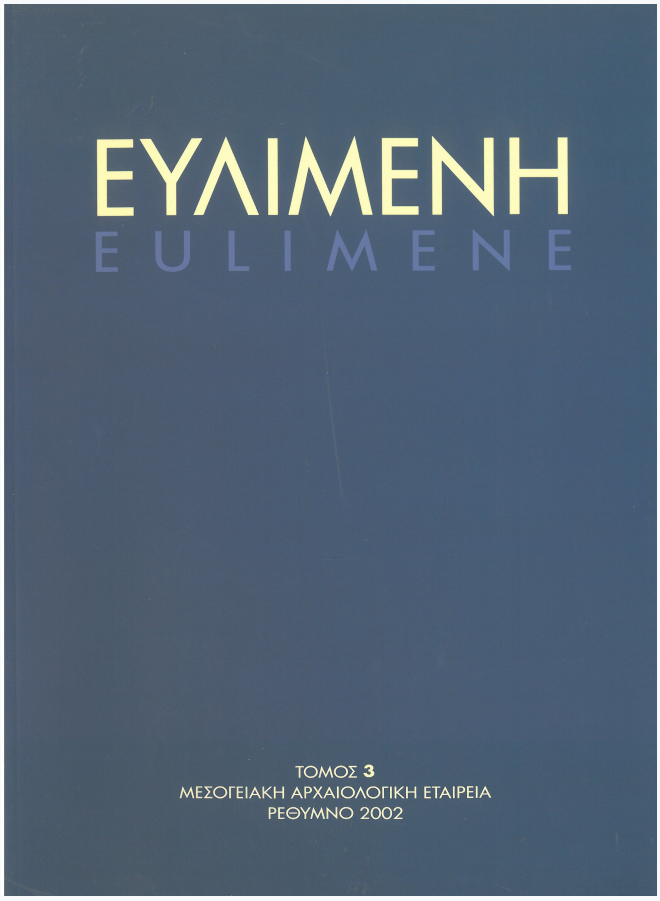
EULIMENE

Vol 3 (2002)

EULIMENE 3 (2002)



Greek Mercenaries, Coinage and Ideology

Robert C.. Knapp

doi: 10.12681/eul.32750

ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Τόμος 3
Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία
Ρέθυμνο 2002

ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ
ΜΕΣΟΓΕΙΑΚΗ
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ
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PUBLISHER
MEDITERRANEAN
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
P. Manousaki 5–V. Chali 8
GR 741 00–Rethymno

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ISSN: 1108–5800

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3. Line drawings should be in black ink on good quality paper with clear lettering, suitable for reduction. Photographs should be glossy black–and–white prints. All illustrations should be numbered in a single sequence.
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Antonio Corso, Classical, not Classicistic: Thoughts on the origins of «Classicizing Roman Sculpture», ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 11-36

Classico, non classicista: riflessioni sulle origini della cosiddetta «scultura romana classicistica» In questo articolo è affrontata la problematica delle copie di età ellenistica e soprattutto romana derivate da statue originali di età greco–classica.

Vengono distinte le varianti, che non necessariamente risalgono a un originale comune, dalle copie vere e proprie, che invece derivano dalla stessa statua.

Sono quindi esaminati casi in cui siano sopravvissuti sia l'originale sia copie da questo ottenute, la casistica delle basi da originali famosi giunte sino a noi e quella delle opere tramandate dalla tradizione antica che sono state riscoperte. Sono altresí richiamate le menzioni di maestri e capolavori di scultura e pittura da parte di scrittori di età classica. Inoltre, si riepiloga succintamente la tradizione antica della critica d'arte. È presentata in modo cursorio la storia dei tentativi di attribuire sculture superstiti agli scultori celebrati dalle fonti antiche, dal quattordicesimo secolo ai nostri giorni. È altresí preso in considerazione lo scetticismo diffuso attualmente sulla possibilità di istituire tali relazioni e sono indicati motivazioni e sostrato culturale che hanno portato diversi studiosi a tale conclusione.

Infine, è ribadita la tesi opposta, che diverse creazioni statuarie note da copie di età romana, ritenute spesso ora opere classicistiche romane, risalgono di contro a originali del quinto e quarto secolo a. C. I motivi addotti a sostegno di tale tesi sono essenzialmente tre:

1. la concordanza iconografica spesso convincente tra tipi copistici di età romana e capolavori di età classica noti da menzioni lettetarie;

2. il fatto che diversi tra questi tipi sono stati riecheggiati su rappresentazioni di piccolo formato già in età classica o nel primo ellenismo;

3. infine il fatto che le grandi arti figurative erano per lo più ritenute morte, o moribonde, durante l'età in cui la produzione copistica fu più intensa.

Antonios. Kotsonas, The rise of the polis in central Crete, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 37-74

Η γένεση της πόλης–κράτους στην κεντρική Κρήτη. Ο 6ος αι. π.Χ. θεωρείται «σκοτεινός» για την Κρήτη. Ο λαμπρός υλικός πολιτισμός της Εποχής του Σιδήρου σβήνει σχετικά απότομα στα τέλη του 7ου αι. π.Χ. χωρίς εμφανή διάδοχο. Το φαινόμενο αυτό έχει παρατηρηθεί στην Κνωσό και αναφέρεται στην αγγλική βιβλιογραφία ως «archaic gap». Η παρούσα μελέτη ξεκινά από τις παρατηρήσεις για την Κνωσό και παρουσιάζει την εξάπλωση του φαινομένου, καταδεικνύοντας αιτίες που έχουν συντελέσει στη διόγκωσή του. Επισημάνσεις αναφερόμενες στο «αδιάγνωστο» της κρητικής κεραμικής του 6ου αι. π.Χ. —το οποίο συντελεί καίρια στη σχετική άγνοιά μας— παρουσιάζουν αυτή την πτυχή του ζητήματος, προσπαθώντας παράλληλα να την εντάξουν στο γενικότερο πλαίσιο της ελληνικής κεραμικής παραγωγής. Ακολουθεί η ανίχνευση ενός αρχαιολογικού ορίζοντα του τέλους του 7ου αι. π.Χ. σε μια σειρά θέσεων στην κεντρική Κρήτη —την καλύτερα μελετημένη περιοχή του νησιού— ανάλογα με τη λειτουργία τους: νεκροταφεία, ιερά, οικισμοί. Παρατηρείται γενική εγκατάλειψη θέσεων της Εποχής του Σιδήρου και μεταφορά των λειτουργιών τους σε νέες, ένα φαινόμενο με προφανείς κοινωνικές αναφορές. Στοιχεία από την υπόλοιπη Κρήτη επιβεβαιώνουν την εικόνα αυτή. Παράλληλα, αυξάνεται ραγδαία η παραγωγή επιγραφών, ορισμένες από τις οποίες αποκαλύπτουν την αγωνία της κοινότητας να προστατευθεί από περιπτώσεις κατάχρησης εξουσίας. Τα επιγραφικά αυτά δεδομένα και η

ερμηνεία των ανασκαφικών πορισμάτων με βάση παράλληλες ζυμώσεις στην κυρίως Ελλάδα συντελούν στην αναγνώριση του φαινομένου της δημιουργίας της πόλης–κράτους, ενός από τους σημαντικότερους θεσμούς της αρχαίας ελληνικής κοινωνίας. Απότοκο του πολιτικοκοινωνικού αυτού μετασχηματισμού αποτελεί ένα κύμα επεκτατισμού και εχθροπραξιών που κατέληξε στην καταστροφή ή παρακμή σημαντικών πόλεων, όπως ο Πρινιάς και η Κνωσός, και στην ενδυνάμωση άλλων, όπως η Λύκτος και η Γόρτυνα. Συνεπώς, προτείνεται η χρονολόγηση της γένεσης του θεσμού της πόλης–κράτους στην κεντρική Κρήτη στα τέλη του 7ου αι. π.Χ., ενός θεσμού που βαθμιαία εξαπλώθηκε σε όλο το νησί και επέφερε σημαντικό αντίκτυπο στην πολιτική του γεωγραφία, αλλά και στις κοινωνικοπολιτικές και χωροταξικές δομές των επιμέρους κοινοτήτων του.

Μαρία Σταυροπούλου–Γάτση, Γεωργία Ζ. Αλεξοπούλου, ΑΝΑΚΤΟΡΙΟ–ΑΚΤΙΟ ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΙΑΣ. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της οχύρωσης της πόλης του Ανακτορίου και στην τοπογραφία της ευρύτερης περιοχής, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 75-94

Anaktorion–Aktion in Akarnania. Anaktorion was one of the most important colonies of Corinth in the Ambrakian gulf. The ruins of the city are visible in the region of Ag. Petros on the hill Kastri and have been described in E. Oberhummer, W.M. Leake, L. Heuzag, G. Neak and N.G.L. Hammond. Based on the description of the early travelers and on the plan of W.M. Leake, a survey was conducted in order to locate the ancient remains already known and also to uncover new evidence for the topography of the city. In 1995 vegetation was cleared from some parts of the older and more recent fortifications and small trenches were dug in the area occupied by the sanctuaries, roads and cemeteries of the city. The data was marked on an 1:50000 map together with a number of observations. Aktion is included in this topographical analysis, as it served as the port of Anaktorion.

David Jordan, Κατάδεσμος από τον Κεραμικό Αθηνών, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 95-98

A lead curse tablet from the Athenian Kerameikos. An edition, from autopsy, of an opisthographic lead curse tablet of the fourth century B.C. from the Athenian Kerameikos. The first edition, which has appeared twice, *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 4 (2000) 91–99 and *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 114 (1999 [2001]) 92–96, admits of improvement. The text consists of a list of men's names plus the word γυναῖκα.

Παύλος Χρυσοστόμου, Συμβολές στην ιστορία της ιατρικής στην αρχαία Μακεδονία, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 99-116

Contributions to the history of medicine in ancient Macedonia. The publication of two previously unpublished funerary monuments to physicians, one from Hellenistic Pella, and one from Early Christian Pella, provides an occasion for a study of the history of medicine in ancient Macedonia, the worship of the gods of medicine in the city of Pella and the health problems of its citizens. The first monument is an inscribed marble base from the 3rd quarter of the 4th century B.C., which supported a marble stele commemorating a doctor from Thasos, who worked in Pella as public physician and who died abroad (Fig. 1–2). The second monument is a marble funerary stone to a physician named Alexander, from the 1st half of the 5th century A.D. (Fig. 3).

By the 5th century B.C. the kings of Macedonia were already displaying a considerable interest in medicine, accentuating their care for the army and for their subjects. The development of medical science was chiefly due to the presence at the royal court, as visitors or as permanent

residents, of such illustrious physicians as Hippocrates and his son Thessalus, Nicomachus the father of Aristotle, Critobulus of Cos, Philippus of Acarnan, Menecrates of Syracuse, Hippocrates, the son of Draco, and Polydorus of Teios. Historical sources tell us that Critobulus, Cridodemus and Draco of Cos served in the medical corps in the army of Alexander the Great's, as did Philippus of Acarnania, who was Alexander personal physician, and Alexippus, Pausanias and Glaucus (or Glaucias), respectively the personal physicians of Peucestas, Craterus and Hephaestion. Alexander himself had been initiated into the art of medicine by his tutor Aristotle, and had sufficient medical knowledge to attend to the medical and pharmaceutical care of his friends and his men. From archaeological evidence we know of another physician, who died at Pydna in early Hellenistic period and who, judging from his instruments, must have been a surgeon (Fig. 4–6). In contrast to the Hellenistic kingdoms of the East, however, nothing is known of any other physicians from the time of Cassander to the late Hellenistic period.

In the imperial age the medical profession had made great progress, with the invention of new instruments and through specialisation in the diseases of the various organs of the body. The position of public physician, or chief medical officer, that had been instituted in the Roman world, is also attested in Macedonia in the person of Aurelius Isidorus, scion of a prominent Thessalonican family. The «medici» in the Macedonian colonies also appear to have had some connections in Macedonia were self–employed professional physicians (Sextus Iulius Chariton of Amphipolis, Titus Servius and his wife Servia of Thessalonica, Pubicius Lalus and Publicius Hermias of Beroea, Aelius Nicolaus of Edessa, Aptus of Dion, Theodorus of Kato Kleines Florinas and C. Iulius Nicetas of Lyke, as well as Athryilatus of Thasos and Theodorus of Macedonia, known from literary sources). In addition to Alexander of Pella, Early Christian inscriptions also mention the physicians Paul of Philippi, Damian of Thessalonica and Anthemius of Edessa.

In Macedonia, as elsewhere, medicine progressed *in tandem* with the cult of Asclepius, which is attested in many cities (Beroea, Mieza, Dion, Thessalonica, Moryllus, Kalindoia, Antigoneia, Cassandreia, Amphipolis, Philippi, etc.). The priests of Asclepius were illustrious men from the cities of Macedonia, and his priesthood was an office of great social prestige and of particular importance in the organisation of the Macedonian kingdom. Archaeological excavations in the south–west sector of Pella have brought to light a large sanctuary of Asclepius, whose temple and altar were also used for the worship of Apollo, Heracles and the local healing divinity Darro, to whom the prayers for the sick were addressed. The worship of these gods, which continued in Roman Pella too, was an essential feature in the lives of the inhabitants of the city, whose health was affected by problems associated with bad water and malaria.

Eva Apostolou, Rhodes hellénistique. Les trésors et la circulation monétaire, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 117-182

Ελληνιστική Ρόδος. Οι θησαυροί και η νομισματική κυκλοφορία. Η εξέταση των «θησαυρών» που περιέχουν ροδιακά νομίσματα, εκδόσεις του ενιαίου ροδιακού κράτους, από ιδρύσεώς του, το 408 π.Χ., μέχρι τις αρχές του 1ου αι. π.Χ., οδηγεί στα ακόλουθα συμπεράσματα:

1. Η κυκλοφορία του ροδιακού νομίσματος σ' όλη την προαναφερόμενη περίοδο αποδεικνύεται αρκετά περιορισμένη εκτός των ορίων του ροδιακού κράτους.

2. Ο συστηματικός έλεγχος της κυκλοφορίας του νομίσματος εντός της ροδιακής επικράτειας επιτυγχάνεται με την περιοδική κατάργηση και την απόσυρση της προγενέστερης εγχώριας νομισματικής παραγωγής (ή μέρους της) και παράλληλα με την αντικατάστασή της απο νέες και εξελιγμένες ως προς τους νομισματικούς τύπους εκδόσεις.

3. Ο «κλειστός» χαρακτήρας της ροδιακής οικονομίας στηρίζει την εμπορική και πολιτική δραστηριότητα των Ροδίων, και αποτελεί σημαντικό παράγοντα της ευημερίας τους κατά την υπό εξέταση περίοδο.

Robert C. Knapp, Greek Mercenaries, Coinage and Ideology, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 183-196

Έλληνες μισθοφόροι, νόμισμα και ιδεολογία. Οι σκοτεινοί αιώνες υπήρξαν για τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό η αφετηρία των σημαντικότερων αλλαγών που διακρίνονται αργότερα κατά την αρχαϊκή εποχή. Στην παρούσα εργασία υπογραμμίζεται η διαφορά στον τρόπο ζωής στην Ελλάδα των σκοτεινών αιώνων και στους πιο εξελιγμένους πολιτισμούς της Εγγύς Ανατολής και της Αιγύπτου, προκειμένου να γίνει αντιληπτό πόσο αποσταθεροποιητικοί πρέπει να υπήρξαν αυτοί οι πολιτισμοί στη ζωή των Ελλήνων που έρχονταν σε επαφή μαζί τους. Ενώ οι περισσότεροι μελετητές επικεντρώνονται στους εμπόρους ως την κύρια ομάδα επαφής, εδώ δίνεται έμφαση στους Έλληνες μισθοφόρους, οι οποίοι πολέμησαν στην Αίγυπτο και σε ολόκληρη την Εγγύς Ανατολή στα τέλη των σκοτεινών αιώνων και κατά την αρχαϊκή περίοδο. Η μισθοφορική υπηρεσία, όχι μόνο εξέθεσε τους Έλληνες σε διαφορετικούς υλικούς πολιτισμούς, αλλά επίσης συνέβαλλε στην διαμόρφωση της ιδέας περί Ελληνικής «εθνικότητας». Επιπλέον, αυτές οι επαφές οδήγησαν στην συνειδητοποίηση ότι οι κληρονομικές κοινωνικές δομές που βασίζονταν στη γενιά, «πίσω στην πατρίδα», θα μπορούσαν να αλλάξουν προς όφελος εκείνων που είχαν αποκομίσει πλούτο και αυτοπεποίθηση στο εξωτερικό. Η παρούσα μελέτη ασχολείται ειδικότερα με τον πραγματικό και συμβολικό ρόλο του νομίσματος σε αυτή την πολιτισμική αφύπνιση. Όποια και αν είναι τα πραγματικά πλεονεκτήματα του νομίσματος και οποιαδήποτε η πρακτική σχέση της εισαγωγής του με τα προϋπάρχοντα νομισματικά συστήματα της Δ. Ασίας, η συμβολική του δύναμη ήταν να ενδυναμώσει τον πυρήνα του κινητού πλούτου και να αμβλύνει την εξουσία του ακίνητου, βασισμένου στη γη, πλούτου. Ήταν επίσης ένα δυναμικό σύμβολο της σχετικότητας της δύναμης και ουσιαστικά η πραγματική ρίζα της δύναμης, άσχετα με τους μύθους που υπήρχαν για να νομιμοποιούν την συνέχιση της εξουσίας από μια ελίτ. Ως νόμισμα, το χρήμα ήταν πλέον πιο ορατό και ευκολότερο να αποκτηθεί από πριν, και ως τέτοιο μπορούσε να χρησιμοποιηθεί με μεγαλύτερη ευχέρεια για την αποσταθεροποίηση των υπαρχόντων διανοητικών και εξουσιαστικών δομών μιας ελίτ. Εν κατακλείδι, η εισαγωγή του νομίσματος αποτελεί αφενός τμήμα της πολιτισμικής μεταβολής που επηρεάστηκε από την επαφή των ελλήνων μισθοφόρων με τους πολιτισμούς της Εγγύς Ανατολής και της Αιγύπτου και αφετέρου έμβλημα των πολιτισμικών συνεπειών της ελληνικής εμπειρίας που αποκτήθηκε σε εκείνες τις περιοχές.

Nahum Cohen, A Poll–tax Receipt, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 197-200

Απόδειξη καταβολής φόρου (λαογραφίας). Πάπυρος διατηρημένος σε καλή κατάσταση. Πρόκειται για μία απόδειξη καταβολής κεφαλικού φόρου, της λαογραφίας, από έναν φορολογούμενο του οποίου το όνομα έχει χαθεί. Διασώζονται μόνο τα ονόματα των γονέων του, Ονήσιμος και Ηρ( ), και του παππού του, Ωρίων. Το πληρωθέν ποσόν είναι 20 δραχμές και 10 χαλκοί. Το έγγραφο χρονολογείται στις 24 Ιουλίου ενός εκ των ετών 177, 178 ή 179 μ.Χ. και προέρχεται από την πρωτεύουσα του Αρσινοΐτου νομού.

David Jordan, Άλλο ένα παράδειγμα του Ψαλμού 90.1, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 201

Another example of LXX Ps. 90.1. In a writing exercise found on a fragmentary wooden tablet, published at *BIFAO* 101 (2001) 160–2 (V or VI A.D.), there are several lines beginning ὁ κατο[or ὁ κατοι[. Restore, in whole or in part, LXX *Ps.* 90.1, Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐλισθήσεται.

Άννα Λάγια, Ραμνούς, τάφος 8: ανασύσταση της ταφικής συμπεριφοράς μέσα από το πρίσμα της ταφονομικής και ανθρωπολογικής ανάλυσης, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 3 (2002), 203-222

Ramnous, the stone–cist burial Nr 8: mortuary behavior in the light of the taphonomic and anthropological analysis. The significance of applying taphonomic considerations during the excavation and analysis of a burial as a crucial factor in understanding its function is discussed and it is argued that it requires the participation of an expert in human morphology. The basic taphonomic processes that are important for understanding mortuary behavior are presented and are then applied to the analysis of a multiple burial of the late antiquity from the Necropolis of Ramnous. The stone–cist burial Nr 8 from Ramnous comprised the inhumations of six individuals, three adults and three sub–adults. The position of the skeletal remains in the grave raised questions concerning the manner of burial and the sequence of inhumations. Detailed analysis of the mortuary context, the position of the skeletal remains during excavation, the state of preservation of the bones and bone modifications as a result of taphonomic processes, in combination with the biological profile of the skeletons, suggests that the six individuals were buried in three separate burial episodes. The latest burial was that of an adolescent female that was found *in situ* at the uppermost level of the grave. This had been preceded by the (almost?) synchronous burial of three adults that were laid successively at a deeper level. The earliest inhumations were those of two children, the remains of which were found at the lowest level of the grave in a relatively poor state of preservation. It is argued that the architecture of the grave and the surrounding rocks created different microenvironments within the grave and played a crucial role in the manner of burial and the post depositional position of the skeletal remains. The excavation techniques that were used ensured that bone preservation was a result of events that took place prior to the excavation. The skeleton of the adolescent had the best state of preservation. Among the adults no differences in preservation in relation to sex, age and stratigraphy were observed. Modification of bone surfaces supports the view that the individuals that were the last to bury from each burial episode, were exposed to weathering prior to soil being sieved–in.

GREEK MERCENARIES, COINAGE AND IDEOLOGY

The archaic period of Greek history has received a good deal of attention.* The extensive cultural, practical, and ideological changes which took place in the earlier part of that period have, therefore, not lacked for detailed treatment. Here I would like to offer a schematic view of the cultural transmission process at play then, in order to highlight the role of one group of actors in the cultural process, Greek mercenaries who served in the armies of Western Asia during the archaic period. After an overview, I will focus particularly on one specific phenomenon of the archaic age, the creation of coinage, and how that creation within the context of mercenary service affected culture.

The experience of archaic Greeks from Asia Minor, the islands, including Crete, and the mainland while abroad in Western Asia is well known and documented.[1] Specifically, traders and merchants are often noted. These two groups share experiences critical to my model. First, they were often physically separated from their home, a Greek world of ascribed hierarchies. They are «off the farm», as it were, and out of the elite's direct control. Second, these Greeks experienced power independent of those elites. This experience of independence generated confidence, which brought them into conflict with established powers at home. In the case of traders, the elites developed a desire for goods. However much they looked down on traders, they accommodated to their mercantile habits and demands in order to get their goods; even a disdainful accommodation is accommodation. The traders themselves, such as Charaxus, the brother of Sappho, were from the elite in their own right, and others, making profits, took up the trappings of the elite.[2] Indeed, merchants were in most current accounts the primary agent in the cultural transmissions from Western Asia to the Greek world. While I do not wish to diminish the admittedly large role merchants played, it is another group of Greeks abroad, the mercenaries, that concerns me here.[3]

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* I would like to express my appreciation to John H. Kroll for very useful comments on a earlier draft; needless to say, he does not necessarily agree with my approach or conclusions. The anonymous referees for *Eulimene* also offered many valuable suggestions, for which I am likewise grateful. This paper was originally presented at the first *Societas* Colloquium, Cumae, Italy (2000).

1 Merchants and mercenaries, mostly. Another group, prisoners of war, might eventually have returned (West 1997 616 speculates). An instance of POWs: Sennacherib used captive Greeks to build ships and had them sail them down the Tigris: «Khatti [Cypriot] people, plunder of my bow, I settled in Nineveh. Mighty ships after the workmanship of their land, they built dexterously. Tyrian, Sidonian and Ionian sailors, captives of my hand, I ordered (to descend) the Tigris with them…» (Braun 1982 19).

2 For a concise summary of evidence for early trading, from Al Mina in Syria to Pithekoussae in the West, see Burkert 1992 11–12; his discussion of the role of traders, 21. Also, West 1997 609–611; Mele 1979.

3 There is no denying the importance of merchants in cultural transmission and in the origins of coinage in the Aegean–surely the appearance of an early and large minting on Aegina, a trading location, is not coincidental. But my purpose here is to concentrate on the role of mercenaries. «Booty gained by war and piracy continued to be an important source of disposable wealth, but new avenues were opened. Some members of the upper classes, including the brother of Alcaeus, took service under eastern kings and local tyrants…» Starr 1982 421. Burkert mentions mercenaries, but for him they are almost incidental to a process

We know from Classical and Western Asian sources (Egyptian, Babylonian, Hebrew –both textual and archaeological[4]) that Greeks from Asia Minor, Crete, and the mainland served as soldiers at least from the middle of the seventh century, and probably a hundred years before that; we know they served in the Levant, in Egypt, and even in Babylon itself.[5] They apparently were well thought of and sought after.[6] But I believe that the importance of their experience in the changes occurring in the archaic Greek world has been underestimated. I would break that importance into three main areas, cultural, practical, and ideological.

Dark Age Background

As a prelude to my observations, I will summarize briefly the Greek and Western Asian worlds at the end of the Dark Ages.[7]

Agriculture. It has been argued that agricultural produce of the Dark Ages was deficient in both quantity and quality.[8] Production of grain dropped off precipitously

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dominated by craftsmen, shamans, and others (1992 25). West 1997 is more elaborate; see also Boardman 1980 50; Gordon 1962 39–40.

[4] As of yet there is no reference to Greeks serving the Assyrians: Edzard 1961 vol. 3 645. In reference to occasional mentions of Greeks in an Assyrian context: «Alle diese Zeugnisse stehen aber ziemlich isoliert und lessen es als höchst unwahrscheinlich gelten, dass ein reger Austausch zwischen Assyrien und Griechenland stattfand».

[5] Attested in Judah: «This ostrakon from Mesad Hashavyahu was discovered in a small fortress dated by the local pottery to the late seventh century, but among this pottery was a considerable quantity of East Greek ware, including household types, suggesting the presence there of Greeks. It was longstanding practice in Judah to employ Aegean mercenary troops, David and Solomon having had a bodyguard of Philistines and Cretans, and in the time of Joash there is mention of a similar guard of Carians, so it is possible that the garrison at Mesad Hashavyahu was reinforced by a contingent of Greek mercenaries in the employment of Josiah» Mitchell 1991 387; cf. Braun 1982 22; West 1997 617. And in Egypt: «Ionian and Carian mercenaries are credited with helping Psammetikhos I to free Egypt from the Assyrians in c. 660 BC (Herodotus 2.163, ANET 636–8)» (Osborne 1996 211); Nebuchadrezzar defeats Egyptians at Carchemish: «These operations are notable for the presence of Greek mercenaries on both sides, attested by finds from Carchemish, pottery evidence from a fort at Mesad Hashavyahu on the Mediterranean coast, and the statements about Antimenidas, brother of Alcaeus, fighting for Nebuchadrezzar» Wiseman 1991 230; under Necho II (610–?) there was heavy use of Greek mercenaries; Naucratis is noted as «a magnet drawing the many displaced Greeks ready to serve the pharaoh of Egypt» James 1991 721; Greek, Carian, and Semite mercenaries are recorded in graffiti at Abu Simbel under Psammetichus II (593?), in a campaign of 591 (James 1991 727); later, the Egyptians used Carian and Greek mercenaries heavily in the battle of Pelusium in 525, when defeated by the Persian Cambyses; in this battle, Phanes of Halicarnassus, a Greek mercenary, deserted Psammetichus III and helped Cambyses (James 1991 720). «Babylonian texts mention numerous aliens living at the court of Nebuchadnezzar. Among them were Elamites, Persians, Cilicians, Jews, various emigrants from Asia Minor ('Ionians')…» Dandamaev 1991 256. Greek military artifacts were found at Carchemish when it was destroyed by the Babylonians in 605: Boardman 1980 50. See also, Carchemish: Wolley, C.L. *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum* I–III. London, 1921–52; Mesad Hashavyahu: Amusin, J.D. and Heltzer, M.L., «The inscription from Mesad Hashavyahu: complaint of a reaper of the seventh century B.C.», *Israel Exploration Journal* 14 (1964) 148–157, 149; Quinn, J.D. «Alcaeus 48 (B 16) and the fall of Ascalon (604 B.C.)», *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 164 (1961) 19–20.

[6] Perhaps Al Mina in Syria was the focal point of recruitment and dissemination, as was the site of Naucratis in Egypt for Egyptian recruitment.

[7] Morris 1997a is a good summary of the conditions of the Greek world between 1200 and 700 B.C.

with the demise of the Mycenaean palace economy. Nutrition was supplied from olive products, figs, and meat from herded animals, especially cattle, pigs, and goats (sheep were apparently only sheared, not eaten), supplemented with fish and game meat –but not much grain. This is a situation likely to lead to population expansion if more efficient production and/or an efficient grain or vegetable production were introduced into the diet. Rice in China, yams in Africa, maize in meso–America are first–level, nutritious, carbohydrate–heavy crops which allow the same amount of land to support many more people. The population increase seen in the archaeological record can most readily be explained by the introduction of some such basic improvement to the Greek diet as well as an increase in farming intensity.[9] The food staple is supplied by grain, wheat or barley especially, in the Mediterranean world; it is an exceedingly efficient food, and can provide up to 80% of daily caloric and nutritional needs; in fact, one can live a long time on just bread and water. It is also relatively easy to grow. Ploughs, presumably with iron shares, already attested in the ninth century, come into ever–greater use–a technological improvement enhancing the benefit of grain. By around 700, grain seems to have become the staple of the Greek diet along with, of course, olive products, and wine.[10]

The organization of agriculture in Western Asia depended throughout antiquity on grain, olive products, and domesticated meat. The chief grain was barley, but wheat was almost as important a staple. Ploughs had long been in use, and continued to be, both to break up the soil and to sow the seeds.[11]

Dwellings. In Greece, a common house was before ca. 750 a structure with three straight sides and an apsidal one, or with a generally oval shape, and generally one room (although larger houses are attested).[12] Gradually another common type, a simple rectangular structure, came to predominate. This type developed into multiple–room rectangular structures based upon an inner courtyard. This development took place at varying rates at various places, very unevenly, but in general over the period of 750–600.[13]

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[8] Tandy 1997 35–37, including pollen evidence for low grain consumption.

[9] The archaeological evidence for an increase in population is given thoroughly and convincingly by, e.g., Morris 1998 and Tandy 1997 19–58, esp. 44–58. Starr is unnecessarily pessimistic: «we know of no marked improvement in agricultural productivity to support a 'massive increase in population'» 1982 420; in general, he queries the archaeological evidence for population growth and offers alternative explanations for, e.g., skeletal remains. p. 420.

[10] Morris 1998 notes «a population explosion in the eighth century, linked to more intensive agriculture…». But intensive agriculture is only part of the point: it is what was planted as much as how intensively it was planted. And the reestablishment of wheat as the main agricultural product needs to be highlighted.

[11] Illustration at Saggs 1984 pl. 4A.

[12] Boardman 1982 783: «The houses themselves hardly suggest the possibility of a life of affluence, barely even one of minimal comfort. The kings of Geometric Greece had no palaces that we could recognize as such. The construction is small–stone rubble, becoming neater and polygonal, with mud–brick and with timber pillars; the roofs flat, of rolled mud over beans, or pitched with thatch. The plan is generally rectangular, sometimes apsidal (even oval), often with a pillared porch and a central or corner hearth». See also Morris 1997b 547.

[13] Morris 1998 16–21; «By 600, the courtyard house was normal everywhere». See also Mazarakis Ainian 1997 on Dark Age and Geometric architecture.

In Western Asia, the standard house was, as far as the rather poor archaeology can attest, the courtyard style.[14]

Temples and religious habits. In Greece, before ca. 750 there is little evidence of religious practice in temples and with sacrifice. Whether Mazarakis Ainian is correct to posit cult based in rulers' dwellings and focussed on the ritual meal is unclear–perhaps archaeology simply attests poorly other cult activity.[15] At any rate, we can identify few altars, few temples, and none that one would think of as substantial. After 750 stone altars used for animal sacrifice and temple structures begin to appear, as well as votives. One of the most impressive early sites is at Eretria, on Euboea. Morris notes an «explosion of temple–building around 700».[16] The result was numerous temples, large and small, scattered in virtually every population center, and in rural locations as well.

In Western Asia, temple building was a standard architectural practice from earliest times: «in ancient Assyria it was particularly the temple where the gods were to be approached».[17] Normally, there was a cult statue within the temple made of wood or stone or some other substance. The gods–statues were ceremonially clothed, and fed, and often take stances considered «normal» in Greek art–standing and draped female, male with weapon held in raised hand, for example.[18] Sacrifice on an altar was a standard part of the ritual, as was the dedication of votives. The tripod–lebes was a standard accoutrement of religious service. Hepatoscopy was central to augural skill.[19]

Town planning. Before ca. 750 in Greece town planning did not exist. «Dark Age settlements are rare, small, and often short–lived…».[20] After 750 rectilinear houses helped organize the space, and the agora began to appear, especially in new foundations, while the addition of this supposedly central aspect of the polis came only gradually to already founded cities, often not until around 500.[21] Fortification walls begin to be built around 700, although Smyrna is earlier–because of her eastern neighbours.

The basic layout of many West Asia cities, when terrain allowed, was based on rectangular houses build along more or less straight streets. There were multiple market areas within each city. All major cites were walled.

Literacy. The first written documents in the Greek world date from about 770. The first extended texts in Greek, hexameter verses, come from Pithekoussai and Athens (although the Dipylon vase may have been inscribed by a foreigner); they date from the

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[14] Saggs 1984 194–195. Another of many possible examples is the shape and layout of houses at Tell Qasile, a Philistine site: Dothan 1981 59

[15] Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

[16] Morris 1998 19 and, more generally, 15–20. See also Boardman 1982 787: «Only with the eighth century do the gods get their houses, and the oikoi are (not surprisingly) of the same form, apsidal or rectangular, as houses for mortals».

[17] Saggs 1984 204 and, in general, 204–209. See the compendium in West 1997 33–59.

[18] Burkert 1992 19–20 for specific examples.

[19] Burkert 1992 46–53, where at 49 he posits the role of Carian mercenaries as the agent of introduction of this habit among the Carians and, implicitly, the role of Greek mercenaries in their turn.

[20] Morris 1998 16. Of course some Dark Age settlement were long–lived, such as Argos, Athens, and, in Asia Minor, Old Smyrna.

[21] Morris 1998 23, citing Snodgrass 1980 154–158.

middle of the eighth century.[22] By the end of the eighth century, writing was fairly common and soon texts of Homer, Hesiod, and the first inscribed laws appeared.

In the Western Asia, writing systems had been fundamental to society for centuries.[23]

Warfare and weapons. There is little evidence of how warfare was conducted in Greece during the Dark Age.[24] Although weaponry appears in earlier tombs, the most spectacular evidence comes from Argos. The artifacts discovered there substantiate that the full gear of a soldier was a helmet, protection for the upper body, greaves, sandals, a round or a body shield, a throwing spear and a thrusting spear, and a sword.[25] The chariot is illustrated on ceramics, but none has been found archaeologically and there is no evidence for its use in actual battle. The bow and arrow is not a normal part of equipment, its use concentrated in certain areas, such as Crete. As early as the mid–seventh century there is clear evidence for fighting in what became the traditional hoplite formation: closely packed ranks of soldiers advancing as a group (Chigi vase) and the advancing Greeks on the Phoenician Amathus bowl.[26] There may even be proto–hoplite fighting attested in the *Iliad*.[27]

The Assyrians and others fought in close order using infantry armed with a shield and spear, as well as cavalry. The use of the chariot was highly developed. In fact, the impression we get is much like that of the Iliad in which the mass of the army fights behind the heroes, swirling in battle chariots in front of the massed army. In reliefs we also see the round shield as well as the body shield; the thrusting spear is the primary engagement weapon. Bowmen often supply covering fire. A number of weapons later associated with hoplites are common–for example, the round shield and the thrusting spear. It is particularly evocative that the eighth century panoply from Argos contains weapons and armor of the Assyrian type–the helmet is similar to that pictured on reliefs.

Economic and political life. In most of mainland Greece, there is little evidence of any but the most basic economic activity around 750 BC–gift exchange, assumedly some direct purchase and sale of goods, wealth acquisition by pillage.[28] However on Euboea there is early and extensive evidence for trading contact with the wider world to the west (Pithekoussai) and east (Al Mina), which probably indicates an increasing complexity of economic life.[29] By Hesiod sometime in the seventh century we read of debt, which

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[22] Tandy 1997 201–203, where he seems overly certain that traders are responsible: «But those ultimately responsible for the introduction of the alphabet were almost certainly the movers of goods on the trade routes, that is, the Euboean traders». 201–202.

[23] On the Greek dependence on West Asia for development of writing, see West 1997 24–27. A nice summary of the alphabet is Boardman 1980 83–84. Isserlin 1991 discusses the evidence for the interaction of Greeks and West Asians in alphabet formation, as does Amadasi Guzzo in the same volume.

[24] Snodgrass 1980 23.

[25] The Argive panoply: Courbin 1957.

[26] For an illustration of the Chigi vase, see Boardman 1984 no. 337 p. 257. «Middle Protocorinthian» aryballos from a grave at Lechaeum, port of Corinth, about 680 B.C.» shows a round shield with a hand grip, as well as a «dipylon» shield; the 'hoplite' carries two spears: Boardman 1984 Fig. 336.1, illustrated p. 256. An early protocorinthian aryballos of late eighth century shows a crested warrior with round shield and spear, unfortunately without the arm/hand holds showing: Boardman 1984 no. 294.1 221.

[27] Van Wees 1997 691.

[28] Donlan 1997.

[29] Tandy 1997 62–72.

presumably implies contracts, oral or written, and by Solon debt arrangements were fully developed.[30] Around the same time, weighted silver comes into general use in a variety of transactions. In Crete there are written law codes. Coinage makes its electrum appearance in Asia Minor in a non–Greek context, but has spread in silver to Greek locations on the Aegean by about 575.[31]

The West Asian world was managed through a complex of economic and legal arrangements. Debt, contracts, taxes, treaties were all recorded in writing.[32] Law codes had been a part of life for a millennium and a half.[33] Bullion had been marked with a «character» for centuries to authenticate its purity and weight; transactions were recorded in weights, although bullion did not necessarily change hands, it seems. Coinage–like objects were used by the Neo–Babylonians.[34]

Elite habits. The life of the elites in the Dark Age was grim, if not as grim as that of the common folk. There is little archaeological evidence for the presence of precious metals, imported foodstuffs, or «luxuries» of any sort. The small dwellings attested could not have served well for entertaining groups.[35]

West Asia is apparently the home of a number of elite social habits and implements we associate with the Greek elites of the Archaic Age. One of the most emblematic social scenes, the symposium, has its roots in the reclining diners found illustrated in Western Asian art and described in Western Asian literature.[36] While Homer, Phocylides, and the «genuine» Theognis depict people sitting in chairs, by the end of the seventh century the reclining mode had taken hold among the elite in Greece, as witnessed by Alcman and Alcaeus.[37] Musical instruments for entertainment such as the double oboe, the «Phoenician» lyre, the harp, are West Asian,[38] as is luxury clothing.[39]

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[30] Kroll 1998.

[31] A number of recent publications has rehearsed the evidence for the beginning of coinage. See, *inter alia*, Kurke 1999 6–12; Howgego 1995 1–18.

[32] For a list and discussion of economic terms imported by Greeks from West Asia: West 1997 23–24 and on treaties, 19–23.

[33] On early Greek law codes and their West Asian antecedents, see Snodgrass 1980 118–120.

[34] Curiously, West 1997 does not mention the origins of coinage as something inspired by Western Asian experience with weights, metals, and payment. Kroll 1998 clearly notes the connection, followed by Balmuth and Thompson 2000.

[35] On Western Asian origins of elite habits, see Burkert 1992 19. By the mid–tenth century larger structures may have begun to appear, but so far the large «heroon–house» at Toumba, Lefkandi, Euboea, is unique, at 47 x 10 m. Other houses and structures discovered are small. See Mazarakis Ainian 1997. On Homeric society (i.e., Dark Age and Early Geometric) see Van Wees 1992 25–58 and Raaflaub 1997.

[36] «The second major change is the rise of the symposion, an eating and drinking session which offered much scope for conspicuous consumption and even more for conspicuous leisure. Some features of sympotic culture are attested from the late eighth century onwards, when verse inscriptions on drinking vessels indicate that reciting or improvising poetry, dancing, and erotic pursuit are associated with conviviality. The most significant development takes place in the mid–seventh century, when fragments of poetry allude to the custom of reclining on couches. The practice may have been adopted rather later in mainland Greece, where our literary and iconographic sources do not refer to it until the very end of the century». Van Wees 1998 365–366. See also Burkert 1992 19; West 1997 32.

[37] See the material cited at West 1997 n. 121 (Phocyl. 13 West, Thgn. 34; Alcm *PMGF* 19, Alc. 338.7f., cf. Sappho 94.21, Sol. 24.4, *Alcmaeonis* fr. 2 Bernabé= 2 Davies).

[38] West 1997 10–12, 31 and West 1992. Forms of luxury from West Asia: Boardman 1980 82–83.

Literary production. By 750 there is evidence that poetry in hexameters exists; it is scratched on pottery. If it be taken as proven that there are true memories of the Mycenaean period in the Homeric epics, then that provides evidence for oral epic poetry at this time as well. The verse scratched on Nestor's Cup seems to indicate that social/erotic poetry also existed at this time. By a century later, at the lastest, didactic and cosmological poetry had made its appearance in Hesiod.

The West Asian world had long had epic poetry (most notably, but not only, the Gilgemesh Epic), didactic poetry, social/erotic, and cosmological poetry. A striking feature of their poetry was that it was written with each verse occupying a line, a pattern also in the earliest Greek verses —the «Nestor's Cup epigram»— and ever since in Western poetry, but not in many other poetries around the world.[40]

A Greek in the West Asian world about 750 BC would have encountered a substantially different cultural milieu. Coming from a world which was politically organized in isolated ethnic sub–groups led by chiefs, undernourished on olives, meat, figs, and some grain, living in apsidal huts with thatched roofs, worshipping in non–monumentalized ways, illiterate, accustomed to only direct economic exchanges, without written legal documents, a Greek abroad would have found himself in the midst of towns and cities of substantial mud brick structures built with inner courtyards and organized in streets with open areas for markets. Here and in the countryside he would encounter other substantial structures housing images of the gods, before which sacrifices were made on altars, often with a large bowl on a tripod nearby. He would find complicated economic transactions taking place and being recorded in writing in duplicate so that both parties had a secure record of the proceedings–loans, transmittals of funds, tax returns, and so on. If he were wealthy, he might be invited to attend a dinner party at which the revelers reclined on couches, wore elaborate robes, and heard erotic songs recited, or epics of the origins of mankind, deeds of battle and heroic adventures. Although he would find the overall political mastery clearly in the hands of the elites, whether Assyrians or Babylonians, at a local level he would find government run sometimes by chieftains/kinglets, and sometimes by oligarchies making group decisions about local matters.[41] In Phoenicia, he would hear of far–distant lands to which the locals had sent out colonies to take advantage of trading opportunities in Africa and Iberia.

In other words, on the cultural side a Greek would have found a world of material, economic, political, religious, and literary complexity far exceeding his own.[42]

On the practical side, it was in the battles of Western Asia that hoplite weaponry and tactics came into being. The shield, armor and the tactics of massed heavy infantry were perfected, if not learned, in particular, through the masters of mayhem, the

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[39] «...it has long been established that foreign textiles, in conjunction with items of clothing and new styles of dress are entering Greece in this period» Foxhall 1998 304.

[40] Emphasized rightly by West 1997 26, with other notices of possible borrowing of forms from Western Asia; in general, see his pages 24–27. Also see S. Morris 1997.

[41] In a recent and important book, Van De Mieroop 1997 has made out a cogent case for the lively existence of city–states in West Asia much along the lines later developed in Greece.

[42] Perhaps a glimpse of the wonder Greeks must have felt is expressed by Telemachos in the court of Menelaus (*Od*. 4.71). Braun 1982 notes correctly that Greeks were not capable of dislodging indigenous peoples in Asia, as they were in the West; Greeks had little culturally to offer Western Asia. Note that in Egypt in the sixth century, they referred to themselves as the different ones: ἀλλόγλωσσοι Braun 1982 5 (Meiggs–Lewis no. 7(a)4; cf. Hdt. 2.154.4).

Assyrians.[43] In addition, I suggest that the Greek soldier came to realize that those with more power than they needed them, relied upon them to help maintain their power. Further, service along with other Greeks far from their homeland served to embolden an ethnic self–consciousness.[44] These Greeks were proud of what they had seen and done, as, for example, was Alcaeus' brother, who served under Neo–Babylonians at the end of the seventh century. Finally, these mercenaries were paid.[45] Both the Phoenicians, paymasters for their Assyrian overlords, and the Babylonians had developed elaborate financial systems the likes of which the Greeks would not see for some time. These systems were based upon weight–values of metals, often formed into ingots, and sometimes marked with a distinctive, authorizing seal and/or value marks. Coin–like objects were made in Mesopotamia and in the Levant in the form of broken silver from the third millennium–so–called «cut silver»;[46] from the beginning of the first millennium, lunate earrings of standard weight have been found in the Tel Miqne (ancient Philistine Ekron) hoards;[47] round silver pieces of consistent weight from the Dor hoard;[48] cast coins, called «zebu» in Assyrian, are attested in late Babylonian sources–and the same term is later applied to Greek copper coins;[49] in the annals of Sennacherib in the late eighth and early seventh centuries we read: «According to the command of the god I fashioned moulds («zebu») of clay and poured bronze therein, as in casting half–shekel pieces…».[50] Phoenicians and others used in transactions clay tags with a seal impression

[43] Or perhaps from common service with the Carians, who are credited with inventing a number of military things we might otherwise think of as typically hoplite Greek: Strabo 14.2.27: «As evidence for the Carians' enthusiasm for soldiering shield–holds (ochana), shield–emblems and crests are adduced, since they are all called Carian.» Anakreon says: «Once again (I have put my?) hand through the Carian–made shield–strap». Burkert 1992 25, 39–40 notes that «…as far as the technology of weaponry is concerned, in particular the hoplite shield, the influence of the East is obvious».

[44] The evidence from the mercenaries in Egypt is instructive. The graffiti (Meiggs–Lewis 7a) at Abu Simbel during the reign of Psammetichus: «When king Psammetichos came to Elephantine, those who sailed with Psamatichos son of Theocles wrote this; and they came above Kerkis as far as the river allowed; and Potasimto had command of those of foreign speech and Amasis of the Egyptians; and Archon the son of Amoibichos wrote us and Peleqos [koppa for 'k'] son of Eudamos». The names added are: Helesibios the Teian, Telephos the Ialysian, Python son of Amoibichos, Krithis, Pabis the Colophonian with Psammatas, Anaxanor the Ialysian. The letter forms are a combination of East Greek Doric and Ionian. An Egyptian commands the Greeks, who call themselves «those of foreign speech.» Note that the mercenary force is of mixed origin and many seem to be at least second generation in Egypt, especially Psamatichos son of Theocles. In other words, this document is excellent evidence for a mixed group of Greeks serving together. Likewise the seventh–sixth century inscription from near Priene (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 37 (1987) (Amsterdam, 1990) no. 994) provides excellent evidence. A mercenary Pedon is noted who served under a king Psammetikos, perhaps Psammetikos II (595–589 B.C.), but more likely Psammetikos I (664–610) during whose reign the type of statue was most common. Psammetikos rewarded Pedon for his outstanding service. See also Pernigotti 1993 for more elaboration.

[45] For example, Psammetikos of Egypt: «he paid them (Ionians and Carians) all that he had promised» Hdt. 2.154.

[46] Edzard 1961 s.v. Münzen, citing excavations at Sendschirli (Luschan 1943 119–121) and Nush–i Jan (Curtis 1984 1–21, esp. 19–21). For the Levant see Balmuth 1971 and most recently Kroll 2001, followed by Balmuth and Thompson 2000; cf. also Kim 2001.

[47] Found by S. Gitlin: Vargyas 1999 15.

[48] Dor hoard: Vargyas 1999 15.

[49] Gelb *et al.* 1961 87.

[50] Berriman 1953 102.

verifying the value of the content, a practice continued at Carthage. The shekel and the mina were the weight units, but it was accountancy money that was the key to the system: reckonings were kept, down to the last half–shekel, and actual payment, when necessary (for much could be accomplished simply by ledger work), was done with goods (measures of wheat, etc.) or specie. Mercenaries' pay was reckoned in the same way, with payment presumably at the end of a campaign. So mercenaries were used to thinking in terms of units of payment–i.e., in money.

Finally, on the ideological side, the impact on culturally backward, materially poor Greeks of what must have been to them an almost unimaginable magnitude of wealth, architectural accomplishment, and refined warfare can readily be imagined. And, while they fought in the service of great kings, they also existed cheek–by–jowl with people who lived in small, semi–autonomous states, some with a fairly broad, though oligarchic, participation in government, such as the merchant states of the Phoenicians or the subject city–states of Mesopotamia. The idea that things could be run by other than an ascriptive elite forcefully presented itself.

Within the context of these cultural, practical, and ideological experiences, I return to my main point, that the return of mercenaries profoundly affected their homelands.[51] Accomplished soldiers, aware of their own value, impressed by other ways of life and art and war, used to a sophisticated money economy (even though without coinage as yet)–how would they «fit in» back home? Conflict was the result. A broader oligarchy (we should not speak of «democratic» or «popular» developments), which demanded not the replacement of the old order, but the distribution of its wealth and power more widely, arose. It shared the values of the mercenary units–group consciousness and group solidarity, at least notional equality among the members, perhaps the experience of selecting their own leaders. The geographical locus of the expanded oligarchic group's activities was the sub–ethnic unit, usually concentrated in a defensible position and willing to fight its neighbors for gain and glory; its fellows were the traders who also had learned new expectations and power while abroad. The agora, the place where comrades gather and make decisions and traders gather to do business, becomes the focal point of the new agglomerations. The religious focus of their erstwhile employers (who obviously had very effective gods!) is replicated in temples, cult statues, altars, and sacrificial accoutrements. The political expression of the broadened oligarchy, the polis, is exported through group activity.[52] The experience of payment for service presents a non–ascriptive validation of self–worth–money. When the payment for the mercenaries'

[51] Some may cavil at this point, disbelieving in any direct involvement, or at any rate in the cultural importance of any direct involvement of the Greeks in the Western Asia. Osborne 1996 is an example of this intensely Hellenocentric view: in a section entitled «The Eastern Mediterranean World», he makes no mention of mercenaries. The Greek exposure to Western Asia is through the Phoenicians, and that seemingly from Phoenician contact with Greeks in Greece, not vice versa. He is somewhat oddly very concerned to point out that the Western Asiatic, especially Assyria, posed no threat to the Greek homeland during this period (Osborne 1996 37–40).

[52] It is possible that the whole idea of a colony came from Western Asian exposure. The Phoenician colonies may antedated any Greek (Kition on Cyprus was nearby; Carthage traditionally at the end of the ninth century, with some archaeology to support this date; Gades at least by the eighth century); however, Boardman 1980 37–38 (and generally, 210–216) doubts this: «...there is no clear evidence for Phoenician trading colonies overseas earlier than the Greek ones». The Phoceans and their penteconters must have seemed like pirates seeking settlement land to those they met (Herodotus 1.163). For a recent view of colonization, see Osborne 1998 (with no mention of West Asia except a passing reference to Al Mina, p. 259).

services is explicitly reified as stamped pieces of precious metal by the Lydians,[53] coinage becomes the enactment of the power of the mercenaries as it re–presents the exaction of gold and silver —the very symbols of elite power— in return for their service.[54] These mercenaries, like merchants abroad, were already used to thinking in new ways; when the «money» they had become used to in Western Asia, and which partially through their experience had penetrated the Greek world as weighed silver generations before coinage came on the scene,[55] was suddenly and exquisitely reified in coinage, the transition to coinage use was a simple and obvious one.[56] But more than just a suddenly obvious means of payment, coinage fulfils the economic lessons the Greek mercenaries learned and the innovation these lessons inspired–lessons powerful enough to challenge the very basis of the elites' domination.[57]

Thus, the acceptance and spread of coinage (as with the traders' alphabet) was much more than an event of economic importance; I have tried to indicate the role of mercenaries in that acceptance. Clearly, the ascribed status of the elite in archaic Greece was threatened by this coinage.[58] Why was coinage so threatening and disruptive?[59] How

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[53] Cook1958 on the connection of the first coins to payment of mercenaries by Lydian kings. His conclusions are very persuasive, especially within the context of the points I am making in this contribution.

[54] Solon frag. 24; expanded by Kurke 1995, 1999. The review of Kurke 1999 by Kroll emphasizes Kurke's neglect of the traditional, economic/political considerations about the beginnings coinage (*Classical Journal* 2000, 85–90). Kroll makes a number of valuable points, but in criticizing Kurke's cultural approach, casts the debate in a too 'either–or' formulation. Early coinage was both a cultural *and* an economic/political event; both aspects need to be taken equally into consideration. See the balanced remarks by Kim 2001.

[55] I ignore the traditions of spits/obols being a money–like object in Greece. Even if such artifacts were used as a standard of value, for which there is no early or archaeological evidence, this is far from the money economy based on valuable metals found in the Near East, and has no obvious connection to coinage. A very different circumstance arises as Greece becomes monetized before the advent of coinage through the acceptance and use of weighed bullion. On this development see Kroll 2001; Kim 2001, esp. 13–19, who mentions but does not give sufficient weight to the West Asian experience of early Greeks (pp. 19–20).

[56] It is, however, no wonder that coinage did not move East; to the East was an established and vastly more sophisticated political and financial system that worked very well as it was–the use of coinage was not so obviously advantageous as it was in the new economies of the Aegean world.

[57] This is not to say that coinage in Greece derives from the need to pay mercenaries. It is only the concept of coined money which begins in such payment; the utility of such a means of payment was readily transferred to other transactions. But the symbolic lessons of coinage remain the same.

[58] «...we have discussed the negative attitude toward the accumulation and manipulation of money which existed in traditional societies. Since prestige and power were not directly dependent upon the possession of money and the merchant classes were not allowed to convert money into power and prestige, the accumulation of money was not considered important. The shift to a value orientation in which money can be converted into prestige and power does not take place without resistance from the traditional value system. In most of the cases we have been discussing above, it is apparent that the emphasis upon money has won out. However, this is not always the case, nor is the process a simple one» Eames & Goode 1973 99. For a view firmly favoring the social/political effects of the introduction of coinage, see Simmel 1978. The classic comparative example for coinage disrupting a traditional society is Bohannan 1955, 1959 (questioned by Parry and Bloch 1989a 13–14). Parry and Bloch 1989b collect essays (none of which deals with the ancient world) to show that such disruption is not universal: «But what all these different strands in our cultural tradition appear to agree about is that —whether for good or ill— money acts as an incredibly powerful agent of profound social and cultural transformations. Regardless of cultural context and of the nature of existing relations of production and exchange, it is often credited with an intrinsic power to revolutionize society and culture, and it is sometimes assumed that this power will be recognized in the way in which the actors themselves construct money symbolically. The essays collected here cast some doubt on both these

was its introduction intertwined with the other destabilizing aspects of archaic Greek life?[60] I conclude with a note on these issues.

On a theoretical plane, the answer to the first query —Why was coinage so threatening and disruptive?— lies in the demystifying effect of coinage. An ascribed hierarchy depends fundamentally for its continued existence on a smothering of dissent, even of questioning; every Thersites must be shouted down, or worse. The power of post–agricultural revolution hierarchies was built upon the requisitioning of agricultural surplus–wealth–for their own aggrandizement. This reality was cloaked in myths and absolutist assertions about, in various guises, «god–given rights». Coinage concretely demystifies wealth and its power in society. Coinage, by compacting the monetary functions of standard of value, medium of exchange and payment, and storage of wealth into one little artifact which can, literally, be held in the palm of one's hand, and which has the power to create a replication for anyone who has enough of them of the outward and visible signs of the hierarchical elite —armies, land, fine food, clothes, even gold and silver themselves— this coinage breaks through the mystification of the hierarchy to reveal that their power actually comes from this world, not from another –from wealth, not birth. Its ability to create all the trappings of elite power in non–elites reifies the relativity of power, denying the absolute claims to possession of power by the elite.[61]

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propositions. Money, we believe, is in nearly as much danger of being fetishised by scholars as by stockbrokers». Von Reden 1995 builds her whole thesis around this conclusion.

[59] Kroll 1998 has, one would hope, once and for all put to rest the persistent, but usually unexpressed, assumption that coinage was necessary to elaborate, complex economic activities.

[60] Starr 1982 417: «During the period 800–500 BC the economic and social structure of the Greek world underwent massive alterations which set the framework for the Classical age. The general character and the tempo of development can be discerned; causes and interrelationships are often obscure». In describing these alterations, recent scholarship has often concentrated on internal changes in virtual isolation from outside influences (*e.g.*, Morris 1998). Burkert anticipated this continuing trend, and effectively challenged it: «The studies presented in this book may still run up against a final and perhaps insuperable line of defense, the tendency of modern cultural theories to approach culture as a system evolving through its own processes of internal economic and social dynamics, which reduces all outward influences to negligible parameters. There is no denying the intellectual acumen and achievement of such theories. But they may still represent just one side of the coin. It is equally valid to see culture as a complex of communication with continuing opportunities for learning afresh, with conventional yet penetrable frontiers, in a world open to change and expansion» (Burkert 1992 7). As is obvious from the theme of this contribution, I am in full agreement with Burkert on this issue.

[61] This theorized destabilizing effect of money/coinage has been recognized, *e.g.*, by Thompson 1961 and Simmel 1978 (but see n. 58 above). Although not by all: «Coinage, in sum, was not in itself a potent economic force until well after 600, and its appearance cannot be taken as a cause for the ruse of tyrants or for other manifestations of social and economic unrest» Starr 1982. Wallace 1987, esp. 395–397, flatly denies any social, political, or intellectual ramifications to the introduction of coinage, with which Kroll 1998 230 concurs. Von Reden 1995 disconnects all thought of money affecting society: «This, I hope, will suggest that money does not by nature signify anything particular–economic relationships, egalitarianism, the market, etc.–but is symbolised by its repeated usage in particular institutions (p. 154)»; «Instead of treating problematizations of coinage in Greek literature as expressions of aristocratic resistance to a leveling medium of exchange, I propose to read them, more generally, as manifestations of systems of social evaluation in flux (p. 155)». Kurke 1999 12–23 concurs and expands. However, a good summary of the deeper effect of money/coinage is Seaforth 1998 121: «This seemingly unlimited power of money, inspiring unlimited desire for its unlimited accumulation, extends itself outwards, and thereby threatens traditional non–monetary values. For instance, in choosing a spouse people prefer wealth to noble birth, complains Theognis (183–196). At the same time the seemingly universal power of money over all things (to acquire them, or to be transformed into them) is also the power to include them in a seemingly universal regime of comparative

Initiated in a specific series of events in specific places with specific people, coinage illucidates and reifies a conceptual paradigm shift which took the agricultural revolution to the next level, the level at which distribution of the wealth of that revolution would be relativized, and even «democratized» in the sense that a larger group would benefit from the revolution. Finally, its «emperor's clothes» effect–the exposure of the inherent self–centeredness and self–aggrandizement of the ascriptive elite's worldview–set in motion through the exposure of the relativity of wealth and power the possibility of relativity in all aspects of society, a possibility which began working itself out immediately in the questioning and relativizing of traditional thoughts, values, and ways by the pre–Socratics along with some of the archaic poets. It was, indeed, the first post–modern world.[62] Money early in the archaic age and coinage later in that period emblematized the cultural changes catalyzed by Greek experiences in and with Western Asia. Mercenaries were a key element in this experience. Culturally, practically, and ideologically, those Greeks could never go back to the Dark Age farm.

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evaluation. Money requires and promotes the evaluation of every commodity against every other. This creates or encourages a mode of thinking inclined to comparative evaluation of even those things (if there are any such) which fall outside the power of money. In other words, the seeming universality of comparative monetary evaluation is unconsciously extended outwards into the universe of evaluation as a whole. And so the universalizing dynamic at the heart of money, its need to extend its influence outwards, both sets up a contradiction between money/wealth and (say) noble birth —a contradiction of historical importance— and at the same time promotes a mode of thinking inclined to compare basic values (money/wealth, noble birth, health, virtue, and so on) with each other. Money/wealth is not necessarily a term in the comparison. But it frequently is, and in such cases we can say that money/wealth becomes a value, to be compared with other values, in a regime of comparative evaluation that it has itself (as a general measure of value) helped to establish».

[62] On the intellectual ferment related to money/coinage thinking, see Simmel 1978 and Frankel 1977 7–8. Needless to say, ascribing a major role in the accomplishments of the early Greeks to the Greek's experience of and in foreign lands in no way diminishes those accomplishments. «But», as Burkert 1992 7 notes, «the 'creative transformation' by the Greeks, however important, should not obscure the sheer fact of borrowing; this would amount to yet another strategy of immunization designed to cloud what is foreign and disquieting».

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