

## Constructing the worlds of Archaic Greece (c. 750–480 B.C.)

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No history of archaic Greece was ever written in antiquity. The whole framework of our understanding of this period is entirely modern, though informed by the sorts of stories that later Greeks told about particular aspects of political, social, and cultural activity in those years (e.g. stories of tyranny and stories of the foundation of Greek settlements abroad). Although contemporary literary and archaeological material surviving from archaic Greece is extremely variable, it is limited in quantity, and within the scope of reading appropriate for a Special Subject it is quite possible for a student entirely new to the material to gain a firm grasp of the fundamental sources. Archaic Greece therefore offers an extremely good training ground for historians in the ways in which historical narratives are constructed and the ways in which source material is selected in order to tell a particular story.

This paper approaches archaic Greece in a broadly chronological fashion, but according to the chronology of the source material, rather than according to the chronology of the events illuminated by those sources. Instead of sections on ‘the rise of the polis’, or ‘colonization’, or ‘tyranny’, or ‘Solon’, the 24 lectures in this course (in MT) will look successively at the historical worlds created or suggested by eighth-century archaeological material, the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, iambic and elegiac poetry, painted pottery, archaic sculpture, and finally by Herodotos. By contrast the 4 2-hour classes (in LT) will examine the ways in which the pictures conjured up by these sources can be combined to produce an understanding of wider political and social movements. All the Greek sources are available in translation, and no prior knowledge of archaic Greek history or of archaeology is assumed.

By starting not from the conventional construction of archaic Greek history but from its deconstructed elements the course aims to give an understanding of the different histories that have been written and might be written and of the methodological and historical assumptions which go into any history of the period.

### Provisional lecture list:

- 1 The history of archaic Greece from Thucydides to modern historiography
- 2 The Olympic games and the world of the gods in the eighth century
- 3 The world of the dead in the eighth century
- 4 The world of the *Iliad*
- 5 The world of the *Odyssey*
- 6 The world of *Works and Days*
- 7 The world of *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women*
- 8 The orientaling world
- 9 The colonial world
- 10 The world of Archilochos
- 11 The world of Corinthian pottery
- 12 The world of Alkaios
- 13 The world of Sappho and Alkman
- 14 The world of Tyrtaios and of Artemis Orthia
- 15 The world of Semonides
- 16 The world inscribed
- 17 The world of Solon
- 18 The world of Sophilos, Kleitias and Ergotimos, and Exekias
- 19 The world of *kouroi*, *korai* and grave stelai

- 20 The world of Theognis, Anacreon and red-figure pottery
- 21–3 The world of Herodotus
- 24 From histories to history.

Lent Term Class topics (the classes will be given by Dr. Paola Ceccarelli):

- 1 What was a polis?
- 2 How important were relations with a wider world to the development of archaic Greece?
- 3 What was a tyrant?
- 4 *Either* How important was inter-city warfare to archaic Greek life and thought?  
*Or* How important was religious activity in the image and self-image of women in archaic Greek cities?

### Sources:

Homer *Iliad* 1.1–492, 2, 6.72–7.353, 9, 11.544–848, 18, 22–24 (= *The Iliad* tr. A. Verity (Oxford 2011) 3–15, 19–41, 92–113, 133–50, 179–87, 297–312, 353–409 [total = 149pp])  
Homer *Odyssey* 1–4, 6, 9, 14, 18, 22.330–23.372 (= *The Odyssey of Homer* tr. R. Lattimore pp. 27–87, 102–110, 137–51, 210–224, 270–81, 329–344 [total 112pp.]).  
Hesiod *Theogony* 1–115, 507–616, 881–944; *Works and Days* 1–828, *Catalogue of Women* frg.s 1, 69–71, 155 (= Hesiod tr. G. Most 2006 & 2007 (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA) vol. 1 pp. 3–13, 43–53, 74–8, 87–153; vol. 2 41–3, 135–45, 227–39 [total 57 pp.])  
Archaic lyric poetry: D.A. Campbell *Greek Lyric* (5 vols. 1982–93; Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA) I. pp.53–61, 67–9, 79–81, 117, 121–5, 139, 149, 153, 161 (Sappho frg.s 1–5, 16–17, 31, 94, 96–8, 114–5, 132, 137, 148), 239, 251–3, 273–9, 289–93, 297–307, 321–3, 381–3, 393, 395, (Alcaeus frg.s, 6, 38A, 69–73, 117(b)–119, 129–143, 208, 347–8, 360, 364); II. pp. 41–61, 67–85, 95–7 (Anacreon frgs. 346–64, 373–402, 417–9), 315–9 (Terpander frgs. 1–7) 361–411 (Alcman frgs. 1–19); III. 255–7 (Ibycus frgs. 286, 287) [total = 85]  
Archaic iambic and elegiac poetry: D.E. Gerber *Greek Iambic poetry* (1999; Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA) pp.77–103, 153–4, 153–73, 211–17 (Archilochos 1–25, 114–134, 196–201), 299–313, 323, 339 (Semonides frgs. 1–7, 16, 42), 353–77, 419, 421–3, 429–33 (Hipponax frgs. 1–32, 84, 92, 104). D.E. Gerber *Greek Elegiac Poetry* (1999; Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA) 19–21 (Callinus frg. 1), 37–61, 65–71 (Tyrtaeus frgs. 1–12, 19–23), 81–9, 95–9 (Mimnermos frgs. 1–10, 13–17), 109–65 (Solon frgs. 1–45), 175–385 (Theognis). 413–23 (Xenophanes frgs. 1–8) [total = 216pp.]  
C.W. Fornara *From Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* (Cambridge, 1983): no.s 9–56 (pp. 11–56) [total = 40 pp.]  
Herodotos *Histories* 1.1–33, 59–70, 141–53; 4.147–67, 5.17–6.94 (= *The Landmark* Herodotos tr. A. Purvis, New York, 2007) pp. 3–22, 33–41, 75–83, 340–51, 373–464) [total = 137pp.]  
Thucydides *Histories* 1.1–23, 6.53–59 (= *The Landmark Thucydides* tr. R. Crawley, New York 1996, pp. 3–16, 390–94) [total = 17 pp.]  
[Aristotle] *Constitution of the Athenians* 1–22 (22 pages) (Aristotle *The Athenian Constitution* tr. P.J. Rhodes (Harmondsworth 1984).  
Aristotle *Politics* 2.9–10 and 12 (1269a29–1272b23, 1273b27–1274b28) = Aristotle *The Politics* tr. T.A. Sinclair (Harmondsworth 1962 revised 1981) pp. 141–54, 160–64 [total = 17 pp.]  
[Total no. of pages of textual sources: 852]

**Archaeological data:** Osborne *Greece in the Making* chapters 4, 6–8; Morgan *Athletes and Oracles* chs. 2, 4; Scott *Delphi and Olympia*  
Vase-painting and sculpture: Osborne *Archaic and Classical Greek Art* ch.s 2–8.

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#### General works

R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* (Cambridge, 1994)  
L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece. The city states c.700–500 BC* (London, 1976)  
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- J. Boardman *Early Greek vase painting 11th-6th centuries B.C.: a handbook* (London, 1998)
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SPECIMEN PAPERS

HISTORICAL TRIPOS Part II

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X February 20XX

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Paper 2 (A) Special Historical Subject

CONSTRUCTING THE WORLDS OF ARCHAIC GREECE

Write an essay of not less than 5,000 words and not more than 6,000 words on one of the following questions.

- 1 Can we give any meaning to the claim that the polis was 'born' around 700 B.C.?
- 2 How sophisticated was the provision for dispute settlement before 600 B.C.?
- 3 Is it by chance that representations in sanctuaries and representations of cult activity are dominated by young men and women?
- 4 **Either** Did the structure of the economy of Greek cities change in any marked way between 750 and 500 B.C., and if so, why?  
**Or** Was coinage more significant as an idea than as medium of exchange in the Greek world down to 480 B.C.?
- 5 Were tyrants more significant in Greek cities in social memory than they were when in power?
- 6 For whom and in what sense was freedom an issue in the Greek world prior to 500 B.C.?
- 7 'Changing one's place of residence was normal, staying put in one settlement the exception, throughout archaic Greek history.' Discuss.
- 8 When and for what reason did chattel slaves become important in any Greek city?
- 9 'Just because we have no direct evidence for it does not mean that we should reckon the symposium any less important in Greek society in the eighth century than in the sixth.' Discuss.
- 10 Did women become better or worse off in Greek cities over time during the archaic period?

END OF PAPER

HISTORICAL TRIPOS Part II

—day 00 May 201X 9 to 12

Paper 1 (A) Special Historical Subject  
CONSTRUCTING THE WORLDS OF ARCHAIC GREECE

Answer questions 1, 2, and one other question.

STATIONERY REQUIREMENTS

20 Page Answer Book x 1

Rough Work Pad

You may not start to read the questions printed on the subsequent pages of this question paper until instructed that you may do so by the Invigilator

1 Comment on three of the following passages:

- (a) Around the city to armies of men were encamped, glittering in their armour. Two counsels found favour among them, either to sack the city utterly or to divide with the inhabitants all the wealth that the beautiful city held within it. But the defenders were not ready to yield, and were secretly arming for an ambush; and on the wall stood their dear wives and children, ready to defend it, and with them men in the grip of old age. The rest marched out.

Homer *Iliad* 18.509–16.

Τὴν δ' ἑτέρην πόλιν ἀμφὶ δὺο στρατοὶ ἦτο λαῶν  
τεύχεσι λαμπόμενοι· δίχα δέ σφισιν ἦνδανε βουλή, (510)  
ἠὲ διαπραθέειν ἢ ἄνδιχα πάντα δάσασθαι  
κτῆσιν ὄσσην πτολίεθρον ἐπήρατον ἐντὸς ἔεργεν·  
οἱ δ' οὐ πω πείθοντο, λόχῳ δ' ὑπεθωρήσσοντο.  
τεῖχος μὲν ῥ' ἄλοχοί τε φίλαι καὶ νήπια τέκνα  
ῥύατ' ἐφεσταότες, μετὰ δ' ἄνδρες οὐς ἔχε γῆρας· (515)  
οἱ δ' ἴσαν·

- (b) Perses, lay these things in your heart and give heed to Justice, and put violence entirely out of your mind. This is the law that Cronus' son has established for human beings: that fist and beasts and winged birds eat one another, since Justice is not among them; but to human beings he has given Justice which is the best by far. For if someone who recognizes what is just is willing to speak it out publicly, then far-seeing Zeus gives him wealth.

Hesiod *Works and Days* 274–281

ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσι  
καὶ νυ δίκης ἐπάκουε, βίης δ' ἐπιλήθεο πάμπαν. (275)  
τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων,

ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς  
 ἔσθειν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ' αὐτοῖς·  
 ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἔδωκε δίκην, ἢ πολλὸν ἀρίστη  
 γίνεται· εἰ γὰρ τίς κ' ἐθέλη τὰ δίκαι' ἀγορεύσαι (280)  
 γινώσκων, τῷ μὲν τ' ὄλβον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς·

- (c) Some say a host of cavalry, others of infantry, and others of ships, is the most beautiful thing on the black earth, but I say it is whatsoever a person loves. It is perfectly easy to make this understood by everyone: for she who far surpassed mankind in beauty, Helen, left her most noble husband and went sailing off to Troy with no thought at all for her child or dear parents, but (love) led her astray.

Sappho frg. 16.1–12

οἱ μὲν ἰππῶν στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων  
 οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ι] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν  
 ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-  
 [ ]τω τις ἔραται·  
 πά]γχι δ' εὐμαρες σύνετον πόησαι (5)  
 π]άντι τ[ο]ῦτ', ἃ γὰρ πόλυ περσκέθρισα  
 κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἑλένα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα  
 [ ]τὸν [ ]·στον  
 καλλ[ί]ποι]σ' ἔβα 'ς Τροῖαν πλέρι]σα  
 κωὺδ[ἐ πα]ῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων (10)  
 πά[μ]παν] ἐμνάσθη, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' αὐταν  
 [ ]σαν

- (d) Not many bows will be stretched nor will there be numerous slings, whenever Ares brings together the press of battle on the plain; it will be the woeful work of swords. This is the warfare in which those spear-famed lords of Euboea are skilled.

Archilochus frg. 2

οὔτοι πόλλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται, οὐδὲ θαμειαὶ  
 σφενδόναί, εὗτ' ἂν δὴ μῶλον Ἄρης συνάγηι  
 ἐν πεδίω· ξιφέων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσσειται ἔργον·  
 ταύτης γὰρ κείνοι δάμονές εἰσι μάχης  
 δεσπότηι Εὐβοίης δουρικλυτοί.

- (e) It is the citizens themselves who by their acts of foolishness and subservience to money are willing to destroy a great city, and the mind of the people's leaders is unjust; they are certain to suffer much pain as a result of their great arrogance. For they do not know how to restrain excess or to conduct in an orderly and peaceful manner the festivities of the banquet that are at hand.... they grow wealthy, yielding to unjust deeds.

Solon frg. 4.1–11.

ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται  
 αἴσαν καὶ μακάρων θ<4εῶ>ν φρένας ἀθανάτων·  
 τοίη γὰρ μεγάλθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη  
 Παλλάς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει·  
 αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίησιν (5)  
 ἄστοι βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,  
 δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἐτοῖμον  
 ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν·

οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ παρούσας  
 εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ (10)  
 ..... (10)  
 πλουτ<4έου>σιν δ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενοι

2 Comment on three of the following passages:

- (a) Diognetos of Phrearrhos was Secretary, Diokles was Archon. Resolved by the Boule and the People, Adamantis held the prytany, [D]i[o]g[netos] was Secretary, Euthydikos presided, [..]e[... ]anes made the motion. The law of Drakon about *homicide* shall be inscribed by the Recorders of the laws (Anagrapheis), after they have received it from the *King Archon, jointly with the Secretary* of the Boule, on a marble stele, and they shall set it up *in front* of the Stoa Basileia. The Poletai shall let the contract *according to the law*. The Hellenotamiai shall supply the *money*. First Axon. Even if without *premeditation* [someone kills someone, he shall be exiled.] Judgment shall be passed (on him) by the Kings as guilty of homicide *either* (?) [-17-] or (?) the man who plotted (the death). The Ephetai *shall give the verdict*.

Fornara no. 15, ML 86, *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 104.1–13

Διόγν[ε]τος Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτε[υε]·  
 Διοκλῆς ἔρχε·

ἔδοχσεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· Ἀκα[μ]αντίς ἐπ[ρ]υτάνευε, [Δ]ιό[γ]-  
 νετος ἐγραμμάτευε, Εὐθύδικος [ἐ]πεστάτε, □□Ε□□□ΑΝΕΣ εἶπε· τὸ[ν]

5

Δράκοντος νόμον τὸμ περὶ τὸ φό[ν]ο ἀναγρα[φ]σά[ν]τον οἱ ἀναγραφῆ-  
 ς τὸν νόμον παραλαβόντες παρὰ τὸ β[α]σ[ι]λέ[ος] μετ[ὰ] τὸ γραμμα[τ]εό-  
 ς τῆς βουλῆς ἐστέλει λιθίνει καὶ κα[τ]α[θ]έντ[ον] πρόσθε[ν] τῆς στο-  
 ᾶς τῆς βασιλείας· οἱ δὲ πολεται ἀπομι[σθο]σ[άν]τον κατὰ τὸν νόμο-  
 ν, οἱ δὲ ἔλλενοταμίαι δόντον τὸ ἀρ[γ]ύ[ρ]ι[ον].

πρῶτος ἄχσον.

καὶ ἔαμ με 'κ {<sup>2</sup>□ ἐκ}<sup>2</sup>□ [π]ρονοί[α]ς [κ]τ[έν]ει τίς τινα, φεύγ[ε]ν· δι-  
 κάζεν δὲ τὸς βασιλέας αἴτιο[ν] φό[ν]ο Ε□□□□□□□□17□□□□□□□□Ε [β]ολ-  
 εύσαντα· τὸς δὲ ἐφέτας διαγν[ο]ν[α]ι.

- (b) This Cleisthenes has been at war with Argos, and then he suspended the rhapsodic contests in Sicyon, because they involved the Homeric epics, which constantly celebrate Argos and the Argives. Now, there was (and still is) a shrine in the main square of Sicyon to Adrastus the son of Talauus, and, because he was an Argive, Cleisthenes also wanted to banish this hero from the country. He went to Delphi and asked if it would be all right to banish Adrastus, but the Pythia's response was that Adrastus had been the king of Sicyon, whereas he was a nobody.

Herodotus 5.67

Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψωδοὺς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα  
 ὑμνέεται· τοῦτο δέ, ἡρώιον γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων  
 Ἀδρήστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἐόντα Ἀργεῖον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ  
 τῆς χώρας. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοι τὸν Ἀδρηστον· ἡ δὲ  
 Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ φᾶσα Ἀδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ λευστήρα.

- (c) Having now given the result of my inquiries into early times, I grant that there will be a difficulty in believing every particular detail. The way that most men deal with

traditions, even traditions of their own country, is to receive them all alike as they are delivered, without applying any critical test whatever.

Thucydides 1.20

Τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα ἡῦρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἦν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ἦ, ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως παρ' ἀλλήλων δέχονται.

- (d) They waited two years after their victory, and then [488/7], now that the people were confident, they used for the first time the law about ostracism: this had been enacted through suspicion of men in a powerful position, because Pisistratus from being popular leader and general had made himself tyrant. The first man to be ostracized was one of his relatives, Hipparchus son of Charmus, of Collytus: it was because of him in particular that Cleisthenes had enacted the law, since he wanted to drive Hipparchus out.

[Aristotle] *Constitution of the Athenians* 22.3–4.

διαλιπόντες ἔτη δύο μετὰ τὴν νίκην, θαρροῦντος ἤδη τοῦ δήμου, τότε πρῶτον ἐχρήσαντο τῷ νόμῳ τῷ περὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμόν, ὃς ἐτέθη διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὅτι Πεισίστρατος δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς ὢν τύραννος κατέστη. καὶ πρῶτος ὀστρακίσθη τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν Ἰππάρχος Χάρμου Κολλυτεύς, δι' ὃν καὶ μάλιστα τὸν νόμον ἔθηκεν ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἐξελάσαι βουλόμενος αὐτόν.

- (e) Just as man and wife are each part of a household, so we should regard a state also as divided into two parts approximately equal numerically, one of men, one of women. So, in all constitutions in which the position of women is ill-regulated, one half of the state must be regarded as not properly legislated for. And that is what has happened at Sparta. For there the lawgiver, whose intention it was that the whole state should be tough, has obviously shown toughness as far as the men are concerned, but has been negligent over the women. For at Sparta women live intemperately, enjoying every licence and indulging in every luxury.

Aristotle *Politics* 2.9 (1269b14–23)

ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας μέρος ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πόλιν ἐγγὺς τοῦ δίχα διηρῆσθαι δεῖ νομίζειν εἷς τε τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὥστ' ἐν ὅσαις πολιτείαις φαύλως ἔχει τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν ἀνομοθέτητον. ὅπερ ἐκεῖ συμβέβηκεν· ὅλην γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὁ νομοθέτης εἶναι βουλόμενος καρτερικὴν, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἀνδρας φανερός ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὢν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξημέληκεν· ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκολάστως πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τρυφερῶς.

3 What does surviving archaic poetry contribute to our understanding of Greek relations with the non-Greek world?

4 'All Herodotus tells us about is the concerns of his own time.' Discuss.

END OF PAPER