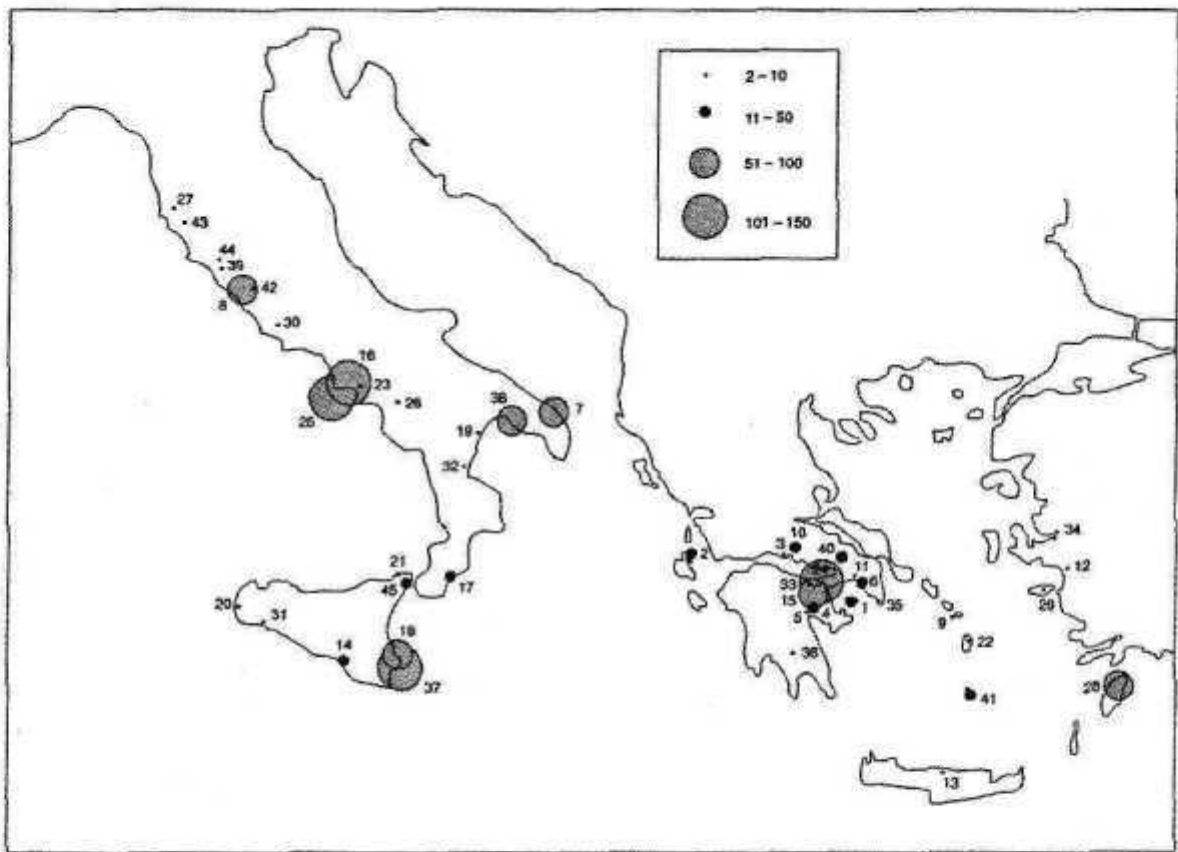

Consumption: perfume and violence in a Sicilian cemetery

Korinthian pots were taken to many sites abroad, in Greece and the West. A total of 1,121 pots in the sample (58 per cent) have a recorded provenance, coming from more than ninety sites including Korinth itself. These are almost entirely cemeteries in Greece, the Aegean and Italy (both Greek colonial and 'native' sites) and sanctuaries (mainly Greece and the Aegean). Sites and pot numbers are shown on Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

There are only eighty-seven pots from the production site of Korinth; more than 78 per cent of the provenanced pots (in the sample) were exported. It seems an inescapable conclusion that the production of pottery at this time was dominated by 'external' contacts and consumption. This conclusion may be conceived in a weaker or stronger way: either pots just happened to end up away from Korinth, or the pottery was designed for export. The proportion exported would seem to support the latter stronger conclusion. I will be examining these possibilities.

The importance of studying how artifacts were used, what Ruth Cowan (1987) has called the 'consumption junction', and how they came to be deposited in the archaeological record, seems clear in a contextual archaeology. For archaeological example, Whitley (1987, 1991b, 1994b) and Morris (1987) have presented studies of dark age Attic (and other regional) burial practices which aim to establish a dark age and archaic social structure read from careful delineation of the patterning found in archaeological remains (through statistical analysis of mortuary practices and combinations of grave goods). Their work has confirmed the value of exploiting contextual associations. But this is not the place to present such a study, for a number of reasons.

I am not willing to read society off from material culture patterning, for reasons outlined in Chapter One and associated with what I have termed the fallacy of representation. *A fortiori*, the use in such studies of multivariate statistical analysis to establish material culture patterning needs very careful qualification (Shanks 1992d). I have also indicated in Chapter One problems with the definition of context, arguing for indeterminate association rather than a conception of the context, for example, of an item of Geometric pottery as being solely the grave within which it happens to be found. Account needs to be taken of the fragments and ruins with which archaeologists work: I have been attempting to illustrate that it is indeed debatable whether the aim should be reconstruction of ancient 'social structure', taking the form of a conventional sociology or anthropology, arguing instead for the development of specifically archaeological forms of interpretation and narrative (see also Shanks 1992b, 1995a, 1995b).

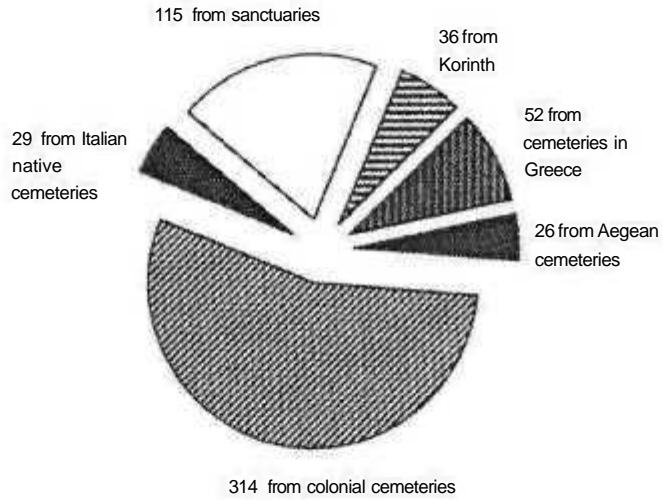


KEY

1 Aegina	6 Athens, Peiraios	10 Delphi	15 Korinth and	19 Metapontum	24 Perachora	28 Rhodes	32 Sibaris	3T Syracuse	42 Veii
2 Aetos	and Phaleron	11 Elcuis	Lechaion	30 Mozia	25 Pithekoussai	29 Samos	33 Sikyon	38 Taras	43 Vetulonia
3 Amphissa	V Brindisi	12 Ephesos	16 Kyme	21 Mylai	26 Pontecagnano	30 Satricum	34 Smyrna	39 Tarquinia	44 Vulci
4 Argive Heraion	8 Caere	13 Fortersa	17 Locri	22 Naxos	27 Populonia	31 Selinous	35 Sounion	JO Thebes	45 Zankle
5 Argers	9 Delos	14 Gela	18 Megara Hyblaia	23 Nola			3b Sparta	41 Thera	

Figure 4.1 The distribution of Corinthian pottery in the first half of the seventh century BC.

earlier



later

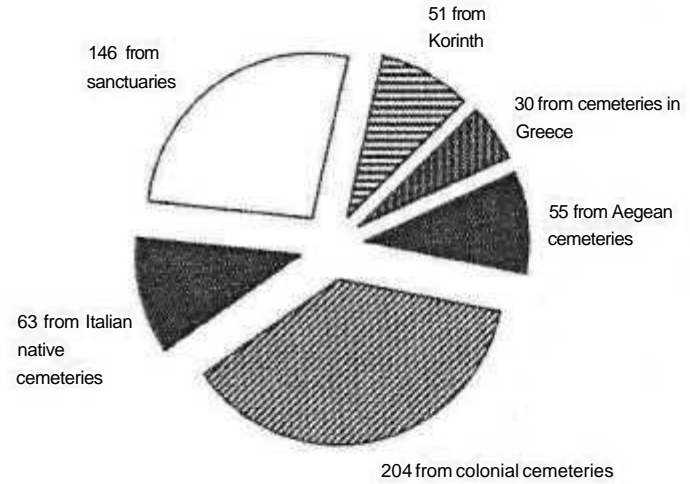


Figure 4.2 The main types of provenance of Corinthian pottery of the seventh century BC.

The life-cycle of the Korinthian aryballos leads out through its consumption in the hands of trader or colonist to its deposition. The assemblage that I have been sketching can be extended with further textures and associations, but a detailed study of the cemeteries and sanctuaries of the eighth and seventh centuries would require another book. However, it is also clear that broader conclusions are quite in order, for a consistent picture emerges.

Perfume and the body

κάλειφόμενην μύροις καὶ θυώμασιν
καὶ βακκάρῃ· καὶ γὰρ τις ἔμπορος παρήν.

I drenched myself with unguents, sweet scents
and myrrh; for there was a merchant or so at hand.
Semonides West 16

ἔνθα δὲ χηλοὶ
ἔστησαν, ἐν δ' ἄρα τῆσι θυώδεα εἶματ' ἔκειτο.

there chests
stood, in which garments as fragrant as incense lay stored.
Odyssey 21.51-2

The majority of the Korinthian pot shapes are accepted as accoutrement to drinking wine (cups and jugs), or they are small closed shapes which contained perfume. Aryballoi are the most numerous and conspicuous pots in terms of the figured decoration. I have no need to further elaborate the connotations and associations of cups and ewers: they fit easily into the ideological field I have been exploring. The drinking of wine may be easily related to the ideologies of that institution which I have already discussed, the symposion, the male drinking group, which comes to be such a significant feature in later Attic iconography (Lissarague 1990). Wine came to be a defining element of masculine society (Murray 1990). Here however, I wish to expand upon the place of perfume, sketch out its cultural space,

Were these aryballoi really perfume containers? Ancient Korinth was famed for its perfume, as has already been mentioned. Pliny (*Natural History* 13.5), writing much later of course, remarks that Korinthian perfume had long been popular. Plutarch (*Timoleon* 14.3) records Dionysios of Syracuse in exile, wandering the perfume boutiques of Korinth. But this is circumstantial evidence. Some earlier aryballoi are quite delicate and might therefore be supposed to be unsuitable for carrying expensive oil. Payne, in contrast, commented (1931: 4) that the early aryballoi are so delicate as to make them suitable *only* for perfume. However, most are very robust, as is shown by their preservation.

Payne noted that an aryballos from Akrai in Sicily (Payne 1931: 288, Cat. No. 486) smelled of scent when opened! Here we are getting closer. Biers, Searles, Gerhardt and Braniff have conducted analyses of residues in plastic or figure vases produced in Korinth in the seventh and sixth centuries BC - small closed containers



Figure 4.3 The face of the perfumed panther. An aryballo from the Argive Heraion.

which may well be suspected of carrying perfume (Biers et al. 1995; Biers *et al.* 1988). Gas chromatography and mass spectrometry revealed traces of camphor and various components of fats and oils perhaps related to perfume. There was docosane, a hydrocarbon found in plant material such as maize tassels and flowers, and the oleoresin of an evergreen tree was detected in two vases. Several ancient authors, including Pliny (*Natural History* 12.62), say such a substance was used in perfumery. In a poster session at the 96th meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Atlanta, Georgia 1994, Biers, Gerhardt and Braniff claimed, on the basis of analysis of the organic residues of twenty-four vases, that the contained perfume was pungent rather than floral and perhaps had insecticidal properties.

So let us assume that these vessels were perfume jars (Cook 1966: 232-3; Payne 1931:3-4).

There is quite a lot of evidence relating to perfume in the ancient world (Faure 1987). Forbes (1965: 34) lists the ingredients for twenty-eight ancient perfumes. After Dioscorides of the first century AD, Shelmerdine (1985: 11-16) gives account of processes of manufacture. Astringent plants were heated in oil to provide a base. Stronger aromatics were then added and strained repeatedly. Another method, later termed *enfleurage*, used animal fats to extract oils or essences (Dioscorides 2.76) (perhaps those animal fats found in the organic residues are traces of this (Biers *et al.* 1988)).

A Bronze Age perfume industry and traffic in the Aegean is very well attested (Bunimovitz 1987; Shelmerdine 1985). There is considerable textual evidence for

movement of resins and perfumed oils (Knapp 1991: 32-47), Haldane (1990: 57-8) reports remains of coriander seeds, flower parts, pomegranate skin and safflower seeds in the Ulun Burun shipwreck (Turkey) of the late fourteenth century BC and suggests that the coriander and pomegranate could be used in preparation of the astringent oil base for perfume.

The associations of sweet smells in early poetry have been outlined by Lilja (1972): gods, religious uses, eros, stored clothes, symposia, anointed corpses. The gender contrast with Korinthian pottery is interesting: most references to perfume in ancient poetry are in association with women, not men (*ibid.*: esp. 63-4). Archaic perfume thus belongs perhaps with gender redefinitions in a field of ideological negotiation. Lilja (*ibid.*; Chapter 4) could find no distinction between unguents and other manufactured perfumed substances: ancient perfume was associated with olive oil.

Working from a wide range of ancient literary sources and in classic structuralist manner, Detienne (1977, 1979: Chapter 2) has interpreted the cultural field of ancient perfume as culinary: gendered, economic and physical or physiological, relating also to animals and sex (seduction and the perfume of the panther, already mentioned above (seep. 100)). Perfumes were associated with spices (through their scent, strange and exotic origins). They had culinary associations as scents and perfumes were sometimes conceived as the food of the gods; there was a hierarchy of foods from perfumes to the raw anthropophagy of lower orders. Perfumes were aphrodisiacs, instilling the drying heat of passion, and thus can be associated with conceptions of gender, because woman was conceived as hotter and more moist than the male (in order to resist the drying effect of passion's heat). Mason has supported these references to gender in an interpretation of Hesiod's presentation of the birth of woman and sacrifice. Pandora, 'gift' from Zeus to men, was like fire (Mason 1987: 153-4), and the circumstances of her arrival in the world of mortality brought death, sacrifice, the need for sexual reproduction and agriculture (previously men were closer to divinity in the lack of these). Agriculture and sexual reproduction were linked in mythical origin: the need to plough a furrow went with the need to sow seed in the woman (see also DuBois 1988). Foods and basic needs changed in Hesiod's mythical origin of sex and gender. The connections go further. Hesiod's misogyny has woman as a combination of active and passive: lack of industry and lust for sex. This is that contrast between the absent female in Korinthian ceramic design, and the presence of dangerous warrior women and other monsters.

The space of perfume is thus a complex one. Although based upon olive oil, it is treated and transformed. Thus it is outside of agriculture and associated foods, belonging with divinity, and with a culinary code which distinguishes gods from men from lower and animal orders. As hot aphrodisiac it is sexually charged, coming between male and female. Perfumed oil is also of the body, and I have described how Korinthian design can be interpreted as a locus for definitions of the body. Applied to the skin, it cleans and enhances. Perfumed oil belongs with a concern with the body, its appearance and personal condition.

This is all particularly appropriate to its consumption in cemeteries and sanctuaries: gift to gods, perfumed oil for the body of the dead. Appropriate also for voyaging

outside the polis of agriculture and marriage, in the time and space of the marginal adult male, the trading time outside the agricultural cycle, in search of wealth and personal sovereignty.

Cemeteries and sanctuaries: the shape of consumption

Export to cemeteries and sanctuaries: the numbers of pots found in other contexts (domestic, for example) are so low (for full details see Shanks 1992e: Appendix 1) that I have added them to the regional counts for cemeteries in Figure 4.4 or the published details of provenance and context are uncertain and I have simply excluded these pots from interpretation of consumption patterns.

I make reminder again that Korinthian pottery is an object of discourse. The dominance of cemeteries and sanctuaries may, of course, be an illusion, the product of research priorities and preferences of classical archaeology, product also of differential preservation. Fieldwork over the last century and a half has concentrated upon public buildings in settlement centres, temples included, and upon the great sanctuaries. Cemeteries have attracted attention because they are likely to yield a good return of artifacts for effort invested, an important consideration for artifact and museum-centred interests. Korinthian pottery has been found at settlement sites (for example, Megara Hyblaea: Vallet and Villard 1964. But even if Korinthian pottery was consumed in domestic contexts too, this does not alter the fact that major modes of consumption were as grave goods and as offerings in religious contexts away from Korinth. It seems very reasonable to continue interpretation based upon this fact.

Cemeteries and sanctuaries in early archaic Greece

Snodgrass, in his analysis of the emergence of the polis (1980a: esp. 52-65), has emphasised the importance of religious developments, the growth of communal sanctuaries in which was invested considerable wealth, a shift of attention away from the individual grave. Simply in terms of quantities of goods, the sanctuaries were a major part of the archaic economy. He has also noted (*ibid.*: 105) a shift from dedicated tripods to weapons, after about 675. Tripods were replaced somewhat by oriental cauldrons but he connects the rise in dedicated weaponry with hoplites and their possible place in the city state. As well as a focus for dedication, some sanctuaries were the site for games and contests. Of course, Olympia is infamous.

Morgan (1993: 26-7) has outlined what she sees as the gradual accretion of sanctuary and religious functions to the state. The formalisation of athletics, contest and funerals represented a taming or curtailment of elite spheres of activity. The transfer of arms and armour from graves to sanctuaries represents an ideological statement of the place of military force in the state.

The material ambience of some sanctuaries is markedly cosmopolitan with dedications of many local styles and forms (Snodgrass 1980a: 52-65 for a summary). This was the case at Perachora for example (see p. 187), as also at the Samian Heraion where has been found a diversity of goods, especially from the east, which came in quantity after the eighth century (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985: esp. 236-40; Strom 1992 on eastern goods in Greek sanctuaries generally).

For De Polignac (1984, 1994) sanctuaries were rallying points, locales for the exchange of hospitality and alliances, like fairs (Gernet 1968). Games and dedication particularly made of them theatres of ostentation (De Polignac 1994: 17), with individual and inter-state rivalry a function of the loose clan structure I have described above (*ibid.*; 13). The import of goods, including eastern exotica, is a prominent feature of the mobility represented by sanctuaries, meeting points for local populations and those travelling from further afield. Morgan mentions the likelihood of itinerant craftsmen (1990: 37). Local populations, Greeks and foreigners, sacred and profane goods and activities: I have already mentioned in Chapter Two the marginality which may be associated with sanctuaries - they were connective locales for the meeting of different worlds. This may also be seen in the siting of the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries (Delphi, Olympia, Isthmia and Nemea) in marginal, inter-state areas (Morgan 1993: 31).

The sanctuaries received gifts and pillage, but not all artifacts found in the sanctuaries are votive. There is considerable evidence for sacrifice and burning, cooking and eating from early times onwards. At early Isthmia 'the material record indicates that drinking and dining were the principal activities . . . emphasis seems to have been placed on communal dining rather than on the display of wealth, and no investment was made in building' (Morgan 1994: 113; see Gebhard and Hemans 1992: 13-15). Consensus is that communal dining was a significant part of cult activity (Bergquist 1990; Kron 1988; Tomlinson 1980, 1990).

With respect to mediation and travel between worlds, consider also that in the famous rich warrior grave (45) at Argos, dated to about 710 BC, were found, with the weaponry and armour, twelve iron cooking spits and two firedogs in the shape of warships (Courbin 1957: 370-85). Other similar firedogs are known from four warrior graves in Crete and Cyprus (Coldstream 1977: 146). Mason, in discussing Hesiod's cosmogony and account of the origins of sacrifice (1983), isolates a culinary semantic field (separating mortals and immortals *via* operations performed upon grain and meat, particularly in sacrificial rites) and connects it with gender and economic distinctions. The fire, smoke and aroma of sacrifice draw perfume too into the culinary field. Eating and cuisine may be connected with persona! identity- what it is to be a person.

Design and provenance

When compared with the overall pattern of consumption, as represented by Figure 4.2, the consumption of *figured* Corinthian pots (those with figured work covering more than one third of the surface), as represented in Figure 4.4, reveals an interesting regional variation: more figured pots were going to sites in Greece and the Aegean than to colonies and sites in Italy and the West. So, whereas 64 per cent of all earlier production ended up in the cemeteries of Italy, only 43 per cent of figured wares went the same way. These figures are 54 and 39 per cent for later pots, 59 and 40 per cent for all pots. The relative proportion of figured pottery which went to the cemeteries and sanctuaries of the mainland and Aegean is larger, by corollary: for example, 25 per cent of total production ended in sanctuaries (mostly Greece and Delos in the

Aegean), but 38 per cent of the figured ware was for the same places. Phi-squared values indicate that this association between figured friezes and site is not a strong one, but it is consistent. It is possible to say that the people of the colonies of Italy, non-Greeks too, who deposited Korinthian pots in graves, were not so inclined towards the figured pots, were more conservative in terms of ceramic style.

Simple inspection of the figured designs from the main sites seems to indicate that some themes or subjects may be associated particularly with one site or type of site.

Earlier pots with scenes containing people occur exclusively in Greece and the islands, and mainly in cemeteries.

There are no earlier pots with birds from the mainland and island cemeteries.

Pots with geometric and floral ornament occur mainly in sanctuaries.

The distribution of particular motifs according to site type and region is shown in Figures 4.5 and 4.6. The points just made are clearer in these figures. However, there is otherwise a great deal of similarity from region to region and site type to site type. The slight deviations from what would be expected if all the regions and site types used the same pots, favouring the same kinds of design, are clear and as mentioned: they are to do with the occurrence of people and the geometric or floral in the scenes. Overall, the figures upon Korinthian pots say little about where they were consumed or ended up. (Discussion and statistics: Shanks 1992a: 184-5 and Appendix 2, Tables 6.6 and 6.7.)

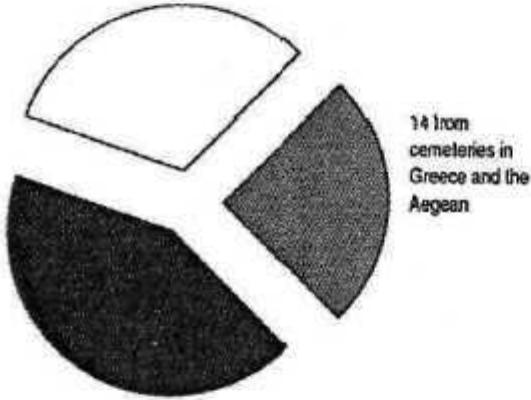
The lack of images of people upon the pots in the colony cemeteries explains the appearance of relative conservatism I have just noted as may perhaps the lack of birds on pots from Greek and island cemeteries. Scenes involving people are the most explicit rendering of the visual ideology I am interpreting. Birds are the main figurative element of late Geometric style, and a stylistically forward-looking preference may have wished to avoid their use. The high number for geometric or floral ornament in the sanctuaries is almost entirely explained by a series of plates or dishes from Perachora and Aetos.

So the conclusion seems reasonable that there are no obvious and significantly different preferences for particular design elements, apart from a relative conservatism in the west regarding earlier peopled scenes. There is indeed a remarkable homogeneity in the distribution of figured frieze components and types.

The question of the relation between source, trader and destination is raised by an interesting observation. Many Korinthian pots are found in the same context (grave or votive or sanctuary deposit) as other pots which are *exactly* the same, and these pots are often the only examples of that particular design. There are forty-two such earlier pots and sixty-two later: 7 per cent and 11 per cent of earlier and later pots with a provenance. To express this more effectively, given the immense variability of Korinthian design described above, if two or more pots are exactly the same, there is a one in seven to one in six chance (or higher) that they will be from exactly the same site and context. (These figures are perhaps more significant given the poor quality of archaeological samples and that 42 per cent of the sample pots have no reliably recorded provenance.) This suggests that Korinthian pots were taken straight from

earlier

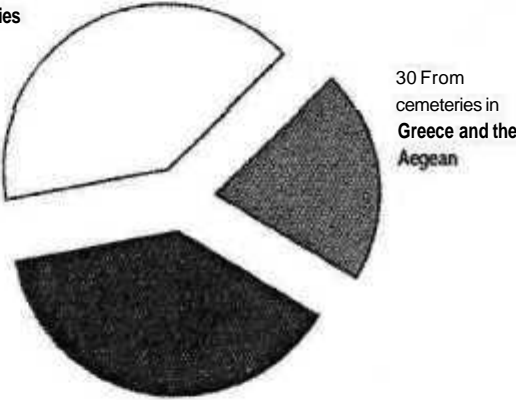
18 from sanctuaries



24 from colonial and Italian native cemeteries

later

43 from sanctuaries



30 From cemeteries in Greece and the Aegean

41 from colonial and Italian native cemeteries

Figure 4.4 Figured Korinthian pots and their provenances.

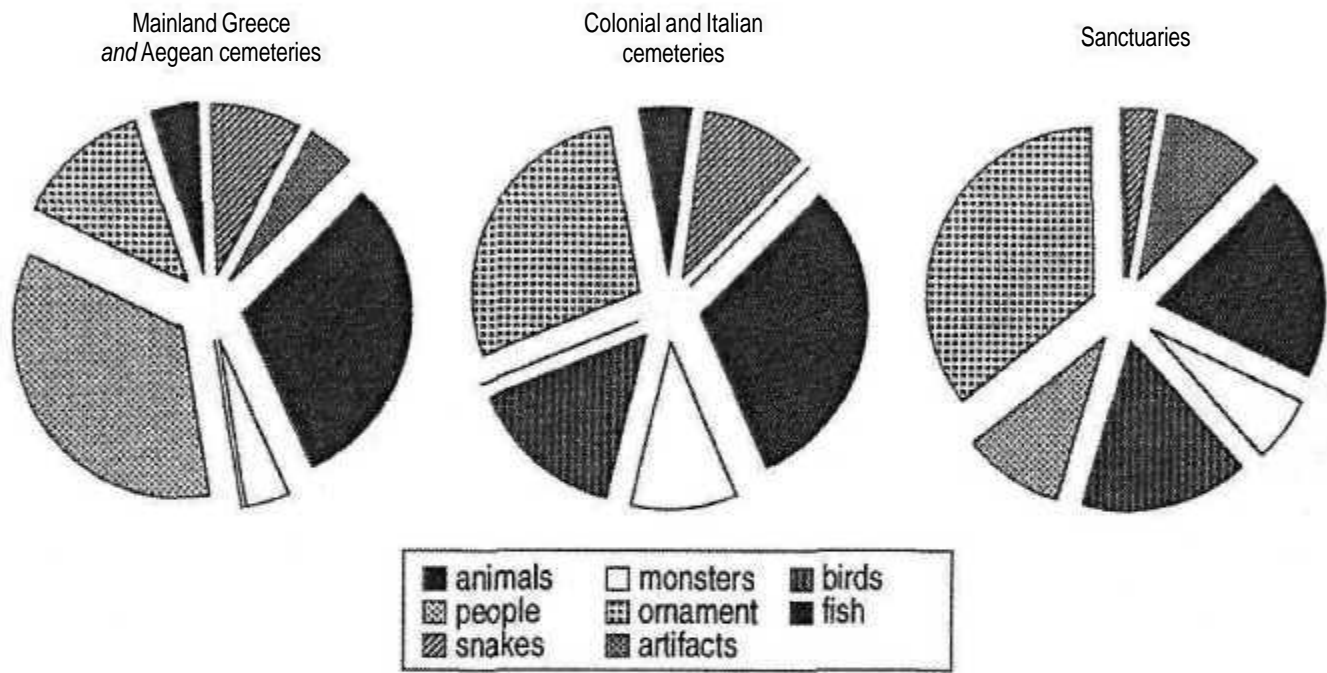


Figure 4.5 Components of the earlier Korinithian friezes and their provenances.

potter to consumer, and that there was little circulation or use of the pots outside their offering as grave or sacred gift. The remarkable homogeneity just noted could be interpreted in support of this, that the pots were acquired for their use as grave good, votive offering or some other use in a sanctuary.

The consumption of Korinthian pottery at some particular sites

This is a general picture. But what of particular sites? There are sufficient numbers of pots in the sample from several individual sites to enable a quantitative comparison of different designs. The sites are Korinth itself, the sanctuaries of Perachora and Aetos on Ithaka, the Attic cemetery at Phaleron, and cemeteries at Pithekoussai, Syracuse (Fusco) and Kyme. These are well-enough published to enable reliable judgement about the context of deposition. Figures 4.7 and 4.8 present the data.

The general impression of a relative conservatism in the cemeteries of Italy regarding figured frieze pots is not apparent when all different types of pot design are considered. For the earlier period the proportion of plain linear decoration (following an old Geometric canon) at Perachora is high, while the new figured friezes appear quite popular at the Korinthian colony of Syracuse. Dog-frieze pots feature much higher in later colony cemeteries than in the sanctuaries - proportionately twice as many. The decorated plates from Perachora and Aetos are again evident in the proportion of pots with geometric or floral ornament. Aetos also appears both earlier and later to have used relatively more different non-figurative designs, in marked contrast with the other sanctuary, Perachora; this may be an effect of the small sample size. Later sites are otherwise consistent in terms of the relative variability of design represented by the number of non-figurative design elements.

The most distinctive observation to be made of the Korinthian pots found in these sites is the marked contrast between Korinth and all the other sites (due to the presence of pots with simple and all-over black surface, with little or no decoration).

I am not eager to push hard the data in the absence of major and obvious differences and with relatively small sample sizes. There are indeed local differences such as those I have just listed, but the overall picture is:

- a preponderance in all sites of linear pots with little extra decoration;
- a large increase in the number of dog-frieze pots in the colony cemeteries;
- a general rise in all sites in the presence of figured pots;
- a difference between the pots consumed at Korinth and those elsewhere.

These are all general points which have already been made about the development and changes in the design of Korinthian pot design. There may well be a degree of conservatism in the use of Korinthian pots in colony cemeteries: in addition to the point made earlier, I add that dog-frieze pots are a restrained reference to the themes I have interpreted. But overall there is a clear picture. Design and composition give little clue to the provenance of different pots and designs; there is a marked homogeneity or consistency in the pattern of consumption. Apart from at Korinth itself.

It would be interesting to consider not just surface decoration but also the forms used at different sites. However, the different types of pot have not been consistently

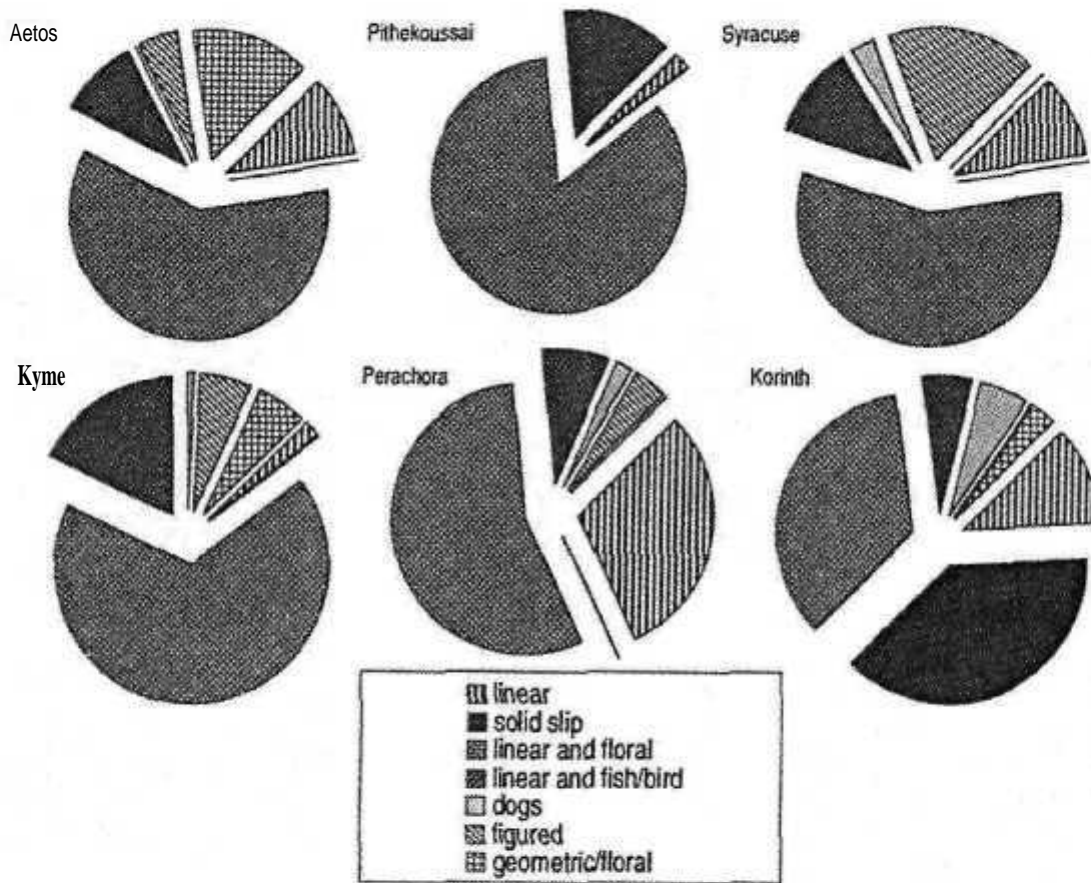


Figure 4.7 Types of earlier design from different sites.

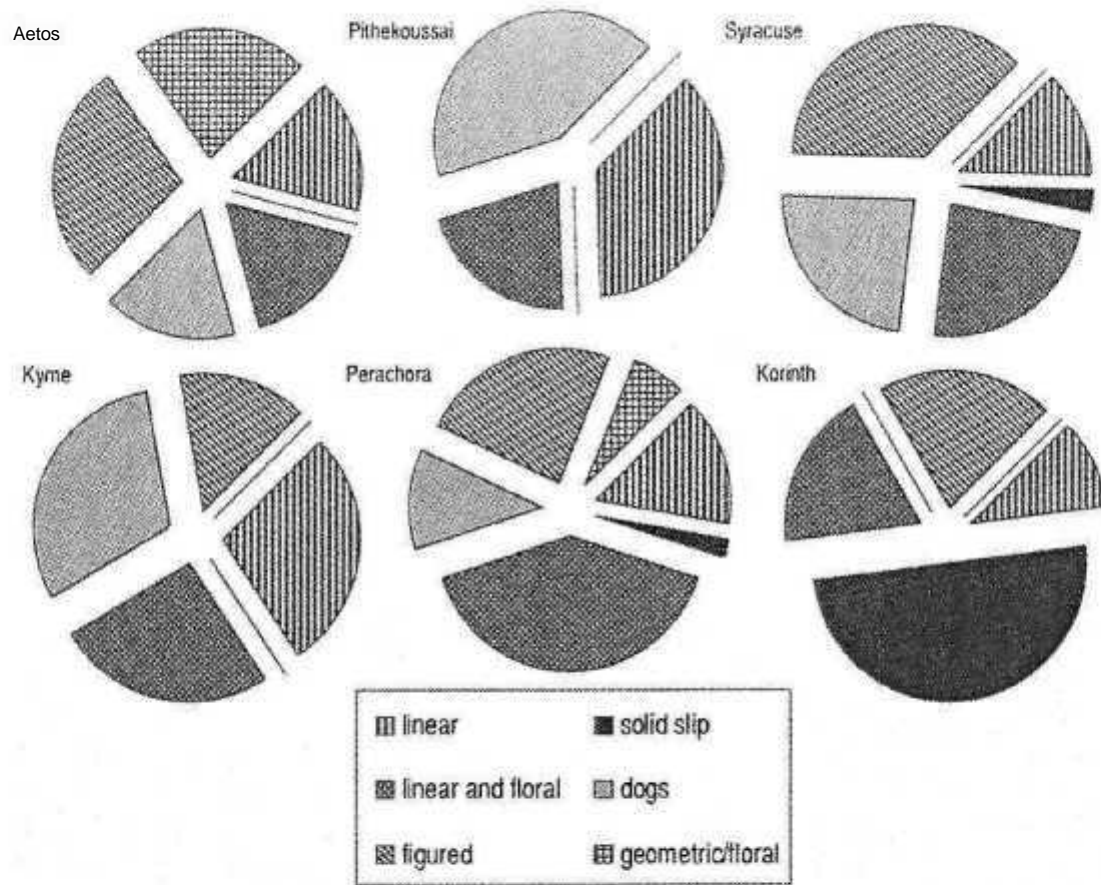


Figure 4.8 Types of later design from different sites.

published. Often only representative pot shapes and designs have been recorded, with little statistical information given about those omitted. This applies particularly to pots decorated more simply and linearly. It therefore makes conclusion about the character of Korinthian design according to site difficult and unreliable. This is another reason why I am not happy with extracting too fine detail from the data just discussed.

I have so far been able to make some comments about general consumption, and there are no new lines I might follow, no major additions to that cultural assemblage which is Korinthian design, though the picture has clarified. That the production of Korinthian pottery at this time in the early state was dominated by export, and the character of home consumption was different has been recognised before. Johansen's synoptic work (1923) and Payne's on Korinthian pottery generally (1931) were much concerned with provenance but simply in terms of establishing for certain the source of the style of pottery known from so many sites in Greece and the west. That some types of Korinthian pottery (geometric Thapsos and protokorinthian) were for the 'export' trade has been argued for example by Roebuck, (1972: 117-21) and Coldstream (1977: esp. 186-7; 242). Salmon (1984: 110-11, n. 64) makes a distinction between pots which accompanied Korinthians for purposes which could not be served at home (such as dedication), and a true 'export' market or purpose. His point is that the distribution of types probably depends upon the nature of the sites that have been excavated in the west and in the Korinthia: 'the shapes which Roebuck claims were made for export were especially suitable for dedication (Thapsos cups and protokorinthian cups and aryballoi), whether in sanctuaries or in graves: that will explain why they are found only rarely at home' (*ibid.*: n. 64). But what makes a pot 'especially suitable for dedication'? This is the key question. And how can pots carried by Korinthians be distinguished from pots carried by others? Is it a worthwhile distinction at all, a valid archaeological question? I will consider this question of 'export' in Chapter Five. Here I observe that the quantitative analysis reported above indicates that particular types of pot do not seem to have been designed for particular places or for particular forms of use or consumption, other than Korinth itself. But this is a substantive rather than quantitative observation in the sense that it is not just that most pots happened to end up abroad, but that Korinthian design included internal reference (in what I have termed its cultural assemblage) to travel, mobility and the mediation of marginal states and spaces.

Korinthian pots travelled to sanctuaries and cemeteries. What was the character of these types of site and how were the pots used with other artifacts? I will now move in and discuss some particular sites.

Cemeteries

Phaleron The cemetery at Phaleron (Pelekides 1916; Young 1942), used from the late eighth century, was perhaps the poorest in Attika, in terms of things buried with the bodies. Many of the burials had no grave goods at all. For the

eighty-seven excavated graves there were six methods of interment, with burial in urns reserved for small children. Many of the graves cannot be dated with any certainty, because of the lack of grave goods. Young (1942: 24) found that mainly the child burials contained articles with chronological (therefore stylistic) significance. Most of the offerings are small even miniature and, in comparison with large mortuary ceramics elsewhere, of poor quality (see summary comment in Coldstream 1977: esp. 117). There is a mixture of local Attic pots and Korinthian, the former often apparently under influence from the latter. The forms ate mixed open cups in fine fabric, some aryballoi, oinochoai, and some pots in coarse fabric.

Pithekoussai Settlement and the associated cemetery of this Euboean establishment date from the middle of the eighth century (Buchner and Ridgway 1993; Ridgway 1992b for bibliography). There was a variety of mortuary practices. Children and people aged up to eighteen to twenty were buried in coffins in trenches with grave goods; infants were given *enchytrismos* burial (in amphorae and other large containers). Cremations of adults of either sex were made upon a pyre with or without grave goods and then the remains were taken to the place of burial and sometimes covered with a tumulus (as were some inhumations), sometimes with further grave goods. Some adults of either sex also received inhumations in trench graves without grave goods. Two-thirds of the excavated burials are pre-adult.

Grave goods are mainly pottery, imported and local, and personal ornaments in metal. Rhodian pottery is of the characteristic *Kreis- und Wellenband* style of globular aryballoi - the pots claimed to be of Phoenician manufacture by Coldstream (1969). There are Levantine aryballoi and one north Syrian protome variety too (Ridgway 1992b: Fig. 12, from grave 215-4). Korinthian aryballoi are numerous. There are local copies, such as those found at Kyme (see Neef's groupings (1987)). There is the same variety of imported *lekythoi*, including also Argive monochrome. Oinochoai are local and Korinthian. Cups include Thapsos *skyphoi* and those Korinthian *kotylai* with very thin walls (metal skeuomorphs?). The amphorae used in the *enchytrismos* rite are mostly local coarse ware, but looking like Near Eastern types; one in ten are Korinthian, Euboean, Chiot and Phoenician imports. Though a Euboean foundation, Euboean pottery is relatively rare.

The excavations have recovered the largest collection of paste scarabs of Egyptian type found in a Greek cemetery (Hölbl 1979: Vo. 2, 177f, Nos. 740-856). The red and green serpentine scaraboids of North Syrian or Cilician types (the Lyre-Player group) are prominent and are also found all over the contemporary Greek world (for analogous types in Rhodes and Cyprus see Bosticco 1957: 228). Most occur with babies and children. Some are local imitations (Hölbl 1979: Vol. 1, 215f).

The personal ornaments include bronze fibulae conforming to the Villanovan sequence; arm bands and pendants are also closely related to Italian types. There is some patterning to deposition of metal grave goods: silver personal ornaments tend to appear in adult cremations; bronze appear in child inhumations. More generally, in all this variety arrangement of graves in family plots seems evident (Ridgway 1992b: 52-4) with also clear distinction of age grades by rite. No graves exceptionally

rich in goods have been found as yet to prompt the usual archaeological interpretations of social hierarchy.

The cemetery's material culture is in marked contrast with the dump of material excavated on the acropolis (its origins are uncertain). There aryballoi are virtually absent while kraters are common. Thin-walled *kotylai* are much rarer and there is a range of shapes for dining and drinking, though the imported pieces are drinking accoutrement.

Kyme Across the bay of Naples from Pithekoussai, the colony of Kyme was settled sometime in the second half of the eighth century (*Monumenti Antichi Vol. 22, 1913*). The nineteenth-century excavations of the cemetery yielded a considerable amount of pottery which can be found in many museums, but little was systematically recorded. There seems to have been a distinction between adult cremation in stone-covered bronze cauldrons and child inhumation. One notable cauldron is of a North Syrian type with bull's head protomes (Amandry 1956: 242-3, Pl. 28). Its profile looks similar to cauldrons at Eretria. Local pottery sometimes closely imitated the main imported type, Korinthian. There are some oil containers from Euboea and Rhodes. As at Pithekoussai oriental scarabs occur only in inhumation graves, presumed to be of children. Metal offerings were also made of fibulae, beads, bracelets and rings, many of silver.

The rich graves did not contain pottery. Consider tomb 104 of the Fondo Artiaco plot. This is a cist tomb. Cremated ashes with jewellery were placed in a silver box inside two cauldrons which contained also purple linen cloth. The box was covered by an Etruscan bronze shield accompanied by two bronze cauldrons one inside the other upon a conical stand. One cauldron with lotus handles is reminiscent of a Cypriot type from two centuries earlier. Other grave goods included horse bits, ironmongery, bronze spearheads, a carp's-tongue sword of Italian type, two more silver vessels, a Phoenician piriform jug, a *kotyle* of Korinthian shape, an oversized electrum fibula of Villanovan style, and an Etruscan orientalising silver fibula.

Coldstream's discussion of the grave (1994: 55) is an ethnic speculation about the relative involvement of Italians, Greeks and Phoenicians, familiar in traditional archaeology's culture history. He pits Strom's supposition of locals being predominant (Strom 1971: 147) against Buchner's Greek colonists (Buchner 1979).

Syracuse (Fusco) In the 730s some Korinthians founded Syracuse (Hencken 1958; Orsi 1893, 1895), the site taken from local Sicels. Burial was similar to that of Korinth. Inhumation in rectangular graves, rock-cut or sarcophagi, was the usual practice in the earliest and main colonial cemetery of Fusco. Bronze pins were offered, necklaces, rings, fibulae, and a horse figurine has been found. There were also bronze bowls and cauldrons. Hencken (1958) has plotted many connections or similarities between the metalwork offerings and examples across Greece, Italy and Western Europe. There were scarabs and other orientalia too, but not as many as at Pithekoussai. Imported pottery was mostly Korinthian - aryballoi, cups and oinochoai. Again there were local copies of perhaps Argive and Korinthian style.

Sanctuaries

Perachora The development of the sanctuary of Hera Akraia across the gulf from Korinth can be traced from the beginning of the eighth century at the latest (Dunbabin *et al.* 1962; Payne 1940; Salmon 1972; Tomlinson 1977, 1990, 1992).

In the eighth century there was an apsidal temple by the harbour and a 'sacred pool' associated with dining (Tomlinson 1994: esp. 334-5). A second temple by the seventh century is postulated, though there is no direct evidence. A rectangular building on an upper terrace has been identified as a diningroom by Tomlinson (1977: esp. 197) and given a seventh-century date (Tomlinson 1992: 333, after Immerwahr 1990: 16). A polygonal terrace wall of approximately the same date attests to site development. There was also the trace of a building near the 'sacred pool'.

Remains of the sanctuary's goods show that it was especially flourishing in the seventh and sixth centuries and was indeed one of the major Greek sanctuaries at this time, with finds exceeding those of Delphi. Artifacts excavated include pottery, mainly Korinthian, *koulouria* (ring-shaped ceramic cakes), known also from Kerkyra and later Solygeia in the Korinthia, jewellery (including thin sheet gold), pins, figurines and ivory seals bearing figurative designs. There are over 900 objects in Egyptian style, mostly scarabs. Of the eighth to seventh century bronzes 80 per cent are of eastern origin (74 per cent Phoenician and 6 per cent from Greek Ionia) (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985: 215-54). There is no evidence of tripod or armour dedications.

Interesting finds were remains of ceramic models of houses or temples (Fagerström 1958: 155-7; Payne 1940: 34-51, Pl. 9). Others have been found at another sanctuary closely associated with Korinthian goods, Aetos (Robertson 1948: 101-2, Pl. 45a-g). These models may represent an interest in (new?) architectural designs. For Morgan (1994: 129-35) they symbolise trade (the sanctuaries' site and cosmopolitan material culture), household and territory (again the site within the Korinthian chora), an association between the *oikos* and marriage links (the mediatory role of sanctuaries) (*ibid.*: 133).

Aetos Out west, *via* the Korinthian Gulf, from around 800 BC dedications were made on the island of Ithaka at Aetos (Benton 1953; Robertson 1948). No temple or religious building has been confirmed and the name of any deity is unknown. This has led Morgan (1988: 315-16) to doubt that Aetos was simply a sanctuary, more a 'central place' with some cult functions; but it remains accepted as such. Finds came from three terraces upon which votives seem to have been dumped. As well as Korinthian and local pottery, there are beads, ornaments, amulets in the form of miniature bronze vessels, scaraboid seals from Asia Minor, ivory seals and hammered bronze horse figurines.

General points about the consumption of Korinthian pottery in sanctuaries and cemeteries
I have indicated that a detailed contextual interpretation of the consumption of

Korinthian artifacts is out of the question on the grounds that it would require another volume. It is also the case that variability of publication is a problem, as are the poor stratigraphical contexts of the excavated sanctuaries (most material is recovered from indiscriminate dumping). Even large samples from cemetery sites such as Pithekoussai are clearly skewed. It is nevertheless quite possible to make some pertinent points.

I begin with three truisms of theory.

Burial practices are more about the living than the dead; they are the *social* practices of members of society.

Mortuary practices, at the junction between active living members of society and the dead, frequently take the form of a *rite of passage*, or part of such a rite, between two or more social states or conditions.

These two points are the basis of most anthropological and archaeological investigation of mortuary practices (see, for example, Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979; archaeological discussion in Chapman and Randsborg 1981; Shanks and Tilley 1987: esp. 42-5; see also Morris 1987).

Objects dedicated to divinity at a sanctuary, votive offerings, objects placed with the dead are all *gifts*. Reference is also made to *value* in every case of dedication or offering. The giver or receiver may value and desire the gift. The gift may not be valued by the giver - those pots given to the dead may be cheap and worthless, but nonetheless reference is made to value if only in that the act of giving is considered appropriate and right. This notion of the value of a sacred or grave gift may be an abstract one of 'wealth' or 'expense': hence our common-sense notions of 'rich' and 'poor' sites and graves. Abstract value (for example that of a commodity) is detached from the object itself. But another sense of value is that of the gift. Here the value of an object is that it is inalienable in the sense that it is not separated from people and social relations, but people and things may interpenetrate, with people implicated in the things they give, and objects taking on the attributes of people. To give something may well be to give a part of oneself.

I suspect that it is because of a dichotomy between these two notions (abstract commodity object and gift implicated in the social) that much analysis of mortuary practices in archaeology holds a premise that the mortuary domain represents society, and often pragmatically uses grave goods as some sort of index of abstract wealth and therefore social rank or status (for example Whitley 1991). The subtlety of people's treatment of the dead and consequent difficulty of interpretation, anthropological or archaeological (see the classic cautionary tale of Ucko 1969), is ignored in a methodological imperative to find 'society' *via* a dichotomous conception of the object or artifact (for a discussion of such mortuary analyses of Morris and Whitley in Dark Age and Archaic Attika see Shanks 1992d). My treatment here of Korinthian pottery and its cultural assemblage of production, travel and consumption is an attempt to relocate artifacts in an *indeterminate* space (created in a particular inter-

pretive encounter) which is beyond radical distinctions between commodity and **gift**, the economic and social. I refer back to my discussion of the character of an artifact (its ontology) in Chapter One.

And now to the points which emerge from considering the consumption of Korinthian pottery in these cemeteries and sanctuaries.

There is, through the eighth and seventh centuries, (often increasing) 'wealth' and energy invested in cemeteries and sanctuaries.

The material invested in cemeteries and sanctuaries is usually a cosmopolitan mix of local products, artifacts from the east Greek world, some Greek places such as Korinth, Euboea, Argos and Rhodes, and includes also goods from or references to beyond this milieu - orientalism and the east.

This represents a reference to mobility, mediation and travel, whether of goods or people, in relation to cemetery and sanctuary, death and divinity.

Many goods here are special or exotic in some way: imports, brought from afar.

The cauldrons recall the discussion I presented of the special character of tripods and bowls; here they are connected directly with the body. The local copies of imported ceramics implies that the imports were of stylistic value in some way.

These sites of consumption can be interpreted as making persistent reference to social, cultural and conceptual *edges*: the colonies are at the edges of the Greek (next to the non-Greek world), importing also and making reference to eastern, non-Greek articles; death is at the junction of life and death, society and nature (hence the rites of passage); sanctuaries mediate mortality and divinity.

The *person* or social individual is consistently implicated in this consumption of Korinthian pottery. Here it is important to note that the individual is not automatically referenced in mortuary practices; there is no cross-cultural regularity which has the social individual or person referred to in the treatment of the dead. (I assume that there is no need to support this point here: consider collective burial and see the arguments about the individual in Shanks and Tilley 1987; Chapter 3). There is the notion of the gift forming a link between giver and receiver; most of the articles given are small, or miniature (the scrutiny of inspection rather than public view), and pertain perhaps to the person - perfume for massaging or anointing the body, pins, rings, amulets and (personal?) seals for adorning the body. And the different treatment of adult and younger dead implies a distinction between the adult full member of society and those who have not yet become so, have not yet become a *social* person or individual.

There is remarkable consistency, a *koine*, across different sites with respect to these listed characteristics. My presentation should be enough to establish that this is not a function of the coarseness of the archaeological sample.

The gift and identity through self-alienation

One interpretation of the consumption of goods in these places is that external relations and stylistic origins (the exotic goods, imports from Greece and mother-

cities of distinctive and non-local style) are being used to construct a self-image of a society or community as an entity in relation to some 'other'. Arafat and Morgan (1989: 335) write of a 'Mayflower complex' wherein elite status in colonial communities was maintained by stylistic reference back to pre-colonial origins (also Morgan 1993: 20). They rightly point to long-lasting local demand and local copies of imported items (often almost indistinguishable from Korinthian). But there is no need to invoke differences of class or rank. I could find no immediate correlation between pot deposition and anything which Arafat and Morgan might interpret as representing ranked society, although in the absence of detailed quantitative analyses and with limited data.

In these particular arenas of consumption, people are perhaps bringing themselves to encounter the edges of their local and immediate social experience, and in so doing this local social existence is given identity and form. In using pots from Greece, both traditional and innovative in style, in referencing a wider international milieu with which the community exchanges, in using these goods in confrontation with death and divinity, the ultimate 'other', society constructs itself. In the colonies, this self-construction of identity is in the face of other people who are non-Greek. With death and the sacred belong those origins and exchanges which mark the beginnings and edges of the community which is burying or making the offering. Such a process would, of course, be particularly appropriate in situations such as new colonies or societies undergoing change, where identity was under re-evaluation or doubt.

The relative, but slight, conservatism of the colonies regarding peopled scenes, and later conservative preference for dog friezes may be explained by the use of goods to construct identity. Pots which make reference to Greek stylistic origins and are less stylistically innovative may be more attractive in these new communities than those which stretched stylistic taste in a way that was perceived excessive, yet the interplay of tradition and innovation is fundamental to the significance of this style.

This sort of process of cultural construction is very familiar in anthropological accounts of how society is constituted in and through exchange. A community may assert its own internal viability through the idea of it being positively valued by others who come with their goods. But external relations (so important to self identity) may be manipulated by certain groups to the detriment of others: some people may have a monopoly on these important relations with the 'other' and thereby is established a social hierarchy. It is not far to that other process, 'prestige-goods' economy, to which so much reference has been made in social archaeology. Here social elites carefully control access to foreign goods which are the means of display of status, wealth and power: people and certain articles are reciprocally the agents of each other's value and estimation.

But the assemblage of goods and practices in these cemeteries and sanctuaries indicates that there is a great deal more going on. I think of the literature (from Malinowski 1922 to Leach and Leach 1983 and Strathern 1988) surrounding one of the classic cases of exchange network, the *Kula* ring in the Melanesian archipelago, and the difficulty of explanation in simple terms. The inadequacy of separating economic, ritual and political factors is clear and is discussed in Chapter Five. Here

in the archaic Mediterranean exchange and relationships with an 'other' are understandable as processes of self-alienation (the use of exotic goods which have no intrinsic relation with the giver as gifts to an 'other') and construction of identity. Miller has discussed (1987: Chapter 4) the work of Munn on Walibiri iconography and on Gawa canoes in the *Kula* ring to show the absolute necessity of (material) culture for the establishment of all human relations, and to discredit the idea that people's relationships with things (such as in technology, style and exchange) can be separated from some prior form of social relation (such as the political or religious). In such an *understanding* a Korinthian pot is *not* just the product of art or an article for exchange or trade. My introduction and use of the concept of cultural assemblage and general economy, developed and established through encounter with Korinthian design, has affirmed these points, that these artifacts are to be understood as the locus of a field of social practices, references and meanings.

Writing the body

Five ceramic pieces:

One and two:

] Εύάντας | Και [
] κεας | 'Ανγάριος | [
] αυFιος | Σοκλες | [
] κλιδας | 'Αμύντας [
] ται Μαλέφο | και [

] τελε [
] λος | χ[
] Χαιρία[ς
] λεος [
]

A list of names, incised by a potter.

Graffiti on two sherds from the same pot. Potters' Quarter, Korinth. Earlier.
Jeffery 1990: 130, No. 1; Pl, 18; Lorber 1979: 10-11, No. 2.

Three:

A Korinthian alphabet incised above its Euboeic equivalent.

Graffiti on a conical oinochoe from a grave at Kyme. Earlier.

Jeffery 1990; 130, No. 2; Pl. 18,

Lorber 1979: 11-12, No. 5.

Four:

side: Θόας Δ[ιας] Τελέ[σ]τροφος]μαιναΨ[ο
base:]ξε[]δεια[

A pyxis from Aegina. Later, Various figures, horses and a man, with painted names.

Base marked out like a wheel with an incised name in each quarter.

Jeffery 1990: 131, No. 4, PL 18.

Lorber 1979:7-10, No. 1.

Five:

Painted nonsense inscription upon the shoulder of an aryballos from Megara Hyblaia. Earlier.

Lorber1979: 11, No. 3.

Graffiti are a feature of orientalisising design. Some of the earliest examples of Greek writing, a syllabic script of Phoenician origin, appear incised or painted upon pots (Jeffery 1990). There are names, marks of property (this belongs to so and so), abecedaria and nonsensical inscriptions, writing for the sake of writing. Another early use of writing is to mark graves.

I have referred to the crucial distinction between the gift and commodity, drawing attention to the character of the unalienated artifact, not abstracted from social relations as is the commodity form, but reflecting and shaping the identities of other social actors involved in the life-cycle of the artifact. Some anthropologists studying Melanesian exchange (Strathern 1988) have argued that Melanesians do not conceive of objects and people as independent entities, and that both acquire their identities from the relationships in which they are involved (for extensive archaeological use of this argument see Tilley 1996).

Writing marks a pot with labels of those social actors with whom it is associated. And more. Painting or inscribing a name fixes an identity and sometimes a relationship. If this is a major use of writing, the very act of writing anything (nonsense or abecedarium) may signify the same impulse. So these early examples of writing may be associated with a condition of objectification and not alienation, signifying social attachment to material forms such as grave goods, dedications to divinity and grave-markers, the unalienated artifact wrapped in redefinitions of self and identity,

A stylistic repertoire and the translation of interests

The exotic and 'other' - the movement of artifacts - contact with this realm of the external - death and the divine - the person - identity. These features consistently recur at the points of consumption of Korinthian artifacts. I suggest that they relate closely to that series of references I have already interpreted within Korinthian style. From production to iconography and style, through its transport, and to deposition as gift to dead or divinity with other personal and transported articles, Korinthian pottery is one of several material forms which provide a medium for the transient present to be subsumed beneath larger and transcendent experiences. These are to do with the personal, death, the divine, animal and bodily form, an expressive aesthetics, the exotic and 'other worldly', and masculine sovereignty.

Modes of burial and offering, personal goods (from perfume jars to bracelets), imports and exotics which have travelled far: this is a *repertoire of style*, a set of goods and practices which can be drawn upon, which were considered appropriate for certain social practices. The stylistic repertoire is implicated in powers and identities, personal and social: lifestyles. This explains why the particulars of the consumption of Korinthian do not differ widely, even given the immense distribution of these wares. For the primacy lies not with the particular destination of a pot, so much as with the stylistic repertoire to which it belongs and which transcends in wider

Table 4.1. A 'family grave plot' at Pithekoussai

number	type	body	goods
199	cremation	adult female	gold-plated silver hair rings silver-ribbed bracelet local oinochoe
575	inhumation enchytrismos	baby	Levantine amphora bronze ring bone pendant scarab
574	inhumation	young boy	two Lyre-Player seals local oinochoe
578	inhumation enchytrismos	baby	local amphora
577	inhumation	adult	no grave goods

experiences. One of these experiences is of mobility or the travelling of artifacts (and, by extension, people). I raise the possibility that the primacy lies not in destination but in stylistic repertoire, and also the *carrier or trader* and the experience they represent. This may be another source of value.

This is all to question the radical differences often drawn between domestic, mortuary and votive uses of artifacts. Others (for example Tomlinson 1992: esp. 346, 349-50) have similarly questioned the distinction between votive pottery and that used at sanctuaries, for example for dining, albeit in a sacred context. Patterns of distribution do not differ widely; in that these apparently separate fields are drawn together in the cultural work, we might write of the *translation of interests* effected by Korinthian design.

Because of the argument I have presented against the independence of the economic in interpretations of an artifact, and also because of the way Korinthian design disperses into power, ritual and conceptual realms of death and the animal, I am unwilling yet to write of Korinthian pottery being 'traded'. The pots clearly *travelled*; they incorporate aspatial vector and principle of mobility and mediation. It is to this that I move in Chapter Five. I can now investigate to what extent travel connects with this cultural assemblage.

But to end let me consider Ridgway's discussion of some graves at Pithekoussai (Ridgway 1992b: esp. Chapter 6). Under an historical metanarrative of traders and colonisers, locals, Greeks and Phoenicians, residents and itinerants, he homes in upon one grave (575) and its family plot (*ibid.*: 111f). The amphora used in this *enchytrismos* burial bore three Semitic inscriptions. Ridgway connects this with the Lyre-Player seals and Rhodian aryballo and speculates on the possible traders, based in the east, sending their vessel to a compatriot in Pithekoussai. Superimposed upon one of the inscriptions is a roughly drawn triangle interpreted as an all-purpose Semitic symbol known all over the Mediterranean. Ridgway interprets this as an appropriate action on the part of a Phoenician resident reusing the amphora in a burial rite.

The 'family group' of grave 575 is listed in Table 4.1.

Ridgway's family is thus held to consist of a mother, two babies, a young boy and a servant (the adult without grave goods). But what of the father of this archaic nuclear family? The plot was disturbed in antiquity by two seventh-century cremations: 'their presence has probably deprived us of a cremation burial that we would have been able to identify as almost certainly that of an adult male of Levantine origin' (*ibid.*: 114).

Ridgway infers Levantine residents from other imports and adopts a line of argument for another family plot (graves 166 and 167 and inhumations beneath) similar to that just described: mixed goods of imports, local imitations and local styles, are held to represent immigrants mixing with Greeks and locals.

Style is here held to directly reflect ethnic identities. Quite simply, this is not a valid archaeological inference (see pp. 206-7 on ethnicity). Another line of argument which I support would consider that it does not matter whether they were Phoenicians, Levantines, Greeks or locals. Instead the archaeological evidences are of a discourse of social mobility and identity whose components are the elements of the stylistic repertoire sketched so far, negotiated within the burial of a family member. Particular experiences of bereavement are translated through rite and deposition style and ornament with a constituting interest in identity and belonging. The eastern pottery vessel appears 'unalienated' as the otherness of body, the vessel's mercantile trade marks an appropriate reference to the investment in the movement of goods and in a personal space of amulet seals and bodily adornment. The transitional or mediatory state is effected in the gesture of the new mark over the three which came with the amphora. Other nearby burials display different interpretations or workings with the same themes. In however slight a way the links lead off into the cultural assemblage which has so engaged me in previous chapters.