες᾽ πλούσιοι καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ γένος λαμπροί . . . καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον ἀδεῶς ἐκαρπώσαντο
>
> Wealthy, and numerous and of lustrous *{lampros)* birth, the Bakchiadai ruled as tyrants and gathered the fruit of the market *{emporion*)* without stint.
> Strabo (378)

Whether or not Strabo is rationalising later Korinthian commercial success and providing an origin, it is clear that the spread of Korinthian artifacts occurred under this Bakchiad rule, as did colonisation. Syracuse and Kerkyra were both founded by members of the Bakchiadai (discussed by Salmon 1984: 65). There is also the story of Demaratos the Bakchiad who traded with Etruria, moved there with craftsmen after exile by the tyranny, and even came to father a king of Rome (Dionysios of Halikarnassos *Roman Antiquities* 3.46.3-5; Blakeway 1935; recent discussion and review in relation to Pithekoussai: Ridgway 1992a).

> ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται
> ἀδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαιώσει δὲ Κόρινθον
>
> he will come crashing down on these men who rule as kings and wilt bring justice to Korinth *(dikaiosei)*
> Herodotos 5.92

In about 655 BC the oligarchy fell to the tyranny of Kypselos. Herodotos (5.92) gives an anecdotal account of his parentage, on the fringes of the oligarchy (also Pausanias 2.4.4 and 5.18.7-8). He tells of his infancy when oracles from Apollo of Delphi (one of which is partly quoted here, others below) predicted his tyranny setting Korinth to rights *(dikaiosei).* Nikolaos of Damascus *{Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 90 F 57), following fourth-century BC Ephoros, claims that Kypselos was *polemarch* in his earlier years and popular for, among other things, his treatment of fines. The revolution seems to have involved violence (Nikolaos, and Herodotos, discussed by Salmon 1984, especially page 190) as the Bakchiad *basileus* was murdered. The popularity of Kypselos seems to be indicated by the fact that he did not need a bodyguard.

Once in power, Kypselos exiled the Bakchiadai, confiscated and perhaps redistributed their property, brought back from exile and restored enemies of the old oligarchy. This is Nikolaos' account, but the restoration of exiles may be an anachronistic view from the fourth century, when tyrants did just these things (Salmon 1984: 195). Herodotos too records (5.92) the exile of Korinthians and property confiscations. Will (1955: 477-81) argues for a redistribution of land to landless supporters of the *tyrant,* but with little evidence. There is evidence-(for example Pseudo-Aristotle *Economics* 1346a) of Kypselos taxing for the purpose of dedication at the sanctuary at Olympia, perhaps a colossal statue (Strabo 353 and 378). Details,

as ever, are obscure (discussed by Salmon 1984: 196), but other early tyrants are known to have exploited a connection with divinities and their sanctuaries (see the standard histories of Andrewes 1956; Forrest 1966).

The tyrants' court, at least under the successor to Kypselos, Periander, was a centre of patronage. Herodotos (1,23-4) has the Lesbian poet Arion of Methymna, inventor of the poetic dithyramb, at Korinth. He is mentioned also by Pindar (*Olympian* 13.16f), who claims temple sculpture a Korinthian invention, along with horse bits. Pliny remarks that painting was invented in Korinth or Sikyon (*Natural History* 35.5). Eastern links, a feature of several tyrants' interest, are indicated by Phrygian and Lydian offerings in Kypselos' treasury at Delphi (Herodotos 1.14), and by the naming of Periander's brother Gordias (Aristotle *Politics* 1315b); Periander's short-lived successor and nephew was called Psammetichos, indicating the Egyptian connection (Pharaoh Psamtik). Colonies were founded. On the whole, Nikolaos concludes:

Κύψελος δὲ Κορίνθου πράως ἦρχεν οὔτε δορυφόρους ἔχων οὔτ' ἀποθύμιος ὢν Κορινθίοις·

Kypselos ruled Korinth mildly, maintaining no bodyguard and enjoying the good will of the Korinthians.

Little can be said with any certainty regarding possible constitutional changes made by the tyranny. I have already quoted Diodoros who writes of 200 Bakchiadai, perhaps ruling in council (Salmon 1984: 56). Nikolaos has a council of eighty after the tyranny (Will 1955: 609-15) and assumes eight tribes, attributed to times before the tyranny by Roebuck (1972: 115-16; see also Schaeffer 1957: 1,222). Salmon finds arguments to locate the major constitutional restructuring in the times of the tyranny: tyranny was mainly a reaction against the aristocratic past, he claims, and it was during the tyranny that the need for new arrangements was greatest (Salmon 1984: 206-7).

The coup in Korinth seems to have been as much to do with opposition to the Bakchiad oligarchy, as with support for a charismatic leader. For Nikolaos (*FGH* 90 F 57.4), the Bakchiadai were generally 'insolent (*hubristai*) and violent (*biaioi*)', ignoring the *demos*. Strabo (378) describes them as tyrants themselves. The murdered *basileus* Patrokleides was 'lawless (*paranomos*) and oppressive (*epachthes*)' (Nikolaos). Herodotos relates the oracle which mentions in particular the exclusivity of the rulers (they monopolised power like monarchs), and that an application of *dike* was required, administration of justice and perhaps punishment (see also below on *dike and* the discourse of tyranny). Aristotle (*Politics* 1265b) records an early lawgiver in Korinth (presumably before the tyranny), Pheidon, who was concerned with the regulation of land tenure and citizenship. Whatever the details, the occurrence of a legislator implies a problem to do with land and property rights which needed resolution. Salmon, however, doubts (1984: 63-5, 194) that this led to discontent which was exploited by Kypselos. Andrewes (1956: 44-5) has discontent with the foreign policy of the Bakchiadai as a contributory factor. Salmon mentions also population pressure, which he, and others, consider as lying behind the foundation

of the western colonies: 'The Korinthia may have been suffering from population pressure once more; if the Bakchiadai were unwilling to found further colonies that may have been a serious complaint' {Salmon 1984: 194). But Salmon sides with Forrest's analysis (Forrest 1966: Chapter 4) that, in the absence of formulated political discourse and organisation, the revolution and tyranny were to do with an accumulation of particular grievances centring on the arbitrary rule and application of power by the Bakchiadai.

It is not necessary for me to enter further the discussion surrounding *the* fragmentary written sources which recount the revolution and tyranny (on which: Andrewes 1956, Chapter 4; Berve 1967: 14-19,521-5; Drews 1972; Forrest 1966: Chapter 4; Jeffery 1976: Chapter 10; Mosse 1969: Chapter *3.2;* Murray 1993: Chapter 9; Oost 1972; Pleket 1969; Salmon 1984: Chapters 3, 15; Will 1955: Chapters 4, *5,* 6). There are severe problems of anachronism or assimilation to contemporary understanding and practice: all accounts are centuries after the event: see for example Salmon's discussion (1984: 189-90) of Nikolaos and Aristotle and their view of the support for Kypselos - anachronistic in locating it within a 'democratic' power base, opposed to the oligarchic Bakchiadai. There are problems too of historical discrimination: Murray (1993: 147-50) makes a good case for the accounts of Herodotos and Nikolaos being more to do with mythography than history (see also pp. 59-61 on the discourse of tyranny). I also note that some accounts of modern ancient historians seem unsophisticated or anachronistic in their conceptions of the political motors of seventh-century history. For Andrewes (1956:49), tyranny was simply the result of hatred of the aristocratic Bakchiadai, and his attempts to assess the conditions of social change are very limited. For Jeffery (1976: 146-7), tyranny was the result of the failure of the policies, home, foreign and economic, of the Bakchiad 'government'. I contrast the account of Forrest (1966) which embeds the political changes of the tyrannies in processes of social and conceptual modernisation and rationalisation.

So there are considerable problems with writing a political history of early Korinth which relies on written sources, 'sources' which anyway come long after the events themselves. The more sophisticated ancient histories raise vital questions of the social and political stresses which may have resulted in the things we read; but these so often remain questions and speculation. Critique is essential. I have, however, no need to stress the *details* of any particular account, details so hazy and uncertain. On the basis of conventional ancient historical discussion it is surely reasonable to make the following summary, but general, points.

An oligarchy was replaced by the rule of a tyrant in the middle of the seventh century.

Major constitutional differences (other than hereditary succession to kingship) between an earlier monarchy and the oligarchy of the Bakchiadai are difficult to establish.

The Bakchiadai were defined, the oligarchy established through descent.

They may have had an interest in trade and exchange.

Opposition to the oligarchy seems to have centred upon their arbitrary and
  exclusive power, and perhaps property rights and land.
Kypselos may have been related by birth to the Bakchiadai.
Kypselos was on the fringes of the oligarchy and may have held (military) office.
Kypselos drew on popular support.
Major constitutional changes made by the tyranny are difficult to establish.
There are no references to anything other than a narrow oligarchic council, and
  attendant magistracies, with power in Korinth.
The tyrants' court was a centre of patronage of religion and the arts and crafts:
  statuary, architecture, painting, poetry.
Eastern connections are apparent.

What was the significance of the tyranny? For Salmon (1984: 205), 'the structure
of government was shattered by Kypselos' revolution' (also Andrewes 1956: 48-9).
Revolution is a word not infrequently used to describe the coup of Kypselos (An-
drewes 1956; Forrest 1966; Salmon 1984, for example). Indeed, it would seem that
the monopoly of power of the Bakchiadai was broken. But the change was not a shift
from narrow and aristocratic rule to a popular power of the people or *demos,* though
Herodotos (3.82), Aristotle *(Politics* 1310b), Plato *(Republic* 8.565c-d), and Nikolaos
(already noted), have tyrants beginning their careers as champions of the *demos.* I
stress again that Korinth was never ruled by anything other than an oligarchy or
tyrant who emerged from the aristocratic oligarchy. Andrewes (1956: 24,48) goes as
far as suggesting that Kypselos may have regarded himself as a new heir to the old
monarchy (also Oost 1972: 21-8). However, an aristocracy or oligarchy may define
itself in various ways, and this point has been central in discussions of the social and
political conflicts of the seventh century and after in Greece. The questions concern
the character and composition of the social groups in conflict, and the reasons for
their conflict, which in Korinth produced tyranny.

I will deal with the social and cultural character of aristocracy in a later section, but
let me preface that discussion with some points from ancient histories of the Korin-
thian Bakchiadai. The definition of the Bakchiad aristocracy through birth and
descent has been noted. The resultant exclusivity may have been resented by other
families, or by wealthy, and therefore influential, outsiders, with less claim to noble
descent (though this can easily be asserted). A possible conflict is between ascribed
and achieved status and power. This conflict between birth and wealth, between the
leisure of an aristocracy and trades and crafts, between landed and commercial
wealth, is a recurrent and important theme of early poetry. It is markedly present in
the work of Solon, Alkaios, and particularly Theognis. In a well-noted comment,
Thukydides points to an economic factor at play in the emergence of tyrannies:

δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι
μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο
as Greece became more powerful as the acquisition of goods grew for the
most part much greater than before, tyrannies were established in many cities
Thukydides 1.13

Figure 2.3 Hoplites upon a Korinthian aryballos, found at Gela and now in Syracuse Museum.

Ure made much of the economic factor, arguing a change in forms of economic capital and the emergence of commercial wealth exploited by tyrants, all 'first class business men' (Ure 1922: 30).

The emergence of discontented wealth is also often associated by historians with a military factor: the social changes of the seventh century have been related to *hoplitai,* the (new?) heavy armed infantry of the polis. Salmon (1977, 1984: 191-3) has argued that the strength behind the upheavals was provided by hoplites, and Kypselos was successful because he enjoyed their support. As Murray puts it:

> When therefore Aristotle says that 'in the old days, tyrannies arose when the same man was popular leader and general' *(Politics* 1305a), the natural inference is that the tyrants should be seen as the leaders of the hoplite class against the aristocracy: their success in overthrowing the traditional state would then lie in their being able to call on a new group of supporters, more powerful than the band of warriors which the aristocracy could muster - the hoplite class as a whole, that is the people *(demos)* under arms.
> (Murray 1993: 142)

Nikolaos does claim that Kypselos was *polemarch,* and some military functions may be surmised, though he does not mention any. However, evidence for the military factor is largely circumstantial and dependent upon extrapolation from Aristotle's analysis *(Politics* 1297b) of the connection between the military and the state, as I discussed above. The older extrapolation from the few fragmentary details known of Pheidon of Argos, a monarch who went beyond custom and became a tyrant, perhaps through his military success (Andrewes 1956: 39-42) cannot easily be supported (Kelly 1976: Chapter 7).

Kypselos must have had support, obviously from outside the Bakchiadai, and a class analysis appears attractive: the 'class' interests of hoplites, a group enriched by commercial wealth, or of the *demos* may have led them to back Kypselos. However I

repeat the point that Korinthians never had anything other than a small oligarchic council. There were demands then for removal of the exclusive Bakchiadai who thought themselves monarchs *{mounarchontes,* Herodotos, quoted above), but the demands *for power* cannot have come from anything but a minority of Korinthians, otherwise there would not have been satisfaction with the narrow constitution centred upon a council of only eighty (satisfaction attested by political stability; see also Pindar *Olympian* 13.6-8 on Korinthian *eunomia,* settled good order, quoted also below). Forrest explains with excellent clarity:

> We must always ask how far down through society the desire for political power had spread. At this date the answer is likely to be that it had not spread very far. Indeed, in class terms, it seems probable that it had not spread at all - the politically active in 650 were still the same kind of men as the *basileis* of 750; they may have been more numerous than the *basileis;* they may have stood for a different immediate policy for their state; they may have had different friends; they may have had different interests; but neither policy, friends nor interests were necessarily, in the case of Korinth even probably, of a fundamentally different kind. (Forrest 1966: 121)

Salmon (1984; 191-2, 1977: 99) also makes the point that the Korinthian constitution was never wide enough to satisfy the political demands of a hoplite phalanx. Tyranny at Korinth was not the emergence into politics of a hoplite 'class' *{contra* Murray 1993: 141f)- Snodgrass remarks generally (1980a: 112) that tyranny only involved the aristocracy, Both Snodgrass (1965) and Cartledge (1977) hold that the hoplite reform was not an immediate threat to aristocratic interests.

The essential point is to separate 'class' or sectional interests and discontent from political power. A long digression on class and the ancient city state is not necessary, particularly given De Ste Croix's monumental elaboration (1981) of Marxian and Aristotelian analysis of the Greek city state. I am satisfied to accept basic divisions between *euporoi* or a propertied class (sometimes, as in early poetry, called the *agathoi* and synonyms), those without property, the *aporoi* (or *kakoi,* later called the *demos),* and dependent labour or slaves, Morris (1987) has used this class distinction in archaeology with analytical success. The existence of a commercially enriched class has been supposed, but arguments over its existence and importance are less important than the ultimate value accorded to *landed* wealth and to aristocratic values and life-style. To these I will return.

It is important here to signal the need to treat critically the terms applied to the archaic Greek class system. There is an argument to be made for careful qualification, providing historical context for the concept of aristocracy itself. It is not, of course, an historical or sociological constant. As with the concept of king, aristocracy finds one set of origins in definitions of medieval absolutist monarchy, with monotheistic religion providing legitimation for feudal hierarchy. Michael Mann's fine and synoptic account of the history of social power treats this phenomenon as an ideological invention of medieval Europe; this could be taken to place dark age and archaic Greece beyond comparison (Mann 1986: 245). Without state bureaucracies

and the religious ideologies, archaic Greek aristocracy was more fluid, perhaps better described by ethnological terminologies 'chieftains' or 'big-men' (Starr 1986; Whitley 1991; further discussion below). Other appropriate comparisons are with germanic society (Hedeagger 1988). I retain the term to mark its distinctive genealogy, while promoting such arguments for awareness of historical difference.

The significance of tyranny at Korinth in these ancient histories was simply that it removed the principle of *hereditary* aristocratic dominance; but the exercise of power did not shift from the properted class. Whether hoplites were involved or not, whether Kypselos enlisted the support of the *demos* or *aporoi,* the tyranny depended upon *conflicts* within the properted *class.* This argument implies continuity as *well* as something of a radical break in the mid-seventh century, and it is to continuities of different kinds that I will turn later.

Tyranny, **power and discourses of sovereignty**

οὖτοι ποτ' ἄνδρες ἐξεπόρθησαν, σὺ δὲ
νῦν εἶλες αἰχμῆι καὶ μέγ' ἐξήρω κλέος·
κείνης ἄνασσε καὶ τυραννίην ἔχε

this city.. .
men never sacked it, but you
took it now with your spear and together great glory is yours.
Rule over it and hold tyranny.
Archilochos West 23.18-20

In this iambic fragment Archilochos draws on notions of autocratic power to construct metaphors for amorous attachment - all-conquering femininity. Elsewhere (Archilochos West 19) the tyranny of Gyges is used as a metaphor for greed, which he, mercenary and poet, does not share. For Archilochos and his generation the power of tyranny was a recent political innovation, source of poetic idiom. McGlew (1993) has provided a most valuable account of its discourse.

McGlew questions the bifurcation found in ancient histories of tyranny (as outlined above) into a reality of determinations (such as individual political motivations, economic, social and class-based pressures) and ideology, a supposed reality of political change, separated from its representation in 'propaganda', legend and folklore - the majority of the sources. McGlew's position on the politics of tyranny is that 'a process of complicity, not simple ambition, transformed one citizen into a ruler and his fellows into his subjects' (McGlew 1993: 5). This is based on the premise, following Foucault (as, for example expressed in Foucault 1980; for archaeology Miller and Tilley 1984), that power is less *acquired,* being some sort of commodity, than *exercised,* being a function of social relationships. With power centred upon translation of interests effected through discourse, the sources (such as Delphic oracles, poetry directed against tyrants and the fable that grew up around them) are not to be decoded to reveal the 'truth' of social and economic causation, the political reality of the seventh and sixth centuries, but read as part of the

relationships between political agencies of archaic Greece, the tyrant and his sub-
jects.

In this remythologised history the tyrant appears as the progenitor of a political
vocabulary of sovereignty.

Consider again the Delphic oracles reported by Herodotos to have been associated
with the rise of Kypselos. In them the tyrant's persona is an agent of justice.

αίετεός έν πέτρησι κύει, τέξει δέ λέοντα
καρτερόν ώμηστήν· πολλών δ'ύπό γούατα λύσει.
ταύτά νυν εύ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οί περί καλήν
Πειρήνην οικεῖτε καί όφρυόεντα Κόρινθον.

an eagle is pregnant in the rocks and will
bring forth a lion, a mighty hunter of flesh,
who will weaken the knees of many.
Be warned of this, you Korinthians who live
around the fair Peirene and the heights of Akrokorinthos.
Herodotos 5.92

For the oracles, tyranny arises from injustice, and this belongs with the city and its
leaders, not with the motivations and ambitions of the tyrant. So the oracle quoted
here reminds the Korinthians of the coming of tyrant Kypselos, whose rule is likened
to a lion exacting punishment on (unjust) Korinthians. The tyrant's persona as a
reformer required a conspicuous display of freedom *(eleutheria),* hence the lion.
McGlew notes (1993: 67 n. 32) many instances of this use of the lion as a political
symbol, fearful and irresistible, sometimes image of divinely willed destruction.

Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ήδε, δέδοικα δέ μή τέκηι άνδρα
εύθυντῆρα κακῆς ύβριος ήμετέρης.
Kyrnos, this city is pregnant – and I fear it may
give birth to someone *(aner euthunter)* who will right our wicked ways *(hubris)*.
Theognis 39–40

In Theognis and Solon too, there is a reciprocity between crime and punishment.
And Kypselos killed Patrokleides, the last Bakchiad king (Nikolaos). There is rel-
evant imagery found also in the discourse of the new state (McGlew 1993: 60 and n,
18). The aim of *dike,* justice, is associated with (political) leadership and solidarity,
visualised as the ship of state in calm or stormy waters (Archilochos West 105;
Alkaios West 6, 208, 249) steered by the just rudder *(dikaion pedalion)* (Pindar
Pythian 1.86-7).

By claiming and being supported in an unprecedented and unique right to autoc-
racy, the tyrant implicitly defined that rule as untransferable. This is the basis of
resistance to tyranny. McGlew argues that there was a clear complicity between
tyrant and subjects in recognising the coherence of the argument for tyranny - the
tyrant was a popular leader. The corollary is that resistance aimed not to overthrow
tyranny so much as to appropriate the *eleutheria* of the tyrant for the people. Just as
the tyrant's divinely willed *eleutheria* involved the subjection of fellow citizens, so the

appropriation *of* that same freedom by the citizenry involved subjugation of slaves. After tyranny there was no return to political innocence. The persona of agent of dike was adopted, the treasury and foreign interests assumed, *eleutheria* preserved - those aspects of sovereignty which made the tyrant lord both attractive and dangerous.

McGlew maintains that there was no convincing precedent for the extraordinary power exercised by the early tyrants, no political framework in which it may be located. Instead, and in its rhetoric and reception, tyranny emerged through the manipulation of contemporary conceptions of *dike* (which functioned in the earliest accounts of the polis as the most pressing concern of civic action). Hence the discourse of tyranny is pervaded by notions of *hubris* (divine necessity) and *dike* (justice.), Hesiod's divinity punishing those bribe-devouring *basileis,* big-men (literally kings), practising *adikia* (injustices), selling their judgement to the highest bidder *(Works and Days* 36-9).

In this context of the forging of new political discourses, it is not surprising that the discourse of tyranny is clearly related to that of other figures of archaic Greek politics - the founder, lawgiver (Pheidon here at Korinth), and liberator or tyrannicide. All reference the two sides of justice and sovereignty. For example, accounts of the colonial founder, the wandering *oikistes,* have a similar narrative structure to that of tyranny. The *oikistes* escapes the stain of domestic crime or illegitimacy by leaving the mother city and travelling to the ends of the earth to assume tyrant-Ike powers in founding a new city. Myth, cult and fable around his achievements turn his death into the city's coming of age, his individual rule into a single remote and unrepeatable event. In recalling the founder in celebration and legend, the citizenry of the polis celebrated their autonomy from him and their possession of the sovereignty, now collective, that their founders held.

Korinth, the material environment: a continuity of change
Public architecture: masonry and roof tiles
By the middle of the sixth century, there was a monumental stone temple upon Temple Hill at Korinth, and another dedicated to Olympian Zeus, a project initiated by the tyrant Periandros. The construction of such public and religious buildings began in the early eighth century with the small temple dedicated to Hera Akraia at Perachora, just across the Korinthian Gulf from Korinth. By the seventh century this was perhaps replaced with another temple, and what may have been a cult dining-room was added (Salmon 1972:161-5, 174-8; Tomlinson 1977: 197-202). Among other dedications found in the sanctuary, there are pieces of perhaps five models of temples - small porched buildings, with geometric decoration and thatched roof *(Payne 1940: Pl.* 9). We should note here with Snodgrass (1980a: *61-2)* the early connection in temple and cult between the sacred buildings which resembled houses, and communal dining or feasting (further discussion in Chapter Five).

Williams (1986 esp. 12-14) proposes an early date for knowledge of Astarte, an eastern Aphrodite, infamous at Korinth in later times. He cites, as evidence for an early cult, a seventh-century figurine from Korinth (Davidson 1952: 29, Pl. 6, No. 85) and a plaque from Perachora (Payne 1940: 231-2, Pl. 102, No. 183). The plaque

Figure 2.4 Bellerophon. An aryballos in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (95.10).

shows what Payne claimed to be a bisexual Aphrodite; on the reverse is a painted Pegasos and a dog or lion.

The date is debated, but between 700 and 650 or shortly aftermuch larger temples were built at Korinth itself, to Apollo (dedication debated by Fowler and Stillwell 1932: 115-16, 130-3; Morgan 1994: 138-9), and at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia (Broneer 1971; Robinson 1976; the *terminus post quern* is 690-650 BC, after Gebhard and Hemans 1992: 39).

These were ostentatious and innovatory designs, drawing on new specialised building construction skills. At Korinth the temple had squared masonry up to roof height (Robinson 1976: 225-8). Isthmia definitely had a colonnade. Both temples were provided with painted ceramic wall-decoration, that at Isthmia claimed to have closest parallels in the Chigi Olpe found in Etruria (Broneer 1971: 33-4,41, Fig. 54 and Pis. 5a-c; Robinson 1976: 228-30 for Korinth). Both also had tiled roofs (for Isthmia: Broneer 1971: 40-53; Williams 1980: 346-7). Decorative architectural ceramics were being produced in Korinth from the middle or third quarter of the seventh century BC (Weinberg 1954: 118f).
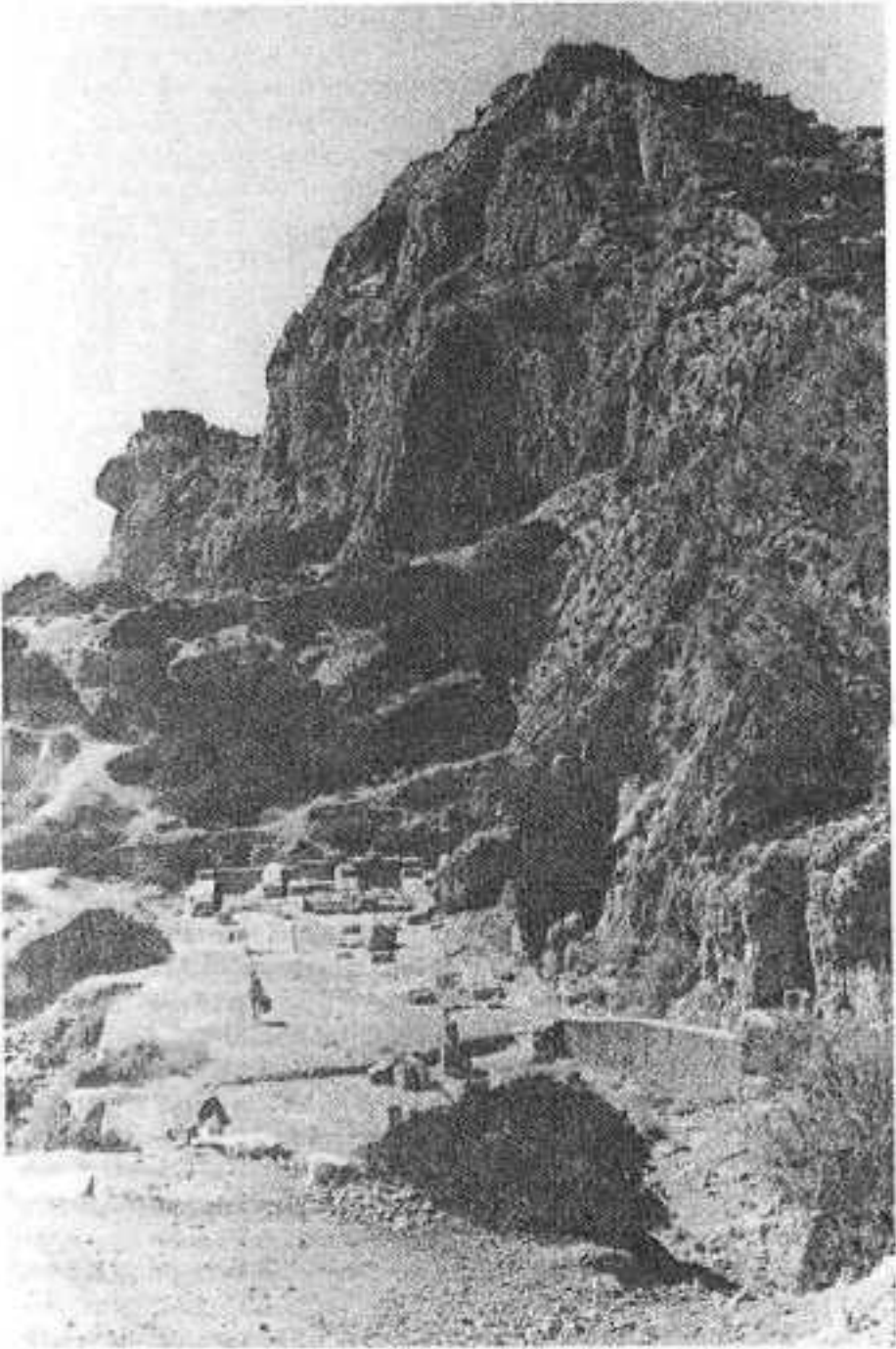
Figure 2.5 The sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, across the gulf from Korinth (the remains of the archaic temple are at the end of the terrace).
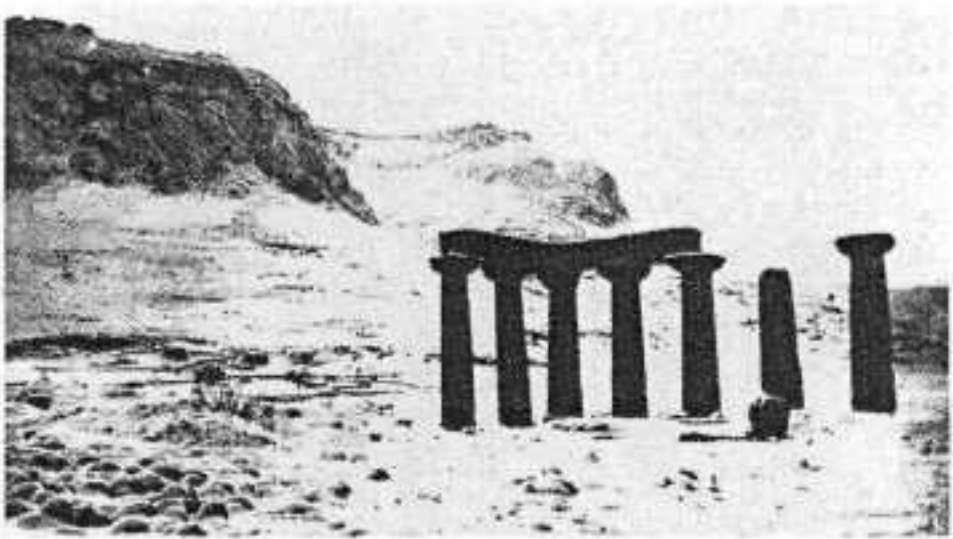
Figure 2.6 Temple Hill, Old Korinth (this is the later archaic temple); Akrokorinthos in the background.

These Korinthian roof tiles and especially the architectural ceramics, identified by their fabric and design, were used in many other early temples (Payne 1931: Chapter 17; Robinson 1984). Korinthian influence or design has been speculated for temple C at Thermon and for Calydon (Salmon 1984: 121).

So Korinth was an important innovator in early temple design and building (general discussion: Cook 1970: 17-19; Salmon 1984: 120-1). Coulton (1977: 32-50) has argued for a strong Egyptian influence upon Korinthian temple building.

Building Korinth: springs and defensive walls, graves and wells
Amenities provided for Korinthians in the late eighth and seventh centuries include the so-called Sacred and perhaps Cyclopean Springs (Hill 1964; Williams and Fisher 1971: 3-5). There are clear remains of a metal workshop from the early seventh century (Williams and Fisher 1971: 5-10); a mould for spearheads from a nearby well gives a clue to some of the things made there. I have already discussed pottery specialisation: most workshops were away from the central area of habitation. The pottery from the metal workshop house and well was plain linear Protokorinthian (Williams and Fisher 1971: 26-30).

I have also already presented the consensus on the early appearance of the city state as a collection of villages (Roebuck 1972; Williams 1982), although the evidence (the distribution of graves and wells) is not substantial (little of old Korinth outside the Roman centre has been excavated). Salmon (1984; 75-80) has challenged the idea that the centre of the early city state was little more than a village. He traces expansion of the early central settlement from the distribution of graves and wells *{contra* Williams), expansion due to population rise. Noting in addition the evidence for craft specialisation and public amenities and temples, he concludes: 'our limited evidence strongly favours the conclusion that Korinth was already, in respect

of amenities, population and economic activity, a true city by the time of the tyrants' (Salmon 1984: 80).

The early 'city' may have been provided with a defensive wall at the time of the tyrants. The late seventh-century South Long Building in the so-called Potters' Quarter took account of the course of a wall of substantial scale at the edge of the neighbouring ravine. This has been interpreted as part of a defensive circuit (Salmon 1984: 220); Williams has also noted (1982: 15-17) cuttings in the bedrock for perhaps an angle *tower. A* city wall *which took* in even just *the* centre, the 'Potters' Quarter' and Akrokorinthos would have been a massive undertaking, and for this reason it may be doubted that the wall was to guard the whole of the new city. Stillwell (1948: 14, 62) suggests that it was only for the local quarter, Winter (1971: 64) that it was to defend just the approach to Akrokorinthos. Given only the short stretch of wall at the 'Potters' Quarter', the question of a walled Korinth in the seventh century must remain open, though the implications are considerable.

The living and the dead

Clear evidence for radical change in the eighth century is the shift of burials from in and around house clusters to the north cemetery with its organised grave plots (Blegen, Palmer and Young *1964* Part *2: 13-20).* This implies also a change in conception of living space. Morris (1987: esp, 185-6 for Korinth) has made much of this in his thesis of class change in the early polis. From 800 BC there was an increase in the number of grave goods deposited in graves sited among houses. By 775 extramural cemeteries were established and soon after, by 750, mortuary rite re-quired few artifacts as offerings. There was instead a rise in votive offerings in sanctuaries, a general trend noted also on p. 175. Morris comments: 'Korinthian wealth was probably not waning in the eighth century, but a new symbolic system of large, poor, homogeneous 'citizen' cemeteries had been established' (1993: 33). His proposal is that fundamental class change, new social relationships within the polis community and the emergence of a citizenry, was accompanied by changes in relationships between the living and the dead, mortals and immortals, the commu-nity and its heroes *(ibid.:* 35). Conceptions of time are implicated, in changed references to the dead and those beyond mortal frame. This is the ideological field I will be exploring particularly in the next chapter.

Pottery, metalwork, export and dedication

I will be considering the export and consumption of Korinthian pottery in detail in later chapters, but, given the dominance of pottery in the archaeological record and therefore in the material remains from archaic Korinth, a few remarks are appropri-ate here.

Korinthian pottery of middle Geometric style was already finding its way to Delphi and other places in the early eighth century (Coldstream 1968: Chapter 3; Dehl 1984). By the turn of the century in 700 BC Korinthian pottery was to be found in many Greek and other sites, particularly cemeteries and sanctuaries. Pottery of late Geometric 'Thapsos' style has been considered a style produced for export, because

so little has actually been found at Korinth (Coldstream 1968: 103); the identifica-
tion as Korinthian (according to fabric and style) has even been doubted because of
this lack of finds in the supposed place of production and because of claimed
decorative differences to Korinthian late Geometric and protokorinthian (see for
example the discussion by Boardman 1970: 496, 1973: 278-9; Bosana-Kourou
1983; Grimanis *et al.* 1980; Neeft 1981), The distribution of the stylistic variety of
Korinthian pottery (much of which is missing from Korinth) has also been taken to
indicate that the pottery was produced primarily for export (Morgan 1988: 336).

Morgan (1988: esp. 333-8) has related Korinthian manufactured goods to a need
for metal supplies to service competitive display (weaponry, sanctuary goods and
items related to aspects of aristocratic lifestyle such as the symposion). In this respect
the sanctuary at Perachora symbolised Korinthian interest in the west *{ibid.:* 335).

Many Korinthian pots found their way to sanctuaries. This is true also of other items
of specialised manufacture. There is a collection of ivory seals from Perachora, dating
perhaps from 700 onwards (Stubbings 1962). They are carved with figured scenes
which closely resemble those of figured Korinthian pottery *(ibid.:* 411). A distinctive
style of Korinthian votive metalwork has been identified, consisting of birds, horses
and human figurines, most probably designed as attachments for tripods (Bouzek
1967; Coldstream 1977:175-7;Herrmann 1964:17-71). Pins were made, found with
simple jewellery in some Korinthian graves (Coldstream 1977: 175). Some pins, too
large for ordinary use, were clearly for dedication or some other special use; such pins
for dedication are known elsewhere (Snodgrass 1980a: 62-3).

Salmon (1984: 118-19) has rightly pointed out that the number of such pieces of
metalwork is small, and that much of Korinthian metal production may well have been
for more mundane items. Nevertheless, the things which are found in the sanctuaries
of Perachora, Delphi, Aetos on Ithaka, and at Olympia are part of a general rise in the
number of dedications to divinity. Snodgrass (1980a: 52-4) has stressed this change in
practice, away from the placing of things in the grave, to items in sanctuaries, many of
which have a distinctive *cosmopolitan* ambience, with dedications of many local styles
and forms. Here I am anticipating discussion in Chapter Five.

At Isthmia Morgan (1994:127-8) reports the finding, among other dedications, of
eight tripods and weaponry {a *Kegelhelm,* Illyrian helmet and a spearhead). Remains
at Perachora indicate a sanctuary among the richest in the Greek world at the time,
but no such dedications have been found.

Among the variety of terracottas found in the Potters' Quarter (Stillwell 1952) is a
series of pieces of model carts or chariots. Raepsaet (1988) stresses the diversity of
function of such vehicles in his treatment which searches for what the models are
representing: they could be used for religious processions as well as having agricul-
tural uses. He makes no consideration of the motivation of modelling -I note that
these models may well be related to military or heroic ethos, if not function.

Warfare and the Korinthian economy
The mould for spearheads found in that early metal workshop in Korinth (Williams
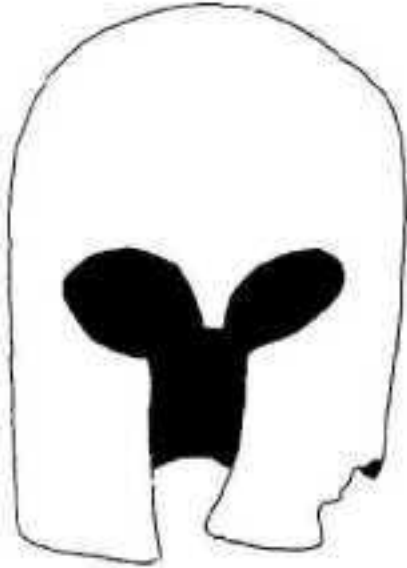and Fisher 1971: item 31} may be coincidental, but Korinth has been implicated in

Figure 2.7 A Korinthian helmet. An early example from Olympia.

ὡς τότε ταρφειαί κόρυθες λαμπρὰν γανόωσαι
νηῶν ἐκφορέοντο καὶ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι
θώρηκές τε κραταιγύαλοι καὶ μείλινα δοῦρα.
αἴγλη δ'οὐρανὸν ἷκε, γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθὼν
χαλκοῦ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς·

So now the helmets, thickly arrayed and dazzling bright, (*lampron*)
were brought out of the ships, the great bossed shields,
the hollowed corselets and the ash spears;
the brilliance swept to the heavens and all the earth around them
laughed under the glitter of bronze.
Iliad 19.359–63

the development of the new forms of weaponry and armour of the late eighth and seventh centuries. Herodotos (4.180) calls Korinthian the new bronze helmet, seen pictured upon many Korinthian pots, and it has been accepted as a Korinthian invention (Snodgrass 1964: 20-8). Beaten from a single sheet of bronze, such artifacts required considerable skill to produce.

The new figurative imagery upon seventh-century ceramics notably includes some illustrations of what appear to be hoplite battles (Salmon 1977), among many more images of warring males.

Sacred space

. . . τάν ὀλβίαν Κόρινθον, Ἰσθμίου
πρόθυρον Ποτειδᾶνος ἀγλαόκουρον·
ἐν τᾶ γὰρ Εὐνομία ναίει κασί-
γνηταί τε, βάθρον πολίων ἀσφαλές
Δίκα καὶ ὁμότροφος Εἰρήνα, τάμι' ἀνδράσι πλούτου
χρύσεαι παῖδες εὐβούλου Θέμιτος

> blessed Korinth
> doorway to Poseidon's Isthmus,
> brilliant *(aglaos)* in its young men,
> *Eunomia* (political order) dwells there
> and her sisters, *Dike* (justice) -
> safe footing for cities -
> and *Eirene* (peace) - with whom she grew -
> housekeeper of men's wealth,
> golden daughters of wise Themis.
> Pindar *Olympian* 13.4-8

In a most notable argument De Polignac (1984, 1994) has connected the establishment of sanctuaries to a dynamic of territorial sovereignty. Morris (1987: 189-92) also stresses profound eighth-century changes in boundaries between gods, men and the dead, with living space more sharply differentiated from the sacred spaces of the gods and dead - sanctuaries and cemeteries. Mention has been made of the shift in burial of Korinthian dead to formal designated areas. For De Polignac the rural sanctuaries in the *chora* of the polis were set up as focal points of mediation; these 'passages between two worlds' (De Polignac 1994: 8) indicate the importance of boundaries.

> ἐπεὶ οὐ πω Ἴλιος ἱρή
> ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
> since not yet had sacred Ilios been made a polis in the plain, a polis of mortal men
> *Iliad* 20.216–7

In an exploration of the archaic geographical imagination as found in Homer, Scully (1990) finds the conceptual space of the early polis a paradoxical one. Ephemeral polis within immortal frame, the new city represented an interplay of human and divine components, technology and the Olympian, the *oikos* (household) and the sacred space of the polis *(ibid.:* 61-4), Sanctuaries and shrines, so crucial to the structuring of city space and community for De Polignac, represent a divine presence and architectural force in a city of mortal men, though one defended by heroes, who are between men and gods *(ibid,;* 106-10).

Isthmia, through Pindar's doorway, is close to communication routes, land and sea, and lies on a dramatic narrowing of the isthmus. Akrokorinthos is clearly visible to the west across Korinth's *chora.* Sited in view across the bay on its rocky promontory, Perachora looks out west down the Korinthian gulf (is it true that on a clear day one may see the Ionian islands?). To the south, off the way to Argos, is another 'rural' sanctuary, Solygeia (Morgan 1994: 135-8; Verdelis 1962).

The sacred landscape, which is the polis, centres on frontiers, political borders between neighbouring states, but also boundaries between the sacred and profane (De Polignac 1984: 30), mortal and divinity, this world and that beyond. Axes are set out in the *chora* from *astu* to sanctuary, axes enacted in the sacred calendar with

periodic processions and festivals *{ibid.:* 48-50, 54-6, 85-92). The soldier citizenry of the polis, the newly regulated or standardised *hoplitai,* would have figured prominently in these rites. Antonaccio (1994: 82, citing Connor 1988; 16-17) repeats the point that archaic warfare was not about territorial acquisition but civic representation, and was often focused upon borders, disputed or liminal territory suitable for a fight.

The sacred landscapes of the polis made use of the past with offerings at ancient tombs and with hero cults, material cultural expressions of an heroic ethos, of a concern for genealogical connection with land and ancestors. Were they justifications for divisions in the present? Much attention has focused recently on this aspect of the archaic state (Antonaccio 1993a, 1993b, 1994; Coldstream 1976, 1977: Chapter 14; Morris 1988; Snodgrass 1982, 1988; Whitley 1994a).

In all here is a nexus of landscape, cult, time, death, mediation and belonging or identity.

Morgan (1994) emphasises the continuities of activity at Isthmia as well as changes in the eighth century: there is evidence of offerings at an altar. Everything did not all suddenly start with the 'birth' of the polis. Continuities are also stressed and radical changes questioned by Sourvinou-Inwood, who nevertheless recognises that 'crystallisation' took place in the archaic period (Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 9, 11) and that the mediation of sacred and non-sacred became a most significant feature of the design of the polis. She adds another aspect of cultic activity, one which she sees as paramount: 'what was fundamental in Greek sanctuaries, what defined a sanctuary in *the* Greek religious mentality, was *that it was a* sacred space centred around an altar, sometimes including another sacred focus such as a tree or stone, a spring or a cave' *(ibid.:* 11). The focus was the point and form of mediation between sacred and profane - sacrifice, consumption and the scent of burning meat.

Mobility and the polis - colonies

Disputes over land seem, from Aristotle's account *(Politics* 1265b 12-16), to have been the concern of archaic lawgiver Pheidon. Acquisition and partition of land was certainly a feature of colonisation. Korinthians set up colonies at Kerkyra in 734 BC and Syracuse in Sicily the year after. More followed. This primary feature of the early polis-mobility-will be a main feature of discussion in Chapter Four.

Material lifeworlds

Korinth in the late eighth and seventh centuries most probably still appeared as a collection of villages of peasant farmers. I have also noted that the production of fine pottery would not have required a large workforce and was not in contradiction with a fundamentally peasant economy, though specialisation and expertise were essential. The amounts of other specialised and fine products such as metal- and ivory-work were also not great, though, like pottery, they were growing.

However, Korinthians were innovators in religious architecture and building methods and materials, in new weaponry, and, above all for the archaeologist, in surface design and iconography - pottery, architectural ceramics (temple wall-

panels), ivory- and metalwork (figurines). This specialised craft production was for a cultural nexus which bound together cult, war and death. Snodgrass (1980a: Chapter 2, esp. 62-4) has stressed the links in the archaic economy between metalwork and craft, religion and war: these are all aspects of the category of the 'economic', a category which, in fact, disperses, and cannot be held to have strong analytical importance. I would add to this cultural assemblage external connections, whether trade and travel, 'colonisation', export of dedications to sanctuaries and colonies, reference to oriental and 'exotic' motifs, or the mixture of Korinthian goods in a cosmopolitan ambience such as Perachora or Delphi. The Korinthians were supreme innovators in this field too, hence the claims for the long-vaunted 'economic success' of Korinthian pottery, but this is a field which cannot *{a fortiori)* be restricted to a category such as the economic.

New urban and political spaces and experiences involved figurative imagery, public areas and processions, with focal points of mediation, viewing and consumption. These ranged from the personal space of the miniature pottery, invitations to hold and look at goods in a new way, scrutinising scenes of bodies in action upon a jar of perfumed oil, to vistas from Perachora and Isthmia, to the sensations of citizenry ranked in heavy hoplite armour, bronze cuirass and horse-hair crest in the Greek summer sun. Springs were tapped in a formally designated and sacred city centre of designed ostentation of fine masonry, roof tiles and stucco. Graves no longer were laid between houses, but outside the city.

The mobility of goods and people finds analogy in the discourses of tyranny and colonisation: social mobility and redefinitions, reworkings of the metaphors and narratives of personal and collective sovereignty. 1 will turn to further reworkings in the next chapter.

Social histories: making anthropological sense of archaic aristocracy

Tyranny was predominantly to do with the old hereditary aristocracy and the propertied class of archaic Korinth. It involved a shift in interest and powers within this restricted section of society, Birth and a principle of hereditary succession are clearly implicated in the political struggles. However, the issue of kinship in the early Greek state is a complex and difficult one. The studies of Morris (1987) and Whitley (1987,1991b) into burial in dark age and archaic Greece make much reference to the kinship basis of the burying groups, and they both investigated the possibilities and issues thoroughly. However, both also remained uncommitted on the precise nature of the social and kinship units (Morris 1987: esp. 87-93; Whitley 1991b: esp. 64-7), and with good reason. The relationship between mortuary practices, archaeological remains and kinship is very varied (Ucko 1969). The work of Bourriot (1976) has demolished the old certainty concerning the primary social unit of archaic Athens (the state about which most is known). It is no longer tenable to hold that the *genos,* originally conceived as a kinship group wider than the immediate or extended family, took any specific form. After also the work of Roussel (1976), the existence of a tribal and clan or lineage based early Athens or Greece can only be considered a mirage (Snodgrass 1980a: 25-6; see also Humphreys 1980).

Forrest (1966: esp. 48-50) provides a more flexible idea of pyramid-shaped units *vertically dividing a* peasant-based society with no formal constitution or state. At the head of each would have been an 'aristocrat' and his immediate *oikos* (see also Donlan 1985). Beyond would be other lesser households, relatives, retainers and slaves. The bonds were manifold: locality, kinship, ritual, as well as bonds of patronage and mutual help. The aristocrat may have originally provided defence and a security of wealth and resources accessible in hard times; those lower down provided service, recognition, surplus perhaps. The aristocrat needed the status afforded by followers; the peasant security. Gallant (1991: esp. Chapter 6) has provided a powerful argument, empirically well-founded, for the economic import- ance of such relationships in a peasant-based society. But the manifold nature of the links within these groups means they go well beyond the economic: they are simulta- neously economic, religious, political and more (aristocrats were also a legal system of arbitration, for example).

The flexibility of these groups means they are open to manipulation and change. The status of a group may vary according to its wealth and ability to fulfil ritual, military and economic functions; the political and other use of the rising wealth of a group may bring status and social dominance. There are no inherent constraints upon manipulation and change of existing groups, but descent and tradition could block outside *oikoi* from usurping position. This seems to have been the case at Korinth with the Bakchiadai. But the tyranny of Kypselos usurped birth and tradi- tion, I write usurped because birth and tradition were always options open for reference and manipulation in this system, both before and after tyranny.

De Ste Croix makes an appropriate contrast (1981; 278f) between the presenta- tions of the aristocracy in the poems of Hesiod and Theognis, a contrast of perhaps 100 *years,* between the eighth and seventh centuries. For Hesiod *(Works and Days),* political power was the exclusive preserve of a hereditary aristocracy, still in its days of security, though Hesiod has them as gift devouring and scorning justice *(dike).* The authors of the *Theognidea* express aristocratic sentiments, but they are on the defensive. Society was divided, between the good and bad, literally moral terms, the *agathoi* and *kakoi,* aristocracy and the rest. The reason was new wealth, supplanting birth. Hesiod (for example *Works and Days* 320) and Solon (for example West 13.9) both accept that there are ways of acquiring good 'god-given' *(theosdota)* wealth; but all new wealth is bad in Theognis. This was a state of affairs in which *philiai* (alliances and friendships) were breaking down and changing all the time, in contrast to the perception of old permanence. As Adkins put it: 'the writers of the Theognid corpus for the most part feel themselves unable to exercise any effective control over the *economic,* social and political development of their city' (Adkins 1972: 46-7). This was hardly a simple 'economic' matter of wealth.

What comes between Hesiod and Theognis; what made the difference? De Ste Croix gives the answer of the tyrants.

> Institutions suited to maintaining in power even a non-hereditary ruling class
> . . . did not exist. . . Even non-hereditary oligarchy, based entirely on

property ownership and not on right of birth, was something new and
untried, lacking a traditional pattern which could be utilised without
potentially dangerous experiment. Until the necessary institutions had been
devised there was no real alternative to aristocracy but the dictatorship of a
single individual and his family - partly according to the old pattern of Greek
kingship, but now with a power which was not traditional but usurped.
(De Ste Croix 1981:281)

Here is reference to that renegotiation of sovereignty, already discussed. I suggest a
modification of this general point of De Ste Croix. Here is a mixture of the traditional
(monarchic power) and innovation (usurpation and new means of legitimation).
With a principle of hereditary succession threatened, other means of legitimation
were enhanced or sought; discourses were contested and redesigned. The evidence
from Korinth suggests that this substantially involved the Bakchiadai, the hereditary
aristocrats themselves.

   The idea is a strong one that the organs of power centred upon the aristocratic *oikoi*
and their retainers (Finley 1973; *passim;* Murray 1993: 84p5; Redfield 1975; **111,**
123-7; Runciman 1982). It is possible to accept this primacy of the household form
while also recognising, with Scully (1990: Chapter 7) the physical and conceptual
space of the polis. These *oikoi* were flexible social forms which combined economic,
religious, military, legal and household functions. I have also outlined a continuity of
changes from the mid eighth century; an increasing interest in public religion and
dedication; innovation and interest in the field of war; new physical and visual
environments with the development of the settlement of Korinth, the sacred city, and
the emergence of a representational iconography; travel (of goods and people); and
colonisation. The Bakchiadai were clearly an innovating and hardly stagnant aristoc-
racy. Their wealth would (in the absence of any institutional resources) have been the
basis for many projects and ventures, this continuity of material change. Not least, as
will be discussed below, they may well have provided ships for exchange and
colonisation; only professional traders could have otherwise afforded to own them,
and their existence, given a small amount of trading, is doubtful. The patronage of
this hereditary aristocracy must have played a significant pan.

Patronage, design and ideology?
How would such patronage work? From simple registering of the character and
geographical spread of the painted scenes it is clear that the design of pottery is
implicated in this cultural complex whose components include war and violence,
death and divinity, and travel, as well as innovation in the field of craft specialisation.
But how? This is also to raise the question of the ideological motivation of style. Were
innovative Korinthians commissioning new designs in support of their political and
social strategies? How were potting Korinthians responding to their political and
social circumstances? This is one line of questioning which will be taken through the
following chapters.