All for One or One for All?

(Re)constructing Identity in the Ancient World

Graduate Student Symposium

Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology
Bryn Mawr College

October 17 - 18, 1997

Schedule of Events

Friday, October 17
8:00 p.m. Keynote speaker: Lauren Talalay, Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan
Reflections on Identity and Ethnicity in the Ancient World
        Reception following

Saturday, October 18
9:00 - 9:05 a.m. Welcome from the organizers

9:05 - 10:30 Session #1: Individual Identity
9:05 - 9:25 William B. Hafford, University of Pennsylvania
The Near Eastern Merchant: Identity in Common Objects?
9:30 - 9:50 Andrew Keetley, Department of Classics, University of Texas, Austin
From Solitude to Solidarity: the Identity of the Individual in *De Rerum Natura*
9:55 - 10:15 W. Marshall Johnston, Jr., Department of Latin, Bryn Mawr College
Cornelius Nepos' Place in the Literary Movements of the First Century B.C.

10:20 - 10:30 Commentary: Christina Salowey, Hollins College

10:30 - 10:45 Coffee break

10:45 - 12:10 p.m. Session #2: Group Identity
10:45 - 11:05 Yelena Rakic, Department of Art History, University of Pennsylvania
Glyptic Art and Cultural Identity in Third Millennium B.C. Greater Mesopotamia
11:10 - 11:30 E. Kent Webb, Department of History, University of Washington
The Athenian Tyrannicides: Icons of a Democratic Society
11:35 - 11:55 Sarah J. Kielt, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Bryn Mawr College
The Syro-Mesopotamian Origins of Arslantepe's Administrative System
12:00 - 12:10 Commentary: Reinhard Bernbeck, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Bryn Mawr College

12:10 - 1:30 Lunch

1:30 - 3:20 Session #3: Negotiating Identities
1:30 - 1:50 Matthew Freeman Trundle, History Department, McMaster University
The Greek Mercenary and his Relationship to the Polis
1:55 - 2:15 Anthony Leonardis, Indiana University
The Individual in Sabellian Material Culture of Campania and Lucania: Attempts of
"Half-Breeds" to Assert their Own Identity Against a Dominant Culture
2:20 - 2:40 Lauren Hackworth Petersen, Department of Art History, University of Texas
Elite words and the "silenced" Roman *libertinus*: reading identity in the House of
L. Caecilius Iucundus in Pompeii (V 1.23)
2:45 - 2:55 Commentary: James C. Wright, Dean of Graduate Arts and Sciences and Professor, Department of
Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Bryn Mawr College

2:55 - 3:25 Coffee Break

3:25 - 5:15 Session #4: Modern Identities
3:25 - 3:45 Sarah Lepinski, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Bryn Mawr College
The Modern Construction of the Identity of Semiramis/Sammuramat
3:50 - 4:10 Diana Loren and Emily Stovel, Department of Anthropology, Binghamton University
Approaching a Reconciliation for Ethnic Construction in Archaeology and Identity Politics
4:15 - 4:35 Katharine Woodhouse-Beyer, Department of Anthropology, Brown University
Identity and Transcendence in Russian America: An Archaeological Approach to Identity
in Colonial Contexts
4:40 - 5:00 Minna Canton Duchovnay, Department of Latin, Bryn Mawr College
Framing the Scholar
5:05 - 5:15 Commentary: A.A. Donohue, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Bryn Mawr College

5:15 - 5:35 Closing Comments: Lauren Talalay, Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan

6:00 Dinner for symposium participants

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Acknowledgments

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Abstracts

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     L. Caecilius Iucundus in Pompeii (V 1.23)

Session #4: Modern Identities

Note: The texts of the abstracts appear as submitted except for the editing of minor spelling and punctuation errors.

William B. Hafford
 University of Pennsylvania

The Near Eastern Merchant: Identity in Common Objects?

This paper is an initial attempt to identify the people conducting international trade in the Bronze Age Near East via the preserved material remains of the profession. A good deal of work has been done on the textual analysis of Near Eastern merchants yet little, if any, has been dedicated to the archaeological reconstruction of their activities and identity.

Weights seem to be the best starting point as they were used extensively by merchants in the conduct of their daily business and are common in archaeological excavations. They are often found in groups with many other items expected to be in use by merchants. These include: balance pans, bullae, economic texts, scrap metal (possibly present for the value of the metal by weight), and cylinder seals. This last is of great interest as seals were often used to identify people and/or things in the ancient world. At least one seal is very frequently found with potential merchant assemblages, and these can reveal a great deal about the status, allegiance, and position of the owner.

A brief comparison of several seals found with 'merchant equipment' shows that the 'presentation scene' is most common, and this scene may be associated with the higher echelon of society. A tentative conclusion is that the type of merchant being uncovered here is the high-profile one; that is, the one conducting high-value, large-volume, long-distance trade and therefore, is more likely to be wealthy and/or well-connected in order to amass the capital necessary for such business.

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Andrew Keetley
 University of Texas at Austin

From Solitude to Solidarity:

The Identity of the Individual in *De Rerum Natura*

This paper will attempt to describe the version of identity represented by Lucretius in the *De Rerum Natura* in terms of the philosophy of the Absurd described by the humanist, Albert Camus. This identity will be centered on Lucretius' account of the human condition through which, I argue, he anticipates Camus in seeking to expose the

metaphysical solitude of the individual in an absurd world and to establish lucid consciousness as the precondition for human solidarity.

First, Lucretius gives examples of the feeling of the Absurd, which Camus describes, through which he seeks to expose the metaphysical isolation of the individual in an indifferent world. Then, Lucretius, in the humanist tradition, attempts to remove all mental impediments to consciousness in order to attain a definite awakening. Lucretius argues that by confronting our fear of death, fear of the gods and Superstition with a lucid awareness of our absurd predicament, we may "free ourselves from great anguish and fear of the mind" (3.903), and escape our feeling of solitude thereby establishing the precondition for realizing our ontological longing for unity.

Finally, the plague which Lucretius describes at the end of the poem marks the ultimate confrontation with the absurd by revealing the limit which death imposes and the realization that there is nothing beyond death. The plague makes clear the need for the establishment of a shared consciousness of our common condition and becomes the final means of showing that only by fully awakening to our absurd predicament might we overcome our fear of death and satisfy the precondition for our longing for unity.

W. Marshall Johnston, Jr.
Bryn Mawr College

Cornelius Nepos' Place in the Literary Movements of the First Century B.C.

While recent scholarship has tended to view Cornelius Nepos mainly as an innovator in at least one genre of literature, I have attempted to place him within the literary movements of his day. Several aspects of Nepos' style are Neoteric; that is, they are common to a certain group of poets who were active in Rome in the late Republic and who tried to emulate the Alexandrian, and especially Callimachean, literary ideals of two centuries earlier. Nepos was also involved in the antiquarian movement of the first century B.C. I believe that the understanding of Nepos as a writer relies on an understanding of his identity in the community of his time.

I will begin with a reconsideration of some traditionally held beliefs about Nepos' own biography, especially with regard to his date of birth and his time in Rome. This review of certain testimonia to Nepos' life and fragments of his works will reveal that Nepos was well known to the *litterati* during the last years of the Republic. He and Cicero shared a considerable correspondence. Nepos was on good terms with the famed antiquarian Atticus. The friendship of Catullus and Nepos may have been based on their common Gallic origin and flourished perhaps because of their common literary interests.

Very little of Nepos' substantial output survives intact, and what does is mainly his biographical work, the *de Viris Illustribus* (he also wrote a *Chronica* and an *Exempla*). The subjects he chooses and the way he presents them in his biographies show a great affinity with the preoccupations of the Neoterics, in particular Catullus. Nepos chooses, in many cases, unusual figures on whom to base his biographies, and often concentrates on lesser-known episodes from their lives. Avoiding the beaten path is a fundamental concept of the Neoterics. Catullus' dedication of his book of poems to Nepos is an erudite conversation between Hellenized Romans (I.3-7):

Corneli tibi, namque tu solebas
meas esse aliquid putare nugas
iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum
omne aevum tribus explicare cartis
doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.

While this tribute is by no means void of the irony that is often attributed to it, it is nonetheless a far subtler *ludus* (poetic game) than has been previously noted. Catullus' description of Nepos as *unus Italorum* reflects Nepos' use of similar phrases to describe many of his subjects in the *de Viris Illustribus*. Catullus employs subtle humor here and again with the juxtaposition of *doctis* ("learned"), a Neoteric ideal, and *Iuppiter*, a god from whom Callimachus wishes to disassociate himself.

With Atticus, Nepos shared an interest in lineage and in recording accurate chronologies. I will point out how family relationships color Nepos' biographies and how his history even synchronizes Roman and Greek events. As for Cicero, we know that Nepos corresponded with him about a number of matters, among them the place of philosophy and the role of philosophers. In short, Nepos' literary interaction with Catullus and others demonstrates that he was a mover and a shaker in one or more literary circles of the late Republic.

Yelena Rakic
University of Pennsylvania

Glyptic Art and Cultural Identity in Third Millennium B.C. Greater Mesopotamia

The participants in the tremendous political, social, and economic change that occurred in greater Mesopotamia during the third millennium BC did not all belong to one homogeneous cultural unit. Rather, the material record suggests that a number of cultural entities existed and were in contact with each other. By the mid-third millennium different language groups can be identified which, although overlap occurs, are associated with regions: Sumerian speakers in the south, Akkadian speakers in the north, Elamite speakers in the east, and various Semitic speakers in the north and the northwest. While art has been used to elucidate the complex relationships between these groups, it has rarely been considered as a means of investigating group identity. Instead, linguistic affiliation is commonly viewed as the primary marker of group identity for this period. However, as products which are consciously encoded with a message - often in the iconography of the work but also in the choice of a certain style - art works are particularly valuable for the sheer density of meaning that they carry and need to be considered in the identity formation process. This paper explores the possibilities of and establishes methodologies for using one type of visual evidence- seals and sealings - from secure proveniences in greater Mesopotamia in the mid-third millennium BC, to chart differences and similarities across ethno-linguistically defined geographical regions. Its goal will be to consider whether differences and similarities in the iconography and style of the glyptic art can be examined as markers of group identification - or be extension ethnic identity.

E. Kent Webb
University of Washington

The Athenian Tyrannicides: Icons of a Democratic Society

Over the years the Athenian tyrannicides have received an enormous amount of scholarly attention, none of which has seriously considered their meaning within the democratic polis. This essay is an attempt to rectify this situation by examining the symbolic significance of the memory of these two civic heroes embodied in the popular tradition of their deed. It argues that the tradition's representations of tyrannical hubris and its threat to male and female sexual norms evoked larger discourses on these themes within the democratic state. In this way the tyrannicides stood for the sociosexual ideals of the democracy and a poetics of Athenian man and womanhood. It is, however, further asserted that the symbolism of the tyrannicides did not stop here. In brief, not just the content but the form of these representations evoked other discourses on the structure of society. Namely,

Hipparchos' sexual hubris toward Harmodios and his sister threatened to displace them from the citizen community, thus figuring the always significant division between citizen and non-citizen in sexual terms. Technically speaking, this made the tyrannicides icons of the democracy since they signified one of its most important internal hierarchies. It also shows that their symbolism was inherently multivalent, that is, the tyrannicides stood for different aspects of the ideology of the Athenian democracy in more ways than one.

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Sarah J. Kielt
Bryn Mawr College

The Syro-Mesopotamian Origins of Arslantepe's Administrative System

Recently, a great deal of attention has been focused upon the Uruk Expansion, in which people from fourth millennium southern Mesopotamia established colonies in the north, perhaps in search of raw materials. More complex than the "colonies," however, are those sites with a clearly local tradition, alongside Uruk-related material. It is not clear if the population of these sites included southern Mesopotamians. And if it did, what was the role of this "intrusive" population? A clue may lie in the administrative material from one of these sites, Arslantepe.

Elements of Uruk-related culture first appear at Arslantepe in levels dated to ca. 3300 - 3000 B.C. Although the architecture, and most of the glyptic and ceramics, are in the local style of surrounding sites, examples of Uruk-related pottery and glyptic also appear. Many seal impressions have been found from this period, most of which are from stamp seals of a particular Arslantepe style. Some, however, are impressions of cylinder seals, which are considered to be a southern Mesopotamian innovation.

Despite the overwhelmingly local nature of the glyptic finds, the excavators have suggested that the administrative system derives from southern Mesopotamian influences. A consideration of the glyptic tradition of greater northern Mesopotamia (northern Syria, northern Mesopotamia, and southeast Anatolia), however, indicates otherwise. Systems using stamp seals and tokens were in use since the late Neolithic period in greater northern Mesopotamia. A survey of the evidence for administrative systems in this region from the Late Uruk period back to the late Neolithic period demonstrates the continuity of this tradition. Tell Sabi Abyad, located in the Balikh Valley of northern Syria, has produced the earliest evidence of such an administrative system, which shows remarkable similarities to that of Arslantepe. This continuity in tradition, plus the fact that stamp seal use can be traced in the region long before seal use is attested in southern Mesopotamia, point to a northern origin for Arslantepe's system. To see a local origin to the administrative system at a site like Arslantepe would challenge some scholars' assumptions about the extent of southern Mesopotamian influences in this region in the late fourth millennium, B.C.

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Matthew Freeman Trundle
McMaster University

Community and the Greeks in Military Service Overseas

Greek mercenary service became a predominant part of the political, social, and economic life of the eastern

Mediterranean in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. It is often described as one of the principal themes of the fourth century B.C.

My paper will examine two themes which arise from the lives of Greek mercenaries in service outside of their communities in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

The first is that mercenaries were outsiders in the regions for and against which they fought. This meant that mercenary armies in the Greek context were communities unto themselves and have been described as moving poleis (city-states) with their own social and political structure. I will discuss how these two phenomena - of being an outsider on the one hand and yet being part of a quickly formed and non-rooted community on the other - came about and how this can aid the understanding of ancient Greek society.

The second phenomenon is that of perceived ethnicity. The mercenaries of the Greek world, many of whom fought for and against so-called "barbarians" (non-Greeks), defined themselves as Greeks in-spite of the fact that they were fighting for supposed foreigners often against other Greeks in the employ of another paymaster. They also defined themselves, however, by the city-states from which they came. These personal definitions of ethnicity and belonging emerged from the different contexts and different situations in which mercenaries found themselves overseas. These definitions were often artificially manufactured and provide an interesting insight into the creation of community among citizens of the various city-states and among the broader linguistically united, but politically divided group who called themselves Greeks.

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Anthony Leonardis
University of Indiana- Bloomington

The Individual in Sabellian Material Culture of Campania and Lucania:

Attempts of "Half-Breeds" to Assert their Own Identity Against a Dominant Culture

I propose to present a paper concerning the identification of the Campanian and Lucanian branches of the Oscan/Sabellian ethnic identity in the area of Capua, Cumae and Paestum in the Bay of Naples region through several cultural documents. These documents consist of South-Italian vase painting, tomb paintings, architectural remains, and literary sources. Recent scholarship by Gisela Schneider-Hermann (Samnites of the Fourth Century B.C.) and Angela Pontrandolfo (numerous publications on Lucanian tomb painting) has shed much light on the unique cultural centers of Capua, Cumae, and Paestum, occupied by the Sabellian peoples of the inner Apennine territories from the fifth century until the Roman intervention in the third centuries B.C. Most striking is the recurring motif of the Samnite warrior, in various situations related to combat and warfare, including both mock and serious gladiatorial combat in theatrical spectacles held at funerary games. The powerful symbol of the warrior is always coupled with that of the matriarch (the Samnite Woman). Greek historiographic sources allude to the dismay felt by Greek colonists of the Western cities at the prospect of intermarriage between the locals and the Greeks.

I will argue that the individual Sabellian artist, whether vase-painter, potter, muralist, or architect, expresses the cultural tension between the development of native Sabellian ethnic identity, and the long established Greek identity prominent throughout the cities of Magna Graecia. I will use as a theoretical model anthropological studies on MÈtis ethnicity in the northwestern plains and parklands of North America. The MÈtis, a term meaning 'half-breed' given to the Native peoples who intermarried with European fur-traders, are in a similar anthropological situation as the Italic peoples of South-Italy. I will construct my arguments upon a theoretical basis which has been used for the study of ethnicity and change in anthropological research on the MÈtis. This will serve as a comparative, theoretical model for understanding the dynamic between individual artist and group identity.

Lauren Hackworth Petersen
 University of Texas at Austin

Elite words and the "silenced" Roman libertinus:

reading identity in the House of L. Caecilius Iucundus in Pompeii (V 1.23)

Stereotypical images of the Roman former slave, or *libertinus*, abound in Petronius's *Satyricon*, as seen through the ficitional character of Trimalchio. Petronius pokes fun at the *libertinus* for being self-aggrandizing and ostentatious, and for naively imitating elite culture. We, too, as readers of the text, are encourages to laugh as Trimalchio blunders along, pretending to be a member of elite society despite the obvious incongruity of his dress and appearance, and legal status. In this paper, I argue that this literary (and elite) picture of former slave is only a partial one; ancient literature in fact silences the *libertinus*. Yet through an examination of the artistic patronage of the *libertinus* we can begin to reconstruct how he created an identity using his own voice. I begin with a brief discussion of the complexities of an ex-slave's life, filled as it was with contradictions that did not exist for either slaves or freeborn citizens. For example, although legally a citizen, the *libertinus* was subject to customs and regulations that distinguished him from freeborn citizens, and thereby confined him to a lower social status; though free, the servile past of a *libertinus* marred his "free" identity. Despite this, many former slaves achieved visibility through economic success, which in turn permitted them to commission grand tombs and decorative ensembles for their homes. I shall focus on a single case study, the House of L. Caecilius Iucundus in Pompeii. I seek to recuperate the identity of the former slave L. Caecilius Iucundus through an examination of the decoration of his domus. Two important features, the herm portrait in the atrium and the retention of decorative ensembels in the Third Style, indicate that Iucundus was trying to create an ancestral domus. Yet far from concealing his identity as a former slave through simple imitation of elite culture, he consciously revealed to visitors his legal identity, his "freed" status. In this respect, L. Caecilius Iucundus does not easily fit ancient and modern stereotypes of the Roman *libertinus*.

Sarah Lepinski
 Bryn Mawr College

The Modern Construction of the Identity of Semiramis/Sammuramat

The legendary Queen Semiramis is described in Greek sources as the wife of King Ninus who founded Nineveh in c. 2200 B.C. and mother of Ninyas. Her attributes included wisdom, power, beauty, and licentiousness, and her accomplishments involved conducting successful military campaigns and building projects. These legendsprovided the historical framework with which nineteenth century and early twentieth century archaeologists ordered and interpreted data.
Textual evidence from early excavations at Assyrian sites revised the historical context within which Semiramis --Sammuramat in Akkadian --existed and confirmed her identity as wife of Shamshi-Adad V (823 - 811 B.C.) and mother to Adad-Nirari III (810 - 783 B.C.). Despite the historical revisions Sammuramat's character traits and political influence described in the Greek legends endure in modern histories of the ancient Near East.

Since the late 1960's, additional textual evidence from the reign of Sammuramat's son Adad-Nirari III has expanded the knowledge of this period, and consequently Sammuramat's prominent political role has been challenged by Assyriologists. This textual evidence, however, is insufficient to prove or disprove Sammuramat's position of authority, and there are no pictorial representations of Sammuramat to support any reconstruction of political position. This paper traces the development of the scholarship involved in constructing the modern conception of Sammuramat's identity and role as Queen and mother. In addition, with consideration of the more recent evidence, it proposes a new hypothesis concerning Sammuramat's political influence.

Diana Loren and Emily Stovel
Binghamton University

Approaching a Reconciliation for Ethnic Construction

in Archaeology and Identity Politics

We are both involved in projects that encourage the employment of models of ethnic plurality in the past. This involves the creation of ethnohistoric analogues of group identity from periods of colonization for use in the distant past. This plural identity can be recognized in mixed material contexts from sites in North and South America. Our approach is not one of disentangling distinct ethnicities in archaeological contexts, but rather constructing an unevenly occupied space.

Nevertheless, the recognition of a multiethnic past often in counter to the agendas of indigenous populations who, in recent times, are trying to reestablish their identity in the distant past. In the case of the Creole populations in southeastern North America, however, the recognition of a mixed heritage lends credence to their alternative histories. At the same time, Native American groups in the same portion of the United States argue that this kind of past denies their legitimacy as a population of singular ethnicity through time. In southern South America, indigenous identity is disregarded by nation-states. Archaeological interpretations should promote essentializing identities instead of obscuring politically viable ethnic platforms in multiethnic models. In other words, as archaeologists move to embrace more fluid and multiple models of identity for the past, indigenous populations in North and South America are fighting to maintain strong ties to archaeological evidence of their enduring autochthonous presence and heritage.

In this paper, we explore this conundrum. How do we negotiate our viewpoint with those indigenous and Creole positions that either counter or support our own? How do we, as archaeologists, explore ethnic plurality in the recent and distant past without denying indigenous groups the power to define their own histories?

Katherine Woodhouse-Beyer
Brown University

Tradition and Transcendence in Russian America:

An Archaeological Approach to Identity in Colonial Contexts

At the time of Vitus Bering's voyage of 1741 AD, the Kodiak archipelago, Alaska, supported one of the largest

and most densely settled human populations in North America. Known to the Russians as Aleut or Koniag, and later to anthropologists as Koniag or Pacific Eskimo, surviving descendants of the subsequent Russian and American colonial eras now not only distinguish themselves as "Alutiiq", but are also in the midst of "cultural revitalization"; advocates of this movement not seek political and economic self-determination, but also recognize the importance of archaeology as an educational resource. This research explores the potential of a critical approach to the ethnohistory and archaeology of an early nineteenth-century Russian American Company provisioning post site on Afognak Island; the Afognak artel was not only one of the first Russian- established Creole communities in the north Pacific, but recent archaeological excavation has shown the site to be unique in both its preservation and productivity.

Specifically, the paper promotes archaeological analyses of tasks and the built environment in order to to identify material correlates of change in gender and socioeconomic relations on the Kodiak archipelago; I argue that the results of such research should contribute to a fuller understanding of the processes of creolization and the ways in which material symbols of ethnic identity in colonial contexts both transmit and transcend Alutiiq tradition.

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Minna Canton Duchovnay
Bryn Mawr College

Framing the Scholar

An examination of Kenneth Dover's ground-breaking book Greek Homosexuality (1978, 1989) and his autobiography Marginal Comment: A Memoir (1994) raises questions about the role of the scholar in academic discourse and its pedagogical implications. How do interests and cultural predispositions affect the development of a scholar's theories? What questions should be asked so that the student may develop the ability to evaluate a scholar's work?

The academic environment allows us to appreciate and analyze cultural material like the Greek vases in Dover's Greek Homosexuality. In another forum, however, these vases might be considered pornographic. This paper explores the factors that may have influenced Dover to select and study Greek homosexual figures. It suggests a method of inquiry that the student should have in mind when considering such material. Theories of Linda Nead, Terry Eagleton, and Pierre Boudrieau are used to address issues such as class distinction, aesthetic ideology, and the sociology and identity of the academician and the student.

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Reflections on Identity and Ethnicity in the Ancient World

Lauren E. Talalay
Kelsey Museum of Archaeology
University of Michigan

Identity is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon. Variously and not always clearly defined across disciplines, the subject of identity witnessed a surge of interest after World War II. The political and social changes that emerged in the wake of the War fostered heated discussions of national character, ethnicity, and personality (Erikson 1950, 1958; Herdt 1994:45). Today, despite what must total hundreds of thousands of pages on the concepts of collective and individual identities, there is no agreement about the precise functions that identity serves at both the personal and social levels or on how identity is formed, maintained, dissolved, and recreated.

The complexity and elusiveness of the topic, however, seems to create an irresistible challenge to scholars who feed in a variety of academic habitats, and, as this conference shows, provides a rich environment for discussions of ethnicities and the relationships of individual and collective identities to material culture.

A prolegomenon to *All for One or One for All? (Re)constructing Identity in the Ancient World*, this brief introduction aims to problematize the concept of identity and offer perspectives that, hopefully, will prove useful to archaeologists, art historians, and others who study the past through texts, literary evidence, and/or material culture. Reflecting some of the issues raised by the presenters in this conference, I begin with some theorizing, move to an exploration of group and negotiated identity, then to a discussion of archaeology and the construction of modern political identities, and finally to a consideration of gendered identity.

As current scholarship attests, contemplating identity is a convoluted enterprise. At the individual level, identity answers the question, "Who am I in relation to other people?" On the social level, it answers the query "Who are we in relation to other human groups?" (Mach 1993:4). Neither question is easy to answer and in both cases, issues of integration, adaptation, conflict and the symbolic nature of human communication must be considered (Mach 1993:4). Given the dynamic aspects of identity, it is not surprising that attempts to find an objective set of criteria that can serve as a definition, particularly for ethnic and collective identities, prove frustrating (Hall 1997:19). It is, however, heuristically beneficial to tackle the subject by isolating several questions, all of which are either implicitly or explicitly addressed by the presenters in this conference: What kinds of artifacts and literary evidence are constitutive of what kinds of identity? How do they reflect and participate in negotiated dispositions over time? Under what conditions will societies encourage individual, self-determined or personal rather than collective and social indentities? And, how politicized is the relationship between archaeology and the construction of modern identities? In order to answer these questions, we need to design a basic vocabulary and formulate some theoretical guidelines.

CONCEPTUALIZING IDENTITY

The difficulties inherent in defining identity notwithstanding, we can productively start with a baseline. Identity usually refers to one of several related but distinct notions: 1) the collective set of characteristics by which something is recognized; 2) the set of personal or behavioral characteristics by which an individual is known as a member of a group; 3) the quality or condition of being the same as something else; and 4) the distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity (American Hertitage Dictionary: Second College Edition).

Cleary not a monolithic concept, identity entails a set of interrelated conditions or characteristics, which for the purpose of this introduction, are conceived as a helical construction. The plaits in this DNA-type model include one strand for the concept of essences, one for the idea of sameness or likeness, and one for the notion of difference. Any attempt to understand identity in the ancient world must take these fundamental properties into account.

If, for example, we want to recover something of the identity of a hypothetical third century AD male living in the town of Frascati, Italy, we would need to gather first, some essential "facts" about him (e.g., social status, age, profession, life history) and second, the ways in which he is similar and different from contemporary individuals of similar and different statuses, ages, genders and professions. It is also critical to know whether the final

attributes we arrive at are those which are self-perceived and self-defined (by our third century male) or externally arbitrated and externally defined--by his contemporaries or by the archaeologist or philologist who has undertaken the research.

On the surface, this "fact-finding" expedition appears straight- forward. At the heart of this process, however, is a more complex debate, or what has been labelled the *identity thesis* versus the *difference thesis* (Sampson 1993:84-93).

The identity thesis adopts an essentialist view: objects and people have an essential nature, an inherent property that gives them a recognizable identity. Individuals who collectively share that essence partake, on some level, of the same identity. The coherence of that identity is guaranteed through time, regardless of the multiple guises in which it may appear (Sampson 1993:85). For example, in the identity thesis model an essential definition of male, female, homosexual, or heterosexual identities would be viewed as immutable through time.

The difference thesis is positioned elsewhere at the starting gate. *Differences* rather than *essences* render the identities we currently experience or study. Whatever something is cannot be fathomed without understanding the nexus of comparisons that construct its qualities (Sampson 1993:86). All things are defined in comparison with something else. Moreover, those comparisons can shift over time. Rather than assume, for example, that a unified core identity or definition exists for male, female, homosexual or heterosexual, the difference thesis would consider these identities as composite, variable, and plastic. What might be construed as a core identity or essence is actually a changing social accomplishment: certain identities simply become dominant over time as they are continually reaffirmed by social institutions and cultural practices (Sampson 1993:86,112-113).

Despite what may seem like so much rhetoric in these opposing theoretical stances, the debate raises an important question for the study of identity in the ancient world. When we look for group or individual identity in the archaeological record or in the literary evidence, are we searching for an enduring phenomenon-- a stable, intrinsic, and independent property of a person or a group-- or for a dynamic and processual phenomenon that is culturally and historically contingent (Mach 1993:5-6)?

Current wisdom does not favor the idea that identities, past or present, entail an enduring phenomenon. Ethnic identity in particular is more often described as socially constructed and subjectively perceived (Hall 1997:19). Although there is much to recommend this view and I agree that identity is largely a social phenomenon, we should not loose sight of the possible enduring aspects of any given identity. We would perhaps do best to don stereoscopic lenses, focusing on both the enduring and the situated aspects of personal and social identity. While definitions of self, others, and groups in both the ancient and modern worlds are surely based on shifting, situational, and subjective identifications that are rooted in daily and historical experiences (Jones 1997:13), these identifications also have tap roots that extend to an unchanging bedrock which define an essence. It is arguable, for example, that a Neolith from Franchthi, a Minoan from Knossos, a Mycenaean from Tiryns, a Roman from Frascati, and a Greek from Athens had well-defined understandings of his or her individual or collective identity but those identities were variously (re)defined depending on who was (re)configuring the definition and what socio-cultural, economic, or political ends that construction was intended to serve.

The ambiguous and changing nature of identity also allows us to consider the extent to which identities are self-constructed. In societies where there are avenues for such self-determinations, identities can serve as effective means of negotiating social and power relations at various levels. Gender is particularly susceptible to such self-constructions and, as is evident in our modern society, the choice of gender or the degree of ambiguity in one's gender can serve as validation of or resistance to cultural norms.

If we accept the scenario that identities, past and present, are largely contingent, that culture, language, and politics continually mediate essential identities, we confront the Herculean task of deciphering how to sort out these relationships. It is productive to begin with small steps, starting with the question of how artifacts can be employed as emblematic indices marking group and/or ethnic boundaries.

GROUP AND NEGOTIATED IDENTITY

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars of archaeology were particularly intrigued by the subject of collective and ethnic identities. Focusing on geographical variations in material assemblages, they argued that ethnicity was passively reflected in material culture. Researchers correlated ethnicity with homogeneous and bounded clusters of artifacts, suggesting that typologically similar objects found within a given spatial and temporal domain indicated shared ethnicity or close interaction among unified ethnic groups. Given that framework, ethnicity could be "mapped" by plotting, for example, similarities in pottery styles, stone tool types,

architectural forms, mortuary choices, and even floral and faunal remains that might reflect dietary preferences (Hall 1997:111; Jones 1997).

Doubts concerning these kinds of assumptions were raised as early as the 1920s and 30s (Jones 1997:106) but debate focused largely on the meaning of archaeological types. Did typologies reflect artificial and "etic" categories imposed by archaeologists or the cognitive and "emic" categories of the makers (Jones 1997:107)?

In the 1960s a more fundamental question was raised by the so-called new archaeologists. The equation of ethnic identity with homogeneous and bounded artifact (or other) clusters only made sense if one assumed that culture was "normative". Normative views implied that practices, beliefs, and behaviors within a given group conformed to prescriptive rules and that every member of the group learned and participated in those rules or norms (Jones 1997:24). Binford was the first archaeologist to argue cogently that this view was dangerously simplistic, since culture was participated in differentially by different groups of individuals. Cultural systems integrated individuals and social units, by means of various institutions, into broader units that had different levels of corporate inclusiveness (Binford 1965: 205).

Ethnic systems and other forms of group identities are no longer seen as static, homogeneous, impermeable, and normative. Rather, they are defined as "untidy," heterogeneous, fluid, and transient (Jones 1997:131). Group identity is a dynamic process, involving inclusion and exclusion and active maintenance of cultural boundaries in the process of social interaction (Jones 1997:28).

In his recent book, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Hall has gone so far as to argue that any quest for an objective definition of an ethnic group is doomed to failure. According to Hall, ethnic groups (as opposed to other social and associative groups) are defined by associations with a specific territory and a shared myth of descent (Hall 1997:32). The critical criteria of group membership are not based on attributes such as physical features, language, and religion but are "...socially constructed and renegotiated, primarily through written and spoken discourse" (Hall 1997:24). Genetic, linguistic, religious, and common cultural features therefore become symbols that are manipulated according to subjectively constructed boundaries (Hall 1997:32). Equally important, Hall observes that ethnic (and other collective identities) are more likely to be salient in multi-ethnic situations, particularly where one group perceives itself to be threatened or is seeking to advance itself (Hall 1997:131).

The challenge for archaeologists, art historians, and Classicists, then is to determine how language and material culture are related to the dynamic nature of ethnic and other group identities. As several writers have observed, ethnic behavior and other collective group identities do not affect the totality of a society's material culture, only those categories that are consciously selected to carry social or political meaning under specified circumstances (Weissner 1984, 1989; Morgan 1991:134; Hall 1997:135)

In the last decade a number of archaeologists and anthropologists have wrestled with these issues, with instructive work emerging from individuals such as Ian Hodder (1982, 1986), Maureen MacKenzie (1991) Robert Larick (1986), and Polly Wiessner (1983, 1984, 1989, 1990). Time permits me to discuss only the work of Hodder and MacKenzie.

Hodder's ethno-archaeological studies in Zambia, Kenya, and the Sudan were among the first to show that differences and similarities in the material culture of various groups do not passively reflect separate or shared ethnicities or group affinities. The situation is far more complex, with ethnic and group identities variously expressed by and negotiated through an array of objects, ranging from the mundane to the decorative. Moreover, not all objects need be highly visible.

For example, in the Baringo district of north central Africa the geographic distribution of very visible spear types and rather inconspicuous calabashes mediate very specific aspects of group identity. Employed for both within-group and inter-tribal contacts, the spears are the possessions of young, unmarried, and in many ways unempowered men. These spears, however, do not serve as the primary weapon of warfare--the bow and poison arrow being the weapon of choice. Nor is the spear often used for hunting. Despite the fact that these spears are not employed much in any "practical" sense, young men in the district are rarely seen without them. A young Tugen or Pokot leaves his spear outside a compound when he enters, but otherwise almost always carries one, whether herding, dancing or participating in other activities.

The importance of the spear lies in its symbolic power to signal a young man's virility and strength; it is directed toward both young available women and older men. In the Baringo area, men are prevented from marrying until their age-grade matures (which for some may be 30 years old). Older married men, who rarely carry a spear but use instead a wooden staff, maintain a monopoly over wives and cattle. The spear is seen as part of the mechanism by which young men demonstrate their unity and strength in the face of dominant elders. Members of

the younger cohort from one tribe often copy types and decorations of other tribal groups who might be well known as feared raiders and warriors (Hodder 1982:66-68).

To read the similarities in spear types that cross-cut tribal boundaries in the Baringo district as an indicator of, for example, ethnic affinities, would be incorrect. The coincidence in spear types over the area reflect and participate in very specific kinds of collective identities for men.

By the same token, the Baringo district calabashes, which are employed mainly for storing milk, are the domain of women who decorate them in a kind of silent discourse. Women design their own calabashes; some designs exhibit widespread distribution, although marked localizations in decoration are more common. Men pay little attention to these modest pieces and consider them of marginal importance. For the women, however, they provide a source of local independence. Unlike female attire, which is strictly controlled and tends to reinforce tribal conformities, women can freely select their calabash designs and disrupt certain social boundaries (Hodder 1982:68-73).

Equally instructive is the study by Maureen MacKenzie of the Telefol string bag, or *bilum*, found in central Papua New Guinea (PNG). Like the spears and calabashes described by Hodder, these bags mediate and justify roles within and between men and women, select age grades, and certain kin. Bilums of all sizes are characteristic accessories of men, women and children, as well as mythical spirit-women who carry potent substances in these net containers. The bags contain, carry, and store everything from infants and food to utilitarian objects and sacred human relics. At the most obvious level the bilum is used to construct and reinforce the opposition of the sexes: men and women carry very different types of bags for gender-specific activities. Invariably, men carry the bilum on their back, women from their heads. The bags reflect the oppositional qualities of each sex, placing men and women firmly in their differentiated and separated realms of activity (MacKenzie 1991:191).

On another level, however, the bags express the overlapping and mutually supportive roles of the sexes, which are constantly under negotiation. Some bags, like the elaborate bird-feather bilum used in male cults, are the product of "multiple authorship" (MacKenzie 1991:192). The finely worked loops of evenly spun string, which are created by the women, provide the framework onto which iridescent feathers are selected and attached by the men. The productive contribution of each sex underscores the reciprocal partnership of men and women (MacKenzie 1991:192).

For the Telefol, then, the bilum is one of the most important signifiers of identity, a complex product used in varying social and ritual realms that reflect and participate in the ongoing negotiations between the sexes (MacKenzie 1991:29). It is worth noting that the bilum has recently become an important national symbol in PNG. As diverse cultural groups combine into one viable nation, the string bag is emerging as a symbol of PNG's unity. Used extensively as a visual symbol on murals, architectural facades and street sculpture, the bilum serves to validate the role of women and reinforce PNG's claim to be a modern state with traditional roots (MacKenzie 1991:19-21).

These ethnographic investigations provide valuable analogues for the study of identity in past societies. On the one hand, they help sustain the view that various levels and aspects of individual and group identity are indeed "sutured" into material culture, from the humble string bag to the finely wrought metal spear. On the other hand, as the authors repeatedly observe, artifacts do not passively reflect identities but actively participate in the on-going crafting of self and group definition. They can act to classify, confront, justify, limit, and redefine personal and social identities. Although it may seem obvious from the perspective of our fast-moving society, individuals and groups constantly redefine, realign, and recraft themselves. We should not dismiss the fluid nature of identity as a modern phenomenon. Continual redefinition and recrafting of people and groups were surely part of all ancient cultures.

The ethnographic studies also serve as cautionary tales, warning us not to assume that stylistic and formal similarities in the material culture of a large geographic area necessarily reflect ethnic affinities. While stylistic similarities in the material culture of sites almost invariably indicate some kind of on-going communication or contact, the strategies that give rise to those similarities can be variable and complex.

Like Hodder and MacKenzie, the presenters at this conference consider the subject of group boundaries and the ways in which collective identities are negotiated in various social and political contexts (see Sessions One, Two, and Three). The papers accommodate a wide range of topics, geographical and chronological foci, as well as various methodological approaches.

Although the three papers in the first session are classed under "Individual Identity"," the presenters, Andrew Keetley, W. Marshall Johnston, and William Hafford, ultimately reinsert the individual into larger social and

political contexts. In fact, each one of these authors suggests that the most complete way to understand individual identity is to contextualize it into the collective consciousness of the times.

The topics of perceived identity, discourses of boundaries, and the "us versus them" dichotomy form the focus of the remaining papers on group and negotiated identities.

Both Yelena Rakic and Sarah J. Kielt examine aspects of Near Eastern glyptic art. Using seals and sealings from greater Mesopotamia of the third millennium, Rakic investigates how these small but highly significant works of art signal collective identification, and by extension, possible ethnic identities among different groups that are usually classed linguistically (e.g., Sumerians, Akkadian, Elamites). Kielt considers the same type of data, namely seals and sealings, using the evidence to examine Uruk expansion in fourth millennium Syro- Anatolia. She analyzes material from the site of Arslantepe, searching for clues to the relationship between local and Uruk-related "intrusions" into the local administrative systems of the site.

E. Kent Webb's concern with group boundaries is quite different. He revisits the Athenian Tyrannicide narrative, recasting it as part of the on-going and all-important discourse on privileged citizenry in the ancient *polis*. Unlike previous scholars, Webb mines ideological expressions, not legal, political, or territorial aspects, to recover the designation of class, gender, and group boundaries in classical Athens.

Matthew Trundle also places his study in the Classical Age. Trundle looks at the unusual and layered nature of identity among Greeks in military service overseas. Greek mercenary soldiers, who comprise a kind of moving polis, are communities unto themselves. Their identities are shifting and artificially manufactured--outsiders who label themselves as Greeks despite the fact that they often fight fellow Greeks in the employ of another paymaster. Like other Greeks, they also define themselves by the city-states from which they hail.

The complexities of self-defined and other-defined identity raise the important issue of dominant and weaker identities--the tensions that often exist between an "us" and a "them." That topic is explicitly considered by both Anthony Leonardis and Lauren Hackworth Peterson. Using a variety of archaeological and literary sources, Leonardis examines the conflicts between the native Sabellian population of south Italy and the long-established and dominant Greek presence in Magna Graecia. To better understand the possible interplay between these two populations, he employs an anthropological model generated by work on the Metis, a term meaning "half-breed" that was given to the Native peoples who intermarried with European fur-traders in the northwestern plains and parklands of North America.

Peterson also looks at the issue of identity in the Italic peninsula, attempting to reinstate the voice of a Roman *libertinus* or former slave. She works not through the stereotypical images presented in texts such as the *Satyricon*, but through the house decoration of one former slave whose *domus* was uncovered at Pompeii. The picture that emerges from her research stands in stark contrast to the one perpetuated by the texts.

Tying all of these papers on group and negotiated identity together is an emphasis on the discursive and contingent nature of ethnic and group identities. The creation and maintenance of collective identities requires strategies--a conscious effort to define and bolster ones distinctiveness (Hall 1997:3). Each one of the presenters tries to define those strategies more closely in a particular setting of the ancient world.

MODERN IDENTITY

The four papers in the last session raise a very different kind of question: How do the politics of **modern** identity affect definitions of identity in the **ancient** world? As many postmodern scholars and post- processual archaeologists have observed, all interpretations of the past are politicized, some more transparently than others. The topic of archaeology as a contemporary political practice and the ways in which it intersects with the construction of cultural identity has been the source of debate for more than a decade (e.g., Ucko, 1983, 1987, 1995; Trigger 1984, 1989; Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Stone and MacKenzie 1990; Shanks and Tilley 1992; Jones 1997:6). The most famous case of nationalistic appropriation, of course, is the political manipulation of the past in Nazi Germany (Veit 1990). The papers in the last session urge us to observe the observer, and in the process re-evaluate the enterprise of interpreting the past.

Taking Kenneth Dover's path-breaking book *Greek Homosexuality* as her model, Minna Duchovnay asks how the interests and cultural dispositions of a scholar affect his or her theories and how students can develop the ability to evaluate work that may be both covertly and overtly politicized. Sarah Lepinski broaches the subject of modern reconstructions of past identities from a slightly different angle. She questions the validity of current understandings of Neo-Assyrian identity, arguing that modern conceptions are based on paradigms popularized by eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars and on the force of ancient myths. Equally important, she suggests

that current scholarship has not critically taken into account the attributes of identity that the Neo-Assyrians consciously choose to perpetuate in their material culture.

Katharine Woodhouse-Beyer transports us to a very different part of the world, looking at the material remains from an early nineteenth century Russian American provisioning Company in the Kodiak archipelago. Attempting to understand the process of creolization on the archipelago, she explores material correlates of change in gender and sociocultural relations.

Finally, Diana Loren and Emily Stovel discuss a critical problem between archaeologists and indigenous populations. As archaeologists move to embrace more fluid models of a multi-ethnic past, indigenous populations in North and South America are fighting to recover archaeological evidence that supports their enduring heritage and autochthonous presence. The conundrum, as stated by these authors, is " How do we as archaeologists, explore ethnic plurality in the recent and distant past without denying indigenous groups the power to define their own histories?"

While these papers in the last session provide us with a mixed bag geographically and chronologically, they are all concerned with the affects that modern cultural filters have on interpretations of past societies and with the question of who can or should legitimately "own" or appropriate the past. Who can or should arbitrate between multiple and competing interpretations of the past (Jones 1997:10)? As conflicts within and between groups continue to erupt on the global stage, these kinds of questions will become ever more critical. We are not likely to find satisfactory answers soon, but the dialogues amongst all involved will continue to provide food for thought.

GENDER AND ANDROGYNY IN NEOLITHIC GREECE

As the final topic, I turn to a brief discussion of sexual and gendered identity, focusing on the appearance of sexual ambiguity in the Greek Neolithic. Although few of the papers in this conference consider gender and identity explicitly, the subject has been the focus of various publications during the last few decades (for anthropological and archaeological discussions see, Ortner and Whitehead 1981; Moore 1988; Gero and Conkey 1991). Like the other aspects of identity explored at this conference, sexual and gendered identity are the product of dialogues--dialogues between the modern researcher and the evidence he or she interprets, dialogues between men and women who live in the society under study, dialogues about boundaries and definitions between the empowered and the unempowered, and dialogues about self-construct and self-determined individuality. Although it is extremely difficult to extract information about sex and gender from prehistoric contexts, the corpus of figurines from Neolithic Greece provide us with tantalizing glimpses. The Greek Neolithic has produced approximately 3600 figurines: 2300 in private collections in northern Greece, largely from surface collecting by private individuals, another 1200 in northern Greece from sites excavated during the earlier part of this century and approximately 120 examples from southern Greek excavations and surveys (for discussions on various aspects of the Greek Neolithic, see Halstead 1981, 1993; Torrence 1986; Cullen 1985; Runnels and van Andel 1988; Hansen 1991; Perles 1992; Talalay 1993, in press; Vitelli 1993; Demoule and Perles 1993; Papathanassopoulos 1996; for figurines see Wace and Thompson 1912; Ucko 1968; Hourmouziadis 1973; Gimbutas 1986; Gimbutas et al. 1989; Talalay 1993, in press; Gallis and Orphanidis 1996; Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1997).

Although no one has yet determined the percentage of sexed figures in the corpus, I suspect that only a small percentage of the 3600 figures can be reliably defined as male or female. Many of the pieces are uninformative fragments (e.g.,legs, arms) and a fair number, though nearly complete, give no indication of sex.

Traditional interpretations of Neolithic figurines in Greece have stressed the large percentage of female figurines and the relative dearth of male images. While this observation is by and large correct, it ignores the important "fact" that portrayals of sexless or sexually ambiguous examples (at least to our modern eye) are plentiful. Equally significant are the handful of dual-sexed images--images having both male and female sexual attributes--, and what I term "visual puns"-- figures that can be defined as male or female, depending on which way they are viewed. These representations of "other" genders, long dismissed by scholars, force us to pursue a very different avenue in our thinking about ancient gender identity.

The androgyne pieces are particularly intriguing. Three recently published examples come from private collections (Gallis and Orphanidis 1996:180,186,187). Each one shows a seated individual in a posture almost invariably reserved for males. The figures all have female breasts and male genitals. As far as I know these dual sexed images are very rare in prehistoric contexts (see however, a well-known piece from the Tisza culture in Hungary, Korek 1987:55).

Very different in form from these androgynes, though conceptually similar are three pieces that can be read as either male or female, depending on how they are viewed. Held one way, they portray a male phallus and testicles, held at another angle, they depict female breasts and a neck and head. The three are virtually identical, two coming from Late Neolithic levels at Tharrounia and one from Late or Final Neolithic Kitsos. As a point of interest, it is worth mentioning that comparable pieces have been recovered in Upper Palaeolithic levels of France (Kehoe 1991).

The existence of dual-sexed and dual- or crossed-dressed individuals in the myth, art, and rituals of various cultures is a global phenomenon. The ancient Mediterranean provides us with several examples. In the Classical world, the most famous "intersexed" individual was Hermaphroditus, who is mentioned by a several ancient writers including Theophrastus (*Char.* 16. 10) and Ovid (*Met.* 4. 285-388) and not infrequently depicted in later Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman art. Other references to gender transformations in the Graeco-Roman literature can be found in the myth of Teiresias, who was metamorphosed into a woman and then back to a woman (Ovid, *Met.* Bk. 3), the story of Iphis, who was originally a girl and then transformed into a boy (Ovid, *Met.* Bk. 9), and several references by Pliny in his *Natural History* (Bk. 7.36). Pliny tells us of girl changed into a boy at Casinum, a man transformed into a woman at Argos, and, oddest of all an African women transformed into a man on his/her wedding day.

The concept of dual-sexed individuals or the inversion of gender roles is also embedded in several Greek rituals which involve the exchange of cloths between men and women (see Canterella 1992: 212 ff.). Every year in Argos, for example, at the *hybristika*, men wore women's clothing and vice versa (Plutarch, *De mult. virt.* 245 E). In Sparta, wives received their husbands on the first night of marriage in men's clothing and shoes and with heads shaven (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 15, 5).In Cos, the reverse was practiced: husbands dressed as women to receive their wives.(Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 304 E).

Comparable rituals are reported in the ancient Near East as well. We know from one Mesopotamian text of a New Years' festival in which specially dressed individuals approach the goddess Inanna with their right side covered in male clothing and their left in women's dress. The New Year's procession also includes women carrying male weapons and men carrying hoops, which are usually emblematic of females. The precise meaning of this ritual is not known, but it is interesting to note that Inanna is sometimes referred to as the goddess who can change man into woman and woman into man (Leick 1994:157-159).

Old Babylonian texts also refer to an enigmatic *Sal-Zikrum*, or what appears to be a class of priestess that has both male and female attributes (Driver and Miles 1939).

These provocative textual references as well as the sexless and androgynous images from Greece raise intriguing questions regarding the notion of gender and the portrayal of sex in the Greek Neolithic. Were the sexless images viewed as truly 'neuter', transcending sexual classification altogether? Or, were they seen as somehow subsuming both male and female sexes? Do the androgynes reflect some kind of biological phenomenon that acquired meaning over time or were they entirely symbolic? (To my knowledge, true hermaphrodites (XXY) are rare in the gene pool). What does the melding of sexes in the visual repertoire of the Greek Neolithic tell us about sexual identity -- were shifting genders somehow related to negotiations of power and social relations?

Let us consider some possibilities. If the sexless figures were considered truly neuter and devoid of any sex or gender, they might have been employed as signifiers for concepts that were without sexual or gender connotations. The 'nikisi' figurines of west equatorial Africa seem to represent just such neuter images. They appear to be intentionally designed as asexual protective spirits which are employed in a variety of rituals, including initiation rites and medical curing ceremonies (Greub 1988:38 ff.).

On the other hand, the sexless pieces could have been viewed not as devoid of sexual referents but rather as capable of moving in and out of various sexual categories (e.g., male, female or dual). The explicit lack of sexual attributes would have presented the users with a choice whereby the designation of sex might be determined by the image's particular use at a given time or by temporary clothing or ornamentation (A comparable signaling of sex by distinct cultural, not biological, markers is known from the ethnographic record).

The dual-sexed images, which admittedly are quite rare in Greece, may have embodied a different concept of sex or gender identity. In these androgynous pieces, care is taken to represent the primary sexual characteristics of both males and females, underscoring rather than suppressing biological traits. Unlike the sexless images, which may subsume both sexes by avoiding the notation of sexual traits, these images portray both sexes by explicitly depicting breasts and genitals.

Taken in aggregate, the corpus of Neolithic figurines urges us to contemplate gender ascriptions that include more than the traditional male/female, either/or dichotomies. If we jettison the conventional binary opposition we

are left with the possibility that the early preliterate communities of Neolithic Greece employed multiple or even fluid gender categories, at least in their visual repertoire. Such categories would include male, female, neuter, dual-sexed, and possibly a dynamic classification that moved in and out of sexual/gender identities. In some ways, this conclusion should not come as a surprise: the existence of several genders, gender-crossing and shifting categories is known from a variety of cultures and there is no reason to doubt that such melding of identities were part of life in the distant past.

The mere existence of these multiple categories suggests that gendered identities were not uncomplicated choices in Neolithic Greece. Some levels or realms of Neolithic Greek society, be they sacred or profane, may have encouraged a conscious and self-constructed determination of gender that remained open to alteration during one's lifetime.

While such suggestions are clearly speculative, it is important to keep in mind that, as many feminists have observed, the presumption of a universal binary gender system exerts a hegemonic force in research. These kind of "mind-forg'd manacles", to use William Blake's term, have often limited investigation of gender configurations within cultures. Not all cultures form beliefs about the sexes based on "logical oppositions...; the sexes appear more as gradations on a scale" (Ortner and Whitehead 1981:6-7). If we situate gender under the rubric of "identity" and all the dynamic aspects that characterize identity, we will be better able to accept that gender in the ancient world may have been very fluid.

The issues raised in this conference touch upon a myriad of topics that hold importance not just for the ancient world but for the modern world as well. Today, ethnic conflicts, cultural patrimony, and gender clashes have moved front and center onto the global stage. Struggles for group self-definition and empowerment are played out daily. Since the 1960s conflicts have flared up between gay/lesbian and heterosexual groups in various parts of the world, between Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in Bosnia, Hutu and Tutsi in Burundi, Greeks and Turks in Cyprus, Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, Christian Armenians and Muslim Azerbaijanis in the former Soviet Union, and Native Americans and local populations, to name just a few (Hall 1997:1). At the core of these conflicts is the concept of identity. Who are we as individual people and how do we define ourselves as associative groups? How do we negotiate and communicate those identities over time? What features of individual definition allow us to move in and out of varying collective identities?

Complex social systems allow for a multiplicity of social roles. As one writer has observed, the topic of identity is always multifaceted: "It is like trying to make sense of the reflections on a prism, each side offering new and different possibilities" (Fitzgerald 1993:15). The papers presented at this conference permit us to turn the prism around in several lights and gain new insights into various identities that structured the ancient world.

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The Near Eastern Merchant: Identity in Common Objects?

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Introduction:

Archaeologically, the identity of a group may be difficult to find, and that of an individual almost impossible. Nevertheless, the topic has received a good deal of interest of late, and indeed, this paper is concerned with that very idea.

The group being sought here is that of the merchant in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean. Though some work has been done toward identifying this group, it has primarily been done through a study of ancient texts. [1] Despite the fact that texts specifically dealing with merchant affairs are somewhat sparse and, in some cases, virtually non- existent, information gained from them is extremely valuable. Unfortunately, such information has rarely been correlated with archaeological evidence for a broader understanding of the merchant as an entity. In fact, archaeological studies of mercantilism are even more lacking, being largely limited to a listing of non-local items with the suggestion that these items were traded in. The archaeologist then, normally looks at commodities rather than the tools of trade while linguists examine information about conduct (laws, taxes, rates of exchange) and pay little attention to the physical remains.

Thus, we take here the approach of briefly reviewing the merchant in ancient Near Eastern texts to determine the items which may have been used in the conduct of their every day business, then search for this 'assemblage' in archaeological reports. The physical assemblages found are then discussed with special focus on a few items believed to be most helpful in gaining a more complete understanding of who the merchant was: their social and political standing, their allegience (i.e. state, temple, private) and the extent of their operational network.

Textual Evidence:

The texts fall into several categories and are not available through all periods in all places. The broadest division breaks them into public and private documents of which some are more common than others depending on many factors such as literacy rates and degree of governmental control. Unfortunately, in virtually all of these documents direct information on the conduct of merchant affairs and more specifically, the items utilized by these people, is rare.

What we do see, however, is the complexity of operations in which merchants, known as *tamkaru* in Akkadian, were involved. By the Old Babylonian period, [2] as indicated by economic texts and even the famous Law Code of Hammurabi, the *tamkarum* had taken on a large number of positions: a travelling merchant, a broker whose goods were sold by agents, a financier for trade enterprises and/or a money lender. (Leemans 1950;125). In the Amarna Period, it is also clear that the traveling merchant acted as a messenger and even perhaps a diplomat. [3]

It may seem odd to think of 'money lenders' in a time before coinage yet this was indeed, the case. Evidence strongly points to the use of silver as a form of money in the ancient Near East and it was used in a variety of transactions. Even when the metal itself was not directly involved in trade, the items being exchanged were often evaluated in terms of it (e.g. cloth expressed as a value in silver by weight). We even find the concepts of interest and profit in the Bronze Age economy with silver being loaned out at a standard rate of 20% and some being re-invested in mercantile ventures for gain (Leemans 1950;14-29).

Silver then, and to a lesser extent other valuable metals, was of great importance to a merchant and it might be expected that such metals would be found amongst their material remains. As Leemans (1950;4) has stated: "Silver, therefore, may denote money... it was used in bars or lumps. Consequently the balance (weighing stones) had to be present at every sale..."

Some texts indicate that the form of silver used as currency may not have been solely 'bars or lumps' but also 'rings' (Akkadian *ewirum*) from which small amounts could be cut and weighed (Michalowski 1978, Powell 1978). Regardless of the form, it is clear that assessing its value was of paramount importance. This would require, as Leemans notes in the quote above, weights.

In fact, weights are the objects most clearly linked to merchants in the textual record. [4] There are many references to weighing in the act of trade as well as legal sanctions against the merchant that uses 'false weights.' [5] Furthermore, the Akkadian verbs which come to mean 'to pay' (*aqalu, madadu*) are the same verbs meaning 'to weigh out' or 'to measure'. Even in our own day and age, many monetary units bear the names of units of weight,

such as the pound and the shekel.
Further textual evidence indicates the merchant may have had a carrying case, as it were, for weights and perhaps other items such as money; in short, the very assemblage we are seeking. This case, or bag, known as a *kisum*, is described as follows:

The *kisum* was originally the bag of the merchant,
in which he carried his weighing stones. More generally,
it became the trader's bag or pouch with money, which was
bound up in his garment...Finally *kisum* assumed the
meaning of capital, money for trading purposes.
(Leemans 1950;31)

This is not to say that weights and silver or other scrap metal were the only things merchants used. Other objects are clearly indicated including the obvious economic texts themselves. The majority of these texts are simple receipts of sale, trade, or loan. Such record keeping would be of extreme importance to any business person. It appears, however, that when the transaction was complete (such as a loan being paid off) the tablet was intentionally broken to reflect this fact. It also appears that most receipts are found in archives, even sometimes along with balanced accounts, and thus may not have been carried around with a basic 'toolkit'. Still, there would be a need to write receipts and thus the possibility of finding such should not be wholly discounted.
Even more likely would be the presence of bullae, small pieces of clay which were originally wrapped about the strings of a bag or the stopper of a jar, etc. and stamped with an identifying mark; perhaps that of the merchant or perhaps indicating the contents of the vessel. These can vary greatly in form and marking but would help to organize and identify materials for trade, especially small valuables which must be gathered together in containers (such as spices, perfume, beads, etc.)
Of course, there are still more items which might be expected to be in the possession of a merchant such as the objects destined for trade themselves and the scales necessary for utilizing the weights. The most important thing, however, is that several of the items discussed in this section be found together, perhaps in an area which had some commercial association, 6 making their identification as merchant's tools more likely.

Archaeological Evidence:
The assemblage described above is, in fact, found in various incarnations throughout the Near East. Weights, again, appear to be the primary link, being quite commonly discovered in excavations and often found in groups. Unfortunately, they are normally not analyzed with respect to their context, that is, the circumstances in which they were found including the type of building (temple, tomb, etc.) and the items found alongside them. Of those which have been reported with context in mind, it is very interesting to note that with almost every substantial find of weights is also found at least one cylinder seal. Such an item might indeed be expected to be carried by a merchant for the marking of receipts and/or bullae. These items can also carry a tremendous amount of data about the individual: their family, religious, and professional ties. Thus, in the following brief review of possible merchant assemblages, it is the seals which will occupy the focus of our attention.
The most complete assemblage might be expected at sea where the merchant's misfortunate shipwreck becomes the archaeologist's boon. Two Late Bronze Age shipwrecks are well known and both of these have been suggested as possibly carrying merchants and their goods. 7 Both were found off the southern coast of Turkey, near Gelidonya and Ulu Burun respectively, and both sank toward the end of the Late Bronze Age.
The weights on board the Gelidonya wreck have been analyzed by the excavator (Bass 1967) and the only seal found there has been analyzed by H-G. Buchholz (same volume). Both the seal and the weights, mostly stone, are believed to have come from the area of the captain's cabin and were thus likely stored (and used?) together. The scene on the seal, a hematite cylinder said to be of Frankfort's first or second Syrian Groups, is that of two individuals facing a third over a field of animals. The figures on either side of this field carry staves, making this animal field something of a vertical register (fig. 1).
The Ulu Burun wreck has been more recently excavated and is not yet fully published. There are over 200 weights here as well as seven cylinder seals. In 1985 alone, twenty-two weights were uncovered (Pulak 1988) and in the following year, two cylinder seals. One seal is made of rock crystal and shows three figures approaching a fourth from the left. In the space between each of the figures are various symbols including a cross and what appears to be a bird (fig. 2). The other is made of hematite and originally showed only two figures

facing each other and carried an inscription (fig. 3 and c.f. fig. 9). It was later re-cut to add several figures including a large griffin where the inscription had once been. These two seals come from area M11, where many of the weights were also found. A third was uncovered in 1989 nearby but the rest are not yet published.

At Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios on Cyprus, a group of 14 weights and a single cylinder seal were found tightly packed in a small hole dug through the floor and into bedrock (South, 1983:103). Most of the weights are of bronze and in the form of animals. The seal is of hematite, probably Cypriot manufacture (Courtois 1983:129), showing three figures, two facing left, one facing right and each holding a quadruped aloft by the horns. The two left-facing figures seem to approach the right-facing one who is winged (fig. 4). Also found in this room were two bronze fragments and a Mycenaean IIIB jar (note however that the entire room could not be excavated).

Next, in the Levant, not far from Akko, five tombs were excavated, three of which contained a total of 58 weights (Eran and Edelstein 1977). In addition, two of the tombs produced four cylinder seals. These same tombs contained Mycenaean (IIIA) and Cypriot pottery lending credence to the possibility that the graves were those of merchants.

The seals (even those from the same tomb) are widely different in style and, if used by the same person, raise some interesting questions. The Cypriot seal from tomb B3 (which is described as having some Levantine aspects, see Beck 1977) has the most familiar representation when compared with the other seals discussed above (fig. 5). Three figures are shown, one of which (who is seen in a striding stance) holds a quadruped suspended by one hind leg. The seal noted as possibly Egyptian also has a figure holding a quadruped by a hind leg (fig. 6). The Mitannian seal from this tomb is quite different, having noticeably finer carving and two registers (fig. 7). The single seal from tomb A2, badly damaged, has a primary scene of two facing figures with a bird associated with the figure on the right (fig. 8).

Moving farther inland, a large hoard of weights has been found at Larsa (Arnaud et al. 1979). Here, in the temple E.BABBAR, 66 weights were discovered in a jar along with scraps of precious metal, jewelry, beads, as well as a cylinder seal and 18 bullae. The seal is rather different in that it preserves an inscription, reading: Il u-Ibni u, son of Atanah- Ili, servant of Nergal (fig.9). The scene is very sparse, showing only two figures, yet, this is a well-known Old Babylonian type, a version of which is seen in the original carving of one of the Ulu Burun seals (fig. 3).

There were two other hoards in this room of the temple, one containing: 5 bullae, 5 cuneiform tablets, and many beads; and the other: two cuneiform tablets and a second cylinder seal. Both of these hoards were found in pits in the floor and, though they did not contain weights, they may be related to the jar hoard as they do contain some of the same materials. The bullae found in the jar and one of the pit hoards seem to have sealed small bags 8 and possess sealings very similar to the scene on the two seals found here. One sealing on several of the bullae bears the name Sin-Uselli and mentions his profession as "one who pays/weighs out silver" (Bjorkman 1993:10).

Conclusions:

In many periods, sealings identified people just as modern signatures do today; they were used to acknowledge receipt of a loan, witness of a legal proceeding, etc. Thus, the images on the seal must have had some meaning to the owner and must have been recognizable to others. Some possible characteristics which might be represented on a seal are: family, religion, citizenship, or profession. Those seals which have inscriptions tend to confirm this as they generally identify the person not only by name but also by father's name and patron deity, sometimes even listing titles such as profession. Continuing in this line of thought, similar groups of people might have similar sealing iconography and deciphering this imagery might lead to a better understanding of who they were. With this in mind, we compare the seals found with what appears to be the 'merchant assemblage' for any significant similarities. On the macro level, many show a 'presentation scene', (figures 1-6 all show the requisite bases for this scene: one or more persons bearing gifts approaching another, usually lone, individual) and a similar theme, a single person confronting a deity with no visible offerings, applies to figs. 8 and 9.

On the micro level, certain elements repeat in the depictions. Chief among these is the use of animals in all of the seals shown. The type of animal varies though quite common is a quadruped often held aloft (figs 1, 4-6, 7). Birds are shown in figs. 1, 2?, 8 and more exotic creatures (sphinx, griffin, lion) are shown in figs. 1, 3, 7, and 8. What are likely weapons are shown (figs. 2, 5, 9) but also is a staff of sorts (figs. 1, 6,) which may or may not be a weapon (could it be a symbol of office?). Finally, the star or rosette is also quite common (figs 1-5).

That animals are common is not surprising. They are frequent on many seals found throughout the Near East but there may be more to it than simply that. Early merchants may have beein primarily purveyors of livestock and this may have lead to a perceptual link between them. Further evidence might be found in the fact that many Near

Eastern weights (generally associated with merchants) are fashioned in the form of animals. Bovids, caprids, ducks, lions, even sphinxes are represented in the bronze and stone weights. Perhaps there is a link between animals, weights and merchandise (and thus merchants) which then finds its way into representational art.

It has been suggested, for the neo-Assyrian and neo- Babylonian time periods, that a scene much like the 'presentation scene' described as common in the seals of this paper is something of an "official" seal type. Analyzing inscribed seals of this period (admittedly later than the period under investigation here), Paley (1986:218) has found that this scene was "popular among the highly placed officials of the army, priesthood, and royal chancellory". This group was also popular amongst scribes.

Winter (1986, 1987) has made a similar analysis of this type of scene for the Ur III period (earlier than the period of this paper). The scene she discusses is a presentation before the king, perhaps representing the bestowing of authority upon the person in the seal, which she believes represents the seal owner. She states that the people bearing these seals occupy "the very highest levels of administrative positions within the Ur III bureaucracy." (Winter 1986:264)

Could it be that the theme of the seals shown here is one of legitimation and that merchants are bestowed with their position by a king or god? Though this may be a leaping generalization, merchants, at least inter-regional ones, may have been largely acting on behalf of the king or the temple. 9 Those merchants most visible in the archaeological record would be those who did the largest business, thus requiring more weights and amassing more foreign items. These same merchants would likely be the most wealthy and/or best connected in order to support their ventures. Even if they were not directly working for the state, they would certainly desire its support; diplomatic ties between states help commerce, tax breaks can also help and both of these are clearly indicated in texts, especially from Ugarit (Knapp and Cherry 1994;136).

In sum, the seals examined here (albeit a small sample) are found in similar groupings and display commonalities perhaps indicating connections (physical or ideological) amongst the people who used them. It is possible that they not only represent a merchant class but an even more specific type of merchant who was well placed in society. There were certainly other types of merchants who did business on a smaller scale, so to speak, but these are less easily detected in the physical record.

Of course, there is also variation in the iconography of the seals and the intervening factor of time in the samples may be responsible but, it is more likely that it was the individual merchant's personal preference which causes this. 10

If a seal identifies a person, representation would surely be a personal choice. Guided as it may be by religious, family or professional tradition, there must be variation to distinguish individuals. Thus, seals would ultimately be as unique as our own signatures today, many of which are illegible but still identifiable to someone who knows the person. Though this may mean that specific seal iconography is almost indecipherable, general patterns may certainly emerge and there remains hope for an even deeper understanding of the merchant as an individual and as a member of an important segment of society.

Notes

(1)
e.g. Leemans 1950; 1960, Veenhof 1972
(2)
Roughly the 18th-16th centuries B.C.E., with the most well known king being Hammurabi who ruled from 1792 B.C.E. by the most broadly accepted chronology.
(3)
See, for example, Amarna letter EA39 (Moran 1992;112) where the king of Ala iya states that his messengers are his merchants.
(4)
See Veenhof 1972;54-68 for a discussion of weights in texts concerning the Old Assyrian merchant.
(5)
For instance, the Code of Hammurabi, section 94 states: "If the tamkarum tries to practise fraud with weights, he loses everything he has lent" (Leemans 1950;14).
(6)
Unfortunately, the concept of 'market' in the Near East is a nebulous one. For information, see Polanyi 1957, Yoffee 1981.
(7)

In fact, both of these ships were carrying pottery and other items from various countries as well as large amounts of metal. The Ulu Burun wreck had, by far, the larger cargo with enough copper and tin to make 10 tons of bronze.
(8)
It seems likely that the bags contained various types of scrap, having been weighed out and placed inside with a sealing to confirm their content. After the bags deteriorated, the scrap metals and beads mixed through the hoard. Three thousand beads were found in the jar and 4500 in the pit with bullae.
(9)
And this is certainly true in some places and times as indicated by textual evidence. Knapp and Cherry (1994;136) discusses state-supported merchants at Ugarit, and Leemans (1950;122) shows, that tamkaru of Kassite Babylonia are on lists of salary payments from the government.
(10)
Though the seals displayed here range from the 18th to the 13th centuries B.C.E, only one of them was used exclusively in the earliest portion of this period (fig. 9). The rest, though some were manufactured earlier, were still in use in the 14th or 13th centuries B.C.E.

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Cornelius Nepos' Place in the Literary
Movements of the First Century B.C.[1]

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I. Introductory Remarks and Biography

Mention Cornelius Nepos to a classicist and often the best you'll get is a disinterested sigh. Nepos is usually considered a simplistic writer suitable only for lower level prose reading courses. In a good university library catalogue, the text editions of Nepos, especially readers with a few Lives from the *Outstanding Generals of Foreign Peoples*, outnumber the scholarly treatments at least ten to one. In this paper I will attempt to analyze a side of Nepos not usually considered even by Latinists, but which has been fundamental to my work and, I believe, accords closely with the theme of this Symposium. I will begin by assessing some of the relevant ancient passages to establish what we know about Nepos' own biography, and then I will introduce material from his own works and those of others to place him in the literary context of his day.

First some background for those who might not be familiar with Cornelius Nepos. He was a first century B.C. writer, probably from the equestrian order - that is, the non-political ruling class. He was considered by some to be the creator of political biography and by many to be an innovator in other areas (e.g. the biography of a living man, a synchronized universal history in Latin). He had some influence upon the biographical writings of both Suetonius and Plutarch; Pliny and Aulus Gellius also used his works. We possess one book of biographies, which appears to have been part of a sixteen-book set called *de Viris Illustribus*, that is, *On Famous Men*. The work compared Romans and foreigners, mainly Greeks, in different occupations. This extant book is about non-Roman generals (the aforementioned *Outstanding Generals of Foreign Peoples*) - no other work of Nepos survives completely intact. We do possess two *Lives* from a book in the same set that dealt with Roman historians. We know he also wrote several books of *Exempla*, that is, illustrative tales, and a three-book universal history called the *Chronica*.

I mentioned that Nepos lived in the first century B.C. - this is true, but the exact date of his birth is widely debated. The primary *testimonia* (that is, ancient allusions to Nepos' life) we must consult to sort out this problem come from St. Jerome. Jerome tells us in his own *Chronica* (1977; 241 F) that the *floruit* (peak period) of Nepos' life was around 40 B.C. Jerome tells us in another work that Nepos was present to hear the famed orator M. Tullius Cicero's arguments *pro Cornelio* (Cicero's defense of a purportedly seditious tribune):

Refert enim Cornelius Nepos se praesente iisdem paene verbis, quibus edita est,
eam pro Cornelio, seditioso tribuno, defensionem peroratam.

Cornelius Nepos says that he was present and Cicero delivered the defense of the
seditious tribune Cornelius in almost the same words in which it was published.
(Jerome, *Contra Iohann. Ierosol.* 12)

Thus, these two *testimonia* tell us Nepos was at least a young man in 65 B.C. (when the Cornelius trial took place), and in some sense in his prime in 40. I think we would not be far wrong to place his birth in the late 90s or early 80s. Other attempts rely on too little evidence (N. Horsfall, for instance, places his birth all the way back to 110). This dating is significant, since we see that he was very close in age to Catullus, who was almost certainly born in the mid-80s - more on him immediately. Several fragments inform us that Nepos died in the principate of Augustus, so after 27 B.C.

We have firm evidence for the place of Nepos' birth. The best *testimonium* comes from a poem of the fourth-century poet Ausonius. In the introduction to his book of poetry (which he dedicated to his son, Depanius), he calls Nepos the countryman of the poet C. Valerius Catullus:

Inveni, trepidae silete nugae,
nec doctum minus et magis benignum,
quam quem Gallia praebuit Catullo.

I have come upon one, be silent fearful trifles, not less learned and more kind than
the one whom Gaul presented to Catullus.

<div align="center">(Ausonius, Eclogues 1.7-9)</div>

We know that Catullus was from Cisalpine Gaul. We have enough evidence to make an even more exact
assessment of Nepos' birthplace. A letter of Pliny (4.28) calls him a fellow townsman of Vibius Severus and Titus
Catius. Cicero calls Catius an Insubrian. The capital of the Insubrians was Mediolanum (modern Milan). It seems
very likely, then, that Nepos was born in the Cisalpine town of Mediolanum, which was large enough to have
produced these several important Roman figures.

Nepos was a Cisalpine by birth, but he probably spent most of his adult life in Rome. One fragment (contained in
Pliny 33.146) suggests that he knew the fashions after the return of Sulla (the late 80s, when he was probably in
his teens at the oldest). We have seen that he was present in the mid-sixties for the trial of Cornelius. He seems to
have also been present for the aedileship of L. Cornelius Spinther in 63. He knew of and took interest in the
activities of a rather ostentatious man called Mamurra in the early fifties. We know that he was in Rome in the
thirties, for he shows acquaintanceship with T. Pomponius Atticus (the Roman editor, financier and friend of
Cicero) during that period. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that Nepos spent most of his adult life in Rome.
Having set out these general biographical facts, I will next turn to a brief review of what we know about his
associations among the Romans of his day. Catullus' own dedication shows that the poet had contact with Nepos,
and Nepos in turn mentions Catullus (favorably) in his Life of Atticus. Nepos in addition relates a story told to
him by Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, husband of Clodia (thought to be Catullus' poetic love Lesbia). This
association suggests that Catullus and Nepos moved in the same social group. Nepos' correspondence with Cicero
published in (at least) two books makes him in the top four most frequent correspondents of Cicero (of whom we
know). We possess hints of a spirited exchange and mutual criticism between them. In his Life of Atticus Nepos
mentions that he attended parties at Atticus' house, and certainly the depth of the account suggest they were
close: Nepos knows details of Atticus' education and personal interactions. Nepos also says Atticus encouraged
him to expand the Cato (one of the two surviving works from the Roman Historians). The Outstanding Generals
of Foreign Peoples is dedicated to Atticus.

II. Nepos and Neotericism

These facts provide a background to the main focus of this talk: Nepos and first- century B.C. literature. Nepos is
mainly viewed as an innovator (e.g. by J. Geiger) or as a conservative (e.g. by J.P. Elder). Surely these two views
are not of necessity opposites (and indeed the opposing view is supported in each case), but nonetheless they
show the difficulty scholars have had in understanding him. Only T.P. Wiseman has attempted to treat Nepos
directly in terms of the literature of his day (other than the obligatory comments from other writers about the
development of biography), and I do not feel he has gone far enough. He delineates some ways in which Catullus
and Nepos have similar literary goals, but I believe there is more to uncover. I think we must acknowledge that
Cornelius Nepos was in his day a significant literary figure acting in at least one movement that was relatively
new to Rome, but nonetheless centuries old. We will now turn to Nepos, Catullus, and Neotericism.

While the de Viris Illustribus is the only one of Nepos' works of which a large quantity survives, it was the
Chronica which Catullus mentioned in the dedication to his book of poetry (note especially lines 3-7):

Cui dono lepidum novum libellum
arida modo pumice expolitum?
Corneli tibi: namque tu solebas
meas esse aliquid putare nugas
iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum
omne aevum tribus explicare cartis
doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.

Quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli
qualecumque; quod, (o) patrona virgo,
plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

To whom am I to present my pretty new book, freshly smoothed off with dry
pumice stone? To you, Cornelius: for you used to think that my trifles were worth
something, long ago, when you took courage, you alone of the Italians, to set forth
the whole history of the world in three volumes, learned volumes, by Jupiter, and
laboriously wrought. So take and keep for your own this little book, such as it is,
and whatever it is worth; and may it, o virgin my patroness, live and last for more
than one century. [Translation by F.W.Cornish]

This is the dedicatory poem in one of the first and greatest Neoteric treatises.2 What do we mean by saying that
Catullus' work is Neoteric? The word is derived from scant Classical evidence. When it is used by Cicero, it is
with a derisive connotation. We use it to mean certain Roman poets who took their lead from the poetry of the
Alexandria of a few centuries earlier. They especially followed the Alexandrian poet Callimachus, who reacted
against the traditional epic style of his day in the direction of learned, digressive tales.
What do we know about the relationship of Catullus and Nepos from this poem? Catullus offers his book of
poetry to Nepos, who was his contemporary and countryman. Nepos we find, has praised his work before (in
Nepos' *Atticus* we find such praise - he views Catullus and Lucretius [author of the *de Rerum Natura*] as the great
poets of the last fifty years). This dedication is often taken as pure sarcasm, with Catullus poking fun at a pedant
who undertook a non-Callimachean "epic" project (Nepos' compendious *Chronica*). In fact, I'm certain that there
is an element of irony -- Callimachus has clearly told us in his prologue to the *Aitia* (his greatest work) that it is
Zeus who thunders; Callimachus is more subtle. Catullus calls upon that deity, as Iuppiter, in his "awe" at Nepos'
work. However, I believe the irony is embedded in an erudite conversation between Neoterics. There are obvious
ways Catullus marks Nepos' work as Neoteric. He describes it as *doctus* and *laboriosus*. The adjective *doctus* is
linguistically related to *doctrina*, the ability to write in a learned fashion, which was one of the greatest Neoteric
ideals.3 One's work should always reflect a deep knowledge, and it should call upon out-of-the-way stories. This
doctrina, in Catullus as in Nepos, combines the historical, mythological and legendary - Nepos tells us (in the
Life of Cato 4) that Cato did not have *doctrina* in his history. However, in the *Chronica*, for example, Nepos
showed his *doctrina* by starting with the reign of Saturn; in the *de Viris Illustribus* he includes Trojan War
material in the background of one of his biographies. Another aspect of Nepos' *doctrina* may be that he too
looked to a Greek model for his work.4
While labeling the work *laboriosus* may be Catullus' way of taking a jab at the difficulty of Nepos' work, there is
also the unmistakable connotation that Nepos has produced this work with much effort. We know from fragments
that his work included digressions on etymology, geography and ethnography, as well as intricate
synchronization of events. Working long hours by lamplight in the process of refining one's work - as in the first
lines of this poem - was an important process to Neoterics. They valued work of the file, *labor limae*, very
highly. I believe, with T.P. Wiseman, that to Catullus there is not much distance between history and poetry in
these regards.5
There are also verbal pointers to Nepos' own work within Catullus' dedication. Nepos twice in the extant *de Viris
Illustribus* refers to history writing with the verb *explicare* (once in the prologue to the *Outstanding Generals of
Foreign Peoples*), and this is the word that Catullus uses of Nepos' method of composition. It picks up on the idea
of "disentangling," "unfolding," or "spreading out." The *de Viris Illustribus* was published much later than
Catullus' poetry, but I believe Nepos' mode of literary self-expression in it must be similar to his style in the other
works, at least one of which Catullus saw. Indeed, Catullus may have seen preliminary *Lives* in the fifties, and
alluded to their style in his work.
The most important verbal reflection in the dedication is Catullus' characterization of Nepos as *unus Italorum*
("the only one of the Italians"). It emphasizes his unique status, as does the *ausus es...* ("you dared..."). This
phrase, evocative of an *unus ille vir* concept found in Cicero (that is, the one man who can save the state; found
also in Ennius), is a reflection of Nepos' regular use of such phrases to qualify his heroes. Surely a reader of
Nepos could not have missed this allusion!
Miltiades, for instance, is described in the *de Viris Illustribus* as *unus omnium* ("the only one of all") to have his
particular collection of virtues (1). He also was *unus* in trying to turn a camp against the Persians (4). Likewise

Themistocles (twice: 4, 5), Aristides (1) and Cimon (3) each stand out as *unus* in their own way in the Greek state. The only one of the first five figures in the *de Viris Illustribus* not to be described in this way is Pausanias, who is not Athenian and does not receive the praise the Athenians do. Nepos uses both the *unus* and *explicare* terminology prominently as we can see, and this is only one book of one of his works.

There is a major aspect of Nepos' Neotericism that I believe has been overlooked: it is his use of out-of-the-way stories and figures. "Avoid the well-worn road" is the Callimachean imperative. Nepos tends to shun the master narrative. Not only does he treat lesser-known historians (Philistus, for example) and generals (Iphicrates over Perikles) in his *Lives*, but he often selects unusual stories in the *Lives* of the more famous individuals. He will ignore well-known narratives, such as Hannibal's campaigns in Italy, to relate in detail a complex trick. This kind of unusual retelling was very popular with Neoterics, who followed in the footsteps of Callimachus' *Hecale*, in which he told the story of Theseus and the Bull of Marathon mostly through a chance meeting on a journey.

There is another way we should associate Nepos with the Neoterics - while he is often treated by scholars as a stodgy old man, we know that he wrote light verse with his friends. Pliny, defending himself against more serious contemporaries (*Epistle* 5.3.6), puts Nepos' name among other significant individuals in this genre, including the most famous Roman poet, Vergil. Nepos emerges through this association as much more of an insider, joking at dinner parties, than has previously been noted.

Catullus' dedication is a good way to get at a major tenet of Neoterics: one should know a lot, but wear learning lightly. Catullus' claims his works are *nugae*, similar to Nepos' trifles at the dinner party. I believe that this ethic - not taking one's own work too seriously - was probably a major motivating factor for Nepos. Specifically, his work is not "over the heads" of the general public. His *de Viris Illustribus* is written, he says, for people to understand the Greeks better and to appreciate their culture by comparison to Roman figures and institutions. He does not write an inaccessible treatise for a few. This objective is in accord with the concept of wearing learning lightly. Nepos knows a great deal, as we can see from the fragments of his *Exempla* and *Chronica*, but a major objective of his is to make some of that knowledge accessible to a Greekless audience.

Nepos' correspondence with Cicero, to my mind, bolsters this view. In one fragment (preserved in *Lactantius Div. Inst.* 3.15.10), Nepos goes on a tirade about how philosophers are the last ones to live up to the philosophy they preach:

Tantum abest, ut ego magistram esse putem vitae philosophiam beataeque vitae
perfectricem, ut nullis magis existimem opus esse magistros vivendi quam
plerisque, qui in ea disputanda versantur. Video enim magnam partem eorum, qui
in schola se pudore et continentia praecipiant argutissime, eosdem in omnium
libidinum cupiditatibus vivere

It is so far from me to think the philosophy is the mistress of life and the perfector
of a blessed existence that I think no one has more need of masters of living than
those who are involved in disputing these things. For I see that a great part of those
who teach most cunningly in the school on modesty and continence, those same
ones live with desires for all pleasures.

Augustine also has a story from Nepos of how philosophers can be the most hypocritical (*op. imperf. contra Iulianum* 4.43). Again, this is the common touch. Also we see Nepos judging eminent savants harshly. This judgment is similar to Neoterics' rejection of the traditional epic. Nepos calls on Romans to reappraise traditional values, and gives the ammunition to do it.

I mentioned that Nepos is perceived as conservative by some scholars. This perception mainly derives from the fragments of his works dealing with sumptuary matters, in which he often seems judgmental. I believe his attitude toward luxuries is part of the populism seen in the last two examples. If we may judge from the fragments, he consistently rails against the indulgent wealthy, but is concerned in documenting these sybaritic trends. For example, his attack on Mamurra is preserved in Pliny NH 36.48:

Primum Romae parietes crusta mamoris operuisse totos domus suae in Caelio
monte Cornelius Nepos tradit Mamurram, Formiis natum, equitem Romanam,
praefectum fabrum C. Caesaris in Gallia, ne quid indignati desit, tali auctore inventare.

The first man in Rome to cover with marble veneer whole walls of his house, which was on the Caelian hill, was according to Cornelius Nepos Mamurra, a Roman knight and native of Formiae, who was Julius Caesar's chief engineer in Gaul. That such a man should have sponsored the invention is enough to make it utterly improper.

He has left pages of fragments about wine and fruit, fish and fowl. The principle foci of his anger are his contemporaries L. Cornelius Spinther and C. Mamurra. He appears to consider the opulence of these men as reprehensible as it is irresistible, and these views are woven into the fabric of his Neoteric doctrine.

III. Conclusion

If we try to place Nepos in only one of the literary movements of the first century B.C., we will fail to acquire the whole picture. The are other aspects of literature in the first century we must consider to understand Nepos. He esteemed Atticus and was a part, in some ways, of the same movement as his friend. Atticus, we know, published a *Liber Annalis* (a year-by-year history). In fact, Cicero said it was critical for his own work. This comprehensive list of events in Roman history must have been akin to the *Chronica*, though Nepos apparently had a Greek model (Apollodorus) for the full work. The success of this sort of work by Nepos must have been why Atticus encouraged him in his histories.

These histories, as well as Nepos' *Exempla*, were also part of another trend in Rome. Nepos and Atticus shared antiquarian interests. They were interested in the histories of families and social institutions. Nepos pursued the family lines of the great Greek generals and the origin of archaic Roman laws. In addition, he tried to explain foreign customs such as the Persian *proskunesis*, that is, doing obeisance before royalty (in the *Conon* 3) The greatest antiquarian of the day was M. Terentius Varro, who wrote the *Hebdomades* or *de Imaginibus* as an accumulation of such stories, which even compared Greeks and Romans. There was a tendency to separate the methods of history from antiquarianism in the late Republic, but I believe both were in the arsenal of Nepos.

In placing Nepos in the literature of his day, I should note that posterity emphatically affirmed his importance. Jerome included him in a short list of great writers in the *de Viris Illustribus* genre (in the introduction to his own work in the same genre and of the same name [Jerome's work concerned Christian writers]). Likewise, Nepos was one of two authors whose works were given to a prominent family, the Probi, in the fourth century A.D. by Ausonius. These later generations understood that Nepos was a major literary figure. We have seen here that, in the absence of so many of his works, Nepos' significance becomes clearer to us in the context of the Neoteric and Antiquarian movements of his day.

Notes:
1. The idea for this paper arose during the course of my dissertation research on Cornelius Nepos' *de Viris Illustribus* under the direction of Dr. T. Corey Brennan. He bears no responsibility for errors or inaccuracies.
2. There are major textual disputes about lines 2 and 9, but the first does not effect the argument here, and the second barely touches on it.
3. We see the use of this adjective in Neoteric phrases such as *docta puella* and *doctus poeta*.
4. Apollodorus is thought to be his model for the *Chronica*, the Greek *peri Endoxon Andron* genre seems to lie behind the *de Viris Illustribus*.
5. There is a further similarity between the works of the two men: Catullus tells us that Nepos' *Chronica* was written in three books; based on number of lines and styles of the poems, it seems very likely that Catullus' poetry was also intended to be read in three volumes.

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1

Glyptic Art and Cultural Identity in Third Millennium BC Greater Mesopotamia

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As stated in the abstract of this paper, my goal is to consider whether differences and similarities in the iconography and style of the glyptic art of mid-third millennium BC greater Mesopotamia can be examined as markers of group identification-or by extension ethnic identity. Recently, Holly Pittman (1990) in her work on the Proto-Literate period, has elucidated an important assumption underlying considerations of glyptic imagery-that it was neither entirely random nor an entirely personal or individual expression. She makes it clear that only after accepting this assumption can one address what types of information the imagery might have contained. While we will never know for certain the meanings of messages conveyed by glyptic art, I believe that it is feasible to explore the possible types of information carried. In this paper I want to explore types of information relating to group identification and in particular, ethnic identification. I will outline why I believe cylinder seals as an artifact type and their imagery in particular, are well-suited for consideration as markers of group identification, focusing on greater Mesopotamia between c.2600 and 2300 BC. A methodology for studying this material will be presented and the issue of ethnic identity will be addressed. I will not consider the glyptic art per se in this paper, rather I hope to show that a systematic study of the glyptic imagery of this time and place, with the aim of recognizing regional styles, would increase our understanding of social and cultural processes.

The two integral components of a cylinder seal, the seal itself and the imagery carved on the seal, are both important in considering the issue of group identity. The seal is a spool-shaped object usually made of stone and pierced through its center, with the imagery carved on its outside surface. This cylinder would be rolled across a clay surface leaving an impression of the image. Because the cylinder seal as an artifact type was in existence for thousands of years it is necessary to make the point that its function and appearance were not static over time and that the changing nature of the seal makes any consideration dependent on its context. I also recognize that the cylinder seal is multifunctional and can operate in more than one symbolic system at a time. With this said, I would like to consider the function of the cylinder seal as emblem in the context of mid-third millennium greater Mesopotamia.

Dave Davis (1985) in a study of hereditary emblems, has defined emblems as objects or representations that convey overt information about identity or group membership. Examples include objects such as flags, and representations such as a coat of arms. These objects and representations are recognized as emblems because specific situations exist where the referent, such as a political group or family is known. This knowledge which links the emblem to group or individual or both can be textual or word of mouth. In situations where this knowledge is not readily attainable, such as often is the case in an archaeological context, the identification of emblematic artifacts is clearly much more difficult. One way of identifying an object as emblem is to examine the social context of its use.

It has been suggested that certain social contexts such as instability in a society give rise to the use of emblems. Fear, intergroup competition, and the need for cooperation to attain certain political, social, or economic goals can all create a strong sense of group affiliation. The period under consideration, c.2600-2300 BC, witnessed the significant political reorganization from Early Dynastic independent city-states to the centralized Akkadian empire, albeit a much more complex process than can be described here. While it is impossible to reconstruct in detail the course of events of these three centuries, texts and archaeological evidence seem to indicate that it was a time of instability. Historical inscriptions such as those documenting the Lagash-Umma border conflict, certain economic texts from Shuruppak, and militaristic depictions in art, support the assumption that it was a time of conflict particularly among the city-states of southern Mesopotamia. This conflict culminated in the consolidation of power by Sargon of Akkad and the constant struggle of his descendants to maintain power.

Heightened or newly established contact between groups can also promote the use of emblems. The mid-third millennium was a time of the appearance of urban centers and states in Syria and northern Mesopotamia as evidenced by texts from Ebla and archaeologically by the emergence of fortified centers. Contact between these polities and those of the south whether military or via trade had an affect on the residents, in some cases seen through the adoption of southern Mesopotamian models for material culture. Emblems may have been developed in response to social and

economic tensions between spatially defined groups and may have been used as part of a strategy to deal with pressures brought on by changing political and social situations.

Greater Mesopotamia at this time seems to me a period ripe for the use of emblems. The cylinder seal is a particularly well-suited candidate for emblematic artifact since its visibility and connection with an individual can serve to mark that individual's group affiliation. In the mid-third millennium there is evidence that seals were worn on the chest, wrist, and waist often it seems attached to pins. Inlays from Mari and Nippur as well as the location of seals in burials from Ur show this. As body ornaments, seals have the potential to reinforce group affiliation among those wearing a certain type, and social distance from those who were not wearing that type. Seals could have been used to express or promote within group corporateness in reference to outsiders such as other competing polities.

There are several levels of perception with seals such as color, shape, and imagery which could all conceivably carry information about the owner or user. In a brief study, Leonard Gorelick and John Gwinnett (1990) examined the relationship between material and seal as social emblem and status symbol. They saw the wearing of seals as a symbolic pledge to god and country which served to facilitate social control by enhancing social cohesiveness and the status quo. They concluded that an increase over time in the proportion of seals made from hard stones - a highly desirable status symbol in itself - was related to the increasing value of the seal in reinforcing political ideology. While the consideration of seal as emblem is important, the idea is not adequately developed. In addition, the study covers three thousand years of the cylinder seals use and does not really take into account the changing nature of the seal. In a much more limited and therefore successful study of Ur III period seals, Irene Winter (1987) was able to make a similar point about the relationship between seal owner and political system. She argued that the limited repertoire of the imagery of this period was standardized in order to demarcate formally the place and authority of the seal owner within the administrative hierarchy.

I want to focus on the images carved on a seal, seen most clearly in impression, which may carry information about the personal identity or social group affiliations of individuals. The two related parts of the imagery, style and iconography, can be examined. The concept of style has been directly related to identity formation, in particular through theories of information exchange and boundary formation. Style can be defined as "the formal similarities among artifacts that can be related to factors other than raw material availability or mechanical efficiency" (Davis 1983: 55). While stylistic variability has been analyzed to define space-time systematics, style has also been viewed as a component of human activity, most notably in the information-exchange theory in which style functions in cultural systems as an avenue of communication. As introduced by Martin Wobst (1977) and expanded on by Polly Wiessner (1990), the idea that style can be one way through which people negotiate their personal and social identity vis-a-vis others is pertinent. In this view style can also help to maintain social boundaries. Seals may be one category of artifact which carry stylistic messages about identity through their imagery. While stylistic analysis has always been an integral part of glyptic studies used most frequently for establishing chronological divisions, recently style has also been used to gain insight into social processes. Michelle Marcus (1996) in a study of the Iron age seals from Hasanlu has used style as one means of better understanding the social organization of Hasanlu, as well as for reconstructing relations between northwestern Iran and the major centers of the early first millennium Near East.

The other component of the image, the iconography or subject matter, may also be linked to identity. Certain subjects may be used by some groups while others may not. In a study relevant to my undertaking, Pierre Amiet (1960) presented a very brief analysis of the use of two iconographic elements, the god navigating a god boat and the lion-headed eagle, in the glyptic art of mid third millennium Mesopotamia. He observed that the subject of the god navigating a god boat was more prevalent in northern Mesopotamia while the lion-headed eagle appeared more frequently in the glyptic of the south. He concluded that these images which were commonly used in the Early Dynastic period, were eliminated or absorbed in the Akkadian period.

The methodology for studying glyptic art in terms of its relationships to group identification combines tools of art history and anthropology. The first step is to delineate the data to be used and how these data will be managed. The visual information carried on seals by the designs incised on their surfaces can be valued both as intrinsic works of art and as documents of social issues. As works of art, seals are subject to the most basic tool of art history-a formal study of the imagery consisting of a systematic analysis of iconography and style. The results of such a study permit one to consider the role the imagery might have within a social framework. Stylistic analysis, as a way of characterizing

relationships among works of art, has the potential to provide a classification of the corpus into different groups. These stylistic groups can then be evaluated as potential regional groups. In a study of group identity, the definition of groups is obviously key. If a stylistic group coincides with a geographical region it may be considered a regional style. The identification of a potentially distinctive group, through a constellation of types and styles, is the first step in identifying material markers of group identity. While regional style is an important part in this study, it is only one variable of many which could be considered. Before a thorough evaluation of group identity, as many other variables as possible such as political organization, religion, body ornamentation, cuisine, textual evidence, and other types of material culture should be considered.

I would now like to focus on one type of group identity about which an emblem can carry information-ethnic identity, or an individual's membership in an ethnic group. An ethnic group can be defined as a group who view themselves as having a common ancestry, who usually posses a common language, and who are unified by construction of a past history (Emberling 1997:304). Based on Frederick Barth's (1969) pioneering work in social anthropology which rejects the equation of race, culture and language, the notion that a person's identity comes both from ascription by outsiders and identification by ethnic group members themselves is critical in ethnic identification. In this model a single cultural trait could no longer be used to define an ethnic group, rather it became necessary to identify specific features that were significant to the members of the group. In order to do this, a potentially distinctive group needs to be defined and its social and geographical boundaries then established. Only after this has been done can the significance of an artifact be evaluated through an examination of its context.

While a linguistic group is not an ethnic group, language is one means of defining a potential group. Unfortunately, the traditional identification of language with ethnicity is common practice in Mesopotamian studies and linguistic affiliation is commonly viewed as the primary marker of group identity for the third millennium. While language is not the sole distinguishing feature of an ethnic group it certainly can be one of the features and in my mind a very powerful one. An examination of language distribution can therefore be beneficial in determining ethnic groups and especially in establishing possible boundaries of regions. It is possible to give a very general notion of the area over which languages were used in third millennium greater Mesopotamia. In this paper I will consider language as another variable in defining groups while acknowledging the difficulties inherent in this approach.

The geographic limits of greater Mesopotamia are defined here as the Taurus Mountains to the north, the Zagros Mountains to the east, the Persian Gulf to the south, and the Arabian Desert to the southwest. By the mid-third millennium different language groups can be identified which, although overlap occurs, are associated with regions: Sumerian speakers in the south, Akkadian speakers in the north, Elamite speakers in the east, and various Semitic speakers in the north and northwest. Linguistic borders are far from clear but the situation continues to change with continued excavation especially in Syria. Seals have also been found from all of these areas and similarities and differences in style and iconography have often been noted. What is lacking however is a thorough and systematic study of these seals. Recent work by Donald Matthews (1997) on glyptic styles of Syrian seals has demonstrated a wide variety. And while it is often stated that the subject matter of mid-third millennium seals are dominated by two themes: the combat and banquet scenes, other themes do exist. Piotr Steinkeller (1992) in a discussion of the depiction of myths on Early Dynastic and Sargonic seals, states that the temporal and geographic distribution of the motifs under consideration supports the identification of these myths as Akkadian. He sees these motifs found predominately on seals from northern Babylonia, the Diyala Region, and Mari and rare in southern Babylonia as correlating with the temporal and spatial perimeters of the political and cultural influence of the Akkadians.

Finally, I wish to address the validity of such a study and of addressing the issue of ethnicity. In recent years, rejection of certain assumptions and concepts has made it difficult to even raise the question of ethnicity. But while I flatly refute the direct equation of material culture to people, I do believe there are many layers to the issue of ethnic identity and that it may be useful to address these clearly and systematically. By rejecting the possibility of seeing greater issues in the material we are in fact reverting back to the culture-historical paradigm wherein analyses of materials are used only for elucidating chronological concerns. I believe that systematic analysis coupled with a thorough consideration of the issue of ethnicity is a feasible and worthwhile endeavor. The result of my study of the glyptic art of mid-third millennium greater Mesopotamia will hopefully be the recognition of regional characteristics in the style and iconography. Nancy Leinwand (1992) has recently undertaken a similar task for the seal impressions from Kultepe level II with promising results. Using visual analysis aided by textual evidence she identified certain stylistic and

iconographic features such as the god in the form of a bull, animal fill ornament, and a striated carving style as being Anatolian while other features such as the horned crown and the presentation scene as being Mesopotamian. While Leinwand was fortunate to have textual evidence to work with, her conclusions do lend support to the assumption that seal imagery can be one fruitful avenue for the investigation of group identity.

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The Athenian Tyrannicides: Icons of a Democratic Society

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Thucydides informs us that in his day the majority of Athenians believed that in 514 B.C.E. Harmodios and Aristogeiton killed the tyrant Hipparchos and, in effect, ushered in a new era in the polis' history (1). It did not matter that according to the historian's research Hipparchos was not actually the tyrant at the time of his murder-- it was his brother Hippias-- or that after the assassination the Peisistratid regime continued to rule Athens for four more years (2). To Athenians, the two men modern historians have dubbed the tyrannicides were so significant that the democratic state celebrated them with bronze statues in the agora, a tomb in the Kerameicos, annual memorial rites *(enagismata)* as well as a whole host of other honors bestowed upon their descendants(3). In the same spirit various works of classical literature consistently speak of Hipparchos' assassins as state heroes. For instance, before the battle of Marathon, Herodotos has Miltiades address the polemarch with the stirring words, " Today it is up to you, Callimachos, to choose whether you will enslave Athens or free her and thereby leave such a memorial for all posterity as great as the life of Harmodios and Aristogeiton(4)." Clearly the tyrannicides meant a great deal to the Athenians who throughout the democratic era venerated them in what amounted to a civic cult. The question I want to pose is why.

A consideration of the tyrannicides' meaning from this point of view in many ways takes us to the heart of the Athenian democracy's civic identity, for others have long attributed their enduring fame in the fifth and fourth centuries to the fact that the two men were " symbols of democracy " ; that is, not only were Harmodios and Aristogeiton historical figures, but in their commemoration they stood for certain aspects or values of the democratic state (5). Unfortunately no one has clarified exactly what these values or aspects of the democracy were or how the tyrannicides stood for them. It appears to have simply been assumed that the importance of the the two heroes derived solely from the obvious parallel between their murder of the tyrant and the polis' well attested anti-tyrannical ideology(6). Yet when one considers the prominence of the tyrannicides in the democracy's historical conscience, it is worth reconsidering whether the significance of Harmodios and Aristogeiton is adequately expressed by a simple equation with an opposition to one-man rule.

It seems, in other words, that the symbolism of figures so central to a community's identity would have been far more complex and possessive of more than one meaning. I would point out that Harmodios and Aristogeiton were not, strictly speaking, remembered for their murder of Hipparchos alone. There was a popular tradition of this episode in Athenian history which represented not only the assassination but the events precipitating the tyrannicides' attack and the motives of the two men as well (7). Therefore as a first step in an inquiry into the significance of the tyrannicides, we must consider the entire tradition of their deed since the narrative of their attack is what gave these two men their heroic personality. Furthermore, I will argue here that it also made them highly complex symbols within classical Athenian society since the representations which constituted the popular memory of Harmodios and Aristogeiton evoked different aspects of the democracy in a number of different ways (8).

We are exceedingly fortunate that Thucydides has left us a good reflection of the popular memory of the tyrannicides in his digression on Hipparchos' murder in book six of his history (9). Although the historian is explicitly critical of 1) the fact that the majority of Athenians erroneously believed that Hipparchos was the tyrant when killed, and 2) that they were unaware of the exact circumstances in which his assassination took place, the rest of his account of the tyrannicide affair follows the popular tradition(10). Accordingly, the historian relates that Hipparchos' murder was initially prompted by a *juntuxian ervtikhn* or chance love affair, when the tyrant became enamoured with Harmodios and made an unsuccessful sexual advance. Since Harmodios was already the *eromenow* or junior lover of Aristogeiton, the latter became deeply jealous and began to plot an attack on the tyranny, fearing that Hipparchos would eventually take Harmodios by force *(Bia)*. Meanwhile, Hipparchos, having been spurned by Harmodios a second time, decided to insult him in some indirect way. As Thucydides writes, " After summoning a maiden-sister of his to serve as a basket-bearer in some [religious] procession, [Hipparchos] had her rejected, declaring that she was never summoned in the first place, because she was unworthy *(dia to mh ajian einai)*(11)." This act angered not only Harmodios, but further enraged Aristogeiton, so that both began to conspire to overthrow the Peisistratid regime. In the end they failed, only killing

Hipparchos before they were dispatched by the tyrant's men (12).

It is my contention that the actions and reactions of Hipparchos and the two tyrannicides not only formed the narrative of this entire affair, but also connoted other democratic concerns. We can see this initially in Hipparchos, whose representation was a part of an ongoing discourse on tyranny in the democratic state. Others have observed that even though tyranny posed little real threat to the democracy, there was a pervasive fear of the tyrant throughout the classical era (13). In one respect this fear manifested itself in things like legislation outlawing tyrants, the procedure of ostracism initially instituted to exile potential tyrants, or formal curses against all tyrants during meetings of the Assembly and Boule(14). Correspondingly the justification for this fear was a discourse on tyranny in which a series of extremely negative stereotypes came to epitomize one-man rule. In short, in works of history, tragedy and oratory tyrants are consistently represented as violent, greedy, envious individuals who, to cite the most common metaphor for tyrannical rule, enslave their subjects (15). In the words of Theseus in Euripides' *Suppliants* "a tyrant is a polis' worst enemy/under whom no common laws are observed (16)." Similarly, in Herodotos' famous constitutional debate, the Persian noble Otanes sums up the popular image of the tyrant as someone who "breaks laws, rapes other men's women and puts the innocent to death (17)."

It is then clear that the tyrant in the Athenian conscience was not a real figure but a construction, or a product of a discourse which characterized the tyrant as the antithesis of many of the most important Athenian values (18). In this regard Hipparchos is an example of one of the most common topoi of this discourse: the sexually wanton despot indexing his authority on the bodies of women, daughters and boys. The individual examples are too numerous, and perhaps too lurid, to recount here (19). Nevertheless, in the tyrannicide tradition the representation of Hipparchos is perfectly consistent with this discourse, for he not only tries to gratify his erotic desires in spite of Harmodios' relationship with another man. But when Hipparchos is thwarted, he exercises his authority to exact a measure of petty revenge. Thus, like all tyrants, the tyrannicide narrative represents Hipparchos as above the laws and norms of the polis which protected against this type of insult (20). To Athenians the Peisistratid's lack of self-restraint was nothing less than a symbol of moral and legal anarchy by virtue of the threat his absolute authority posed to all. In effect, Hipparchos represented in sexual terms Aristotle's later theoretical distinction between monarchy and tyranny, in that while a king reigns to protect individual property and honor, a tyrant rules in order to gratify his own desires (21).

In addition, there is a definite relationship between the implications of Hipparchos' actions and the significance of Harmodios and his sister. From a variety of sources, some of which I will point out in a moment, we know that notions of Athenian citizenship for men and women were, among other things, based upon general sociosexual ideals. In brief, the democratic polis insisted on an adherence to traditional sexual customs in order to ensure a high degree of personal autonomy for all of those in its citizen community (22). These sexual conventions moreover were so significant to the community that under most circumstances their transgression was grounds for exclusion from the citizen body (23).

In the case of Harmodios these ideals determined his symbolic significance since the tradition represents the tyrant initially precipitating the assassination by impinging upon the junior tyrannicide's ongoing homoerotic relationship with Aristogeiton. It is fairly common knowledge that Greek culture practiced a form of socially acceptable, ritualized pederasty (24). Nonetheless, hellenic society, and classical Athens in particular, was generally solicitous about male homosexuality (25). The discourse on conventional sexual protocols stipulated that Greek men only adhere to the active role in sexual intercourse, while those who assumed the passive position were assimilated to the female gender and were stigmatized as malakoi or "soft guys"(26). As a result male pederasty was only tolerated under particular, culturally determined conditions.

In Athens these were an elaborate set of rules which Plato describes at length in the Symposium (27). Among other things they included a long public courtship on the part of the older male; a continually demur attitude by the boy who was the object of his affections; and in the end the latter's grudging consent to sexual relations in return for a life-long mentorship on the part of the older man. Undoubtedly Plato's description is marked by a certain idealism; nevertheless, these rituals, no matter how conscientiously they were observed, mediated the basic incongruity of the practice of pederasty with conventional Greek sexual norms. In effect, they protected the younger male from the stigma associated with passive sexual practices and preserved his masculine identity (28).

Consequently, for Athenians living in the democracy, Hipparchos' attempted seductions of Harmodios, which, as

Thucydides states, Aristogeiton feared would be complemented by force *(bia)*, not only fell outside of these ritual parameters, but threatened to effeminize Harmodios in a way that could jeopardize his citizen status (29). We know from a few fourth century forensic speeches that the democracy essentially codified masculine sexual protocols in its sanctions against what Athenian society characterized as male prostitution (30). Aeschines' speech, *Against Timarchos*, relates that men who subjected themselves sexually to other men could face a charge of prostitution and stood to lose a number of basic citizen rights; namely, male prostitutes could not speak or vote in the Assembly as well as initiate legislation (31). These measures were rationalized by the notion that one who was so given over to the gratification of his sexual desires that he would willfully assume the female sexual role, could be easily corrupted in the exercise of his citizen privileges (32). Accordingly, the sanctions against male prostitution were nothing less than a symbolic exclusion of the sexually passive male from the male citizen community. And Harmodios' symbolic significance in particular lay in the fact that Hipparchos' hubris potentially stood to reduce the young man to the margins of the polis, which were, ideologically speaking, the realm of barbarians, metics and slaves.

In the case of Harmodios' sister, Hipparchos' sexual insult was less direct, but to Athenians, no less obvious than his hubris toward her brother. Thucydides writes that Hipparchos had her disqualified from the procession "on account of her unworthiness." At first glance this phrase seems too general to attribute to it a specific sexual significance. However, as Lavelle has shown, one of the main criterion for an Athenian girl to participate in a religious procession was her social status of *parthenos*, which is often translated as virgin, but more accurately means a young, unmarried female (33). In Greek patriarchal culture, though, the former distinction was implied by the latter, and the evidence for the life of an unwed girl leaves little doubt that a strict pre-marital virginity was a ubiquitous social ideal (34). Xenophon's oft cited description of the relatively cloistered life of a girl in her father's home is a good indication of Athenian views about female sexuality: its only legitimate expression was within the institution of marriage (35). And, not surprisingly, for civic religious ceremonies participation was only granted to those who adhered to such communal ideals (36). This is why in Menander's *Epitrepontes* the courtesan Harbrotonon, whose most recent client has ignored her for the last few days, jokes that she could bear the basket (i.e. walk in the procession) for the goddess Athena (37)." A fragment of Philochoros moreover explicitly relates that this privilege was the preserve of parthenoi from the best Athenian families (38).

Hipparchos' dismissal of Harmodios' sister therefore cast aspersion on her sexual purity. In the context of the Athenian democracy, this sort of innuendo symbolized the displacement of the girl outside the female citizen community, since sexual transgressions on the part of Athenian women were met with the most severe sanctions. Like many of the polis' basic social regulations, the democracy attributed to Solon the legal right of a father to expel a promiscuous daughter from his home or even sell her into slavery (39). Whether such dramatic action was always taken in this situation is doubtful; however, both punishments removed the girl from the site from which she derived her citizen status: her father's household (40). Women who lived outside of households presided over by their fathers or husbands were declassed as prostitutes and/or slaves.

Furthermore, these categories of women were not granted the same privileges as female Athenians, especially when it came to participating in religious ceremonies--one of the few public functions allowed female citizens within the classical polis (41). Consider the outrage Neaera's prosecutor expresses over the fact that her daughter, who like Neaera had served as a prostitute, had passed herself off as an Athenian and took part in a particular religious rite. To paraphrase, if Neaera and her daughter are not punished, the prosecutor claims, then the honor of all Athenian women will be tainted by the acts of harlots (42). In fact, along these same lines Aeschines shows us that the democratic polis even inscribed this ideal into its physical landscape with a monument in the city celebrating male violence toward female sexual license. In a fit of sexual moralization the orator proudly mentions the place in the city popularly referred to as the kophn kai ippon, or "the girl and the horse", where one could view the remains of a house in which a father killed his promiscuous daughter by locking her inside with a wild stead (43).

So far in this essay I have attempted to illustrate the relationship between the representations which constituted the tyrannicide tradition and the larger discourses on tyranny and sexuality which in and of themselves were part of the unique identity of the Athenian democracy. In this way one can see that the symbolism of the tyrannicides possessed a certain complexity that a simple equation with the polis' general anti-tyrannism does not adequately convey. However, the preceding discussion is by no means an exhaustive examination of the symbolic resonance the tyrannicides may have had in the classical polis. More specifically, we have only considered the relations of similarity between

representations of the tyrannicide tradition and those of certain other discourses, when I would contend that these same representations can be linked to even more uniquely democratic discourses through their relations of form (44).

In other words, the tyrannicides not only signified the aforementioned values and ideals, but by virtue of these connotations also evoked part of the structure of the democratic state. The image of Hipparchos threatening to displace Harmodios and his sister outside of the citizen community figured the division between citizen and non-citizen in sexual terms. In the context of the democracy such symbolism would have had a definite resonance, since in the words of one scholar, the polis was "obsessed" about maintaining the legal and political separation between citizens and the polis' sizable community of resident aliens (45). In fact, throughout the entire classical era Athenians jealousy guarded the privilege of citizenship in part because the democracy was predicated on the equal distribution of social and political privileges among its members (46).

In this regard the tyrannicides were no less than icons of Athenian democratic society since, like all icons, they ultimately referred not to the reality of Athenian life, but ideals of communal hierarchy and social division (47). In the terminology of Roland Barthes, the tyrannicides were signs which were isomorphic with the democracy's ideology of an exclusive citizen community, and thus legitimated the distinction between those who could identify with the democratic polis and those who could not (48). On a final, curious note, it did not matter that, historically speaking, there was also some question about Harmodios and Aristogeiton's own status as Athenians. For in book six of his Histories, Herodotos describes the Phoenician origins and Boeotian provenance of the tyrannicides' Gephyraioi clan (49). Nevertheless, as Barthes explained, when representations become icons in order to figure a social order, historical connotations are ignored, while ideology fills the content of the sign (50). In effect, I am asserting that this was another one of the functions of the tyrannicides: to serve as icons which propagated a particular view of their polis and the world. It is also the manner in which these two heroes expressed the uniquely democratic identity of Classical Athenian society (51).

Notes

(1) 1.20.1-2.
(2) 6.54.1-59.1.
(3) References to the statues: Arist. Rhet. 1368a17; MP 70; Ar. Ekkl. 681-2; Lys. 625-35; Pliny NH 34.17, 69-70; Paus. 1.8.5; Arrian Anab. 3.16.7-8; an original group executed by Antenor was set up in 509 (pace Pliny NH 34.17), but was taken by Xerxes during the Persian invasion in 480. Three years later these were replaced by a subsequently more famous set by Kritios and Nesiotes (MP 70; Paus. 1.8.5; Arrian Anab 3.16.7-8). See S. Brunnsaker, The Tyrant Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes (Stockholm 1970). For the tomb (probably a cenotaph) in the Kerameicos: Paus. 1.29.15. For the memorial rites: Arist. Ath. Pol. 58.1-2. For the honors for the tyrannicides' descendants: IG i 77; Is. 5.47; cf. M. Oswald, "The Prytaneion Decree Re-examined," AJP 72 1951, 24-46.
(4) 6.109. Cf. Pl. Symp. 182c and Aes. 1.132, 140 almost one hundred years later.
(5) Cf. V. Ehrenberg, "The Origins of Democracy," Historia 1 1950, 515-48, G. Vlastos, "Isonomia," AJP 74 1953, 337-66; C. Fornara, "The Cult of Harmodios and Aristogeiton," Philologus 114 1970, 155-80; S. Brunnsaker, The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes (Stockholm 1971); H.W. Plecket, "Isonomia and Cleisthenes: A Note," Talanta 4 1972, 63-81; B. Lavelle, The Sorrow and the Pity: A Prolegomenon to a History of Athens Under the Peisistratids c. 560-510 B.C. (Stuttgart 1993).
(6) Cf. V.J. Rosivach, "The Tyrant in Athenian Democracy," QUCC 30 1988, 43-57 or Lavelle 1993.
(7) In fact, I would strongly contend that one cannot even consider the significance of the tyrannicides without taking into account the entire story of their attack on Hipparchos since the precipitating events and the passions they enflamed justified the assassination to Athenians, or, in another sense, gave the two men their heroic personality. The tyrannicides thus were synonymous with their popular tradition since the narrative of the entire affair gave them meaning in a way that simply recalling that they killed Hipparchos would not. For the essential role of narrative in the representation of past events see H. White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in On Narrative, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago 1981). For discussions of the tyrannicide tradition and its sources see M. Hirsch, "Die athenischen Tyrannenmörder in Sage und Volkslegende," Klio 20 1926, 129-67; F. Jacocy, Atthis: the Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens (Oxford 1949); M. Lang, "The Murder of Hipparchus," Historia 3 1954-55, 395-407; T. Fitzgerald, "The Murder of Hipparchus: A Reply," Historia 6 1957, 275-86; C. Fornara, "The 'Tradition' About the Murder of Hipparchus," Historia 17 1968, 400-24.

(8) In other words a semiotic analysis of the memory of the tyrannicides is in order since the representations which constituted the tradition of their deed were at basis signs which undoubtedly evoked other signs in discourses not at first glance associated with the tyrannicides. This principle has been more or less conceded by all those who accept that the tyrannicides' symbolized the democracy's opposition to tyranny since what is really being asserted here is that the sign of their murder of the tyrant Hipparchos evoked the general sign of anti-tyrannism expressed in the democracy's discourse on one-man rule. For a theoretical discussion of semiotics or the operation of signs see, among others, C.S. Pierce, Collected Papers Vol. II: Elements of Logic (Cambridge 1960); R. Barthes, Mythologies (New York 1972); U. Eco, A Theory of Semiotics (Bloomington 1976); J. Deely, Introducing Semiotic (Bloomington 1982); Frontiers in Semiotics, eds. J. Deely, B. Williams and F. Kruse (Bloomington 1986); T. Sebeok, A Sign is Just a Sign (Bloomington 1991). For the application of semiotic theory to the interpretation of social phenomena: R. Hodge and G. Kress, Social Semiotics (New York 1988).

Semiotics found its initial interdisciplinary application in social anthropology, in particular in the work of C. Geertz; see especially, Interpretation of Culture (New York 1972). For an overview of this transformation of the study of culture see J.L. Dolgin, D.S. Kemnitzer and D.M. Schneider, "As People Express Their Lives, So They Are..." in Symbolic Anthropology: A Reader in the Study of Symbols and Meanings, eds. Dolgin, Kemnitzer and Schneider (New York 1977) Geertz's innovation and eloquence eventually attracted historians, especially social historians, to his methods (See R. Walters, "Sign of the Times: Clifford Geertz and Historians" Social Research 47 1980, 537-56). Perhaps the most notable example of the self conscious use of semiotics to interpret historical phenomena is R. Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre (New York 1985). For a somewhat similar example in ancient history see W.C. Connor, "Tribes, Festivals and Processions: Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece," JHS 107, 1987, 40-50, though outside of one reference to Geertz, Connor does not demonstrate a complete awareness of the provenance of his methodology.

(9) 54.1-59.1. In all likelihood Thucydides' digression was the first written account of this event. There is no evidence of an earlier redacted version in spite of Jacoby's (1948) plumping for one in Hellanikos' Atthis. Further, even if the atthidographer did say something about the tyrannicides, all Jacoby can assert is that his version mirrored the popular oral tradition. For an analysis of Thucydides' digression this is as much as saying that there was no other written version of these events and that Hellankos had no influence on Thucydides' account. In writing about the tyrannicides therefore Thucydides was reliant on and responding to the popular oral tradition. For Thucydides' estimation of his Mytilenean contemporary: 1.97.2. As for the far more brief account of the tyrannicides in the Aristotelian Ath. Pol. 18.1-4, it frankly has no bearing on our topic since both Fornara 1968 and Brunnsaker 1970 have more than adequately shown that the Ath. Pol.'s differences with Thucydides are not a reflection of any other popular version. Instead (contra Lang 1954-55) they are an attempt by the author of the Ath. Pol., who is already heavily reliant on Thucydides' digression, to try and "correct" the historian as well as exonerate Hipparchos of any wrong doing, through his own demonstrably erroneous deductions about these events.

(10) Thucydides states these two criticisms explicitly in 1.20.1-2 and then demonstrates the erroneousness of such popular misconceptions about Hipparchos' murder when he returns to the tyrannicides in 6.54.1-59. Illustrating these two specific instances of the inaccuracy of the popular memory of the past is therefore Thucydides' "thesis" in his digression on the tyrannicides. Other scholars, viz. Lang 1954-55, Fitzgerald 1957 and especially Fornara 1968, have enormously confused this issue by claiming for one reason or another that Thucydides' real purpose in the digression is to show how the murder of Hipparchos occurred not on account of any sort of political principle with which the democracy identified, but because of a love affair (the juntuxian ervtixhn: see below). In this way the historian's digression is considered to be both a correction of popular belief - which allegedly did not include anything about a love affair - as well as an implicit criticism of the democracy's veneration of Harmodios and Aristogeiton as civic heroes. However, this interpretation simply ignores Thucydides' explicit criticisms of the popular memory of the tyrannicides in book one, in favor of an allegedly implicit criticism (a questionable methodology), and it wrongly assumes that the personal insult which resulted from the love affair would denegrate the tyrannicides in the eyes of Athenians. In fact, as I will illustrate below, Athenians generally conceived of tyranny as a form of political authority which expressed itself - and in effect demonstrated its illegitimacy - in the form of personal insults suffered at the hands of a despot. Therefore Harmodios and Aristogeiton's motivations for killing the tyrant were as legitimate as any (Cf. V. Rosivach 1988). Moreover, Aeschines, whose forensic speeches are one of the best sources of evidence for popular attitudes and beliefs, praises Harmodios and Aristogeiton for "their chaste and lawful love" (1.142). This sort of reference would have been meaningless if the tyrannicides were not remembered for Hipparchos' sexual aggression which in part precipitated their attack. Furthermore, it is ridiculous to claim that such a popular knowledge of the erotic episode in the tradition was due to Thucydides' account published c. 400. In spite of classicists' veneration of the

historian's work, in the fourth century it could not have had that sort of popular impact or appeal. In my opinion the most sound and thorough discussion of the tyrannicide tradition is still Hirsch 1926.

(11) 6.56.1.

(12) Thucydides of course does not offer such a straight forward exposition of the tradition, but interrupts the narrative to justify his criticisms of it. Thus in my opinion the tradition is only reflected in 6.54.1-4, 56.1-2, 57.4. It is important to note that the entire explanation of the denouement of the conspiracy should be attributed solely to Thucydides since he explains how, in a most unheroic fashion, Harmodios and Aristogeiton botched their own assassination plans. Since Athenians felt that Hipparchos was the tyrant in 514 they must have believed that the tyranncides killed him in the manner they intended. Thucydides, however, wants to show that the attack was a rash act instead. This is the manner in which Thucydides denegrates the tyrannicides, not by imputing the juntixuan ervtixhn into the tradition as scads of scholars have come to believe.

(13) Cf. A. Andrews, The Greek Tyrants (London 1956); H. Berve, Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen (Munich 1967); Rosivach 1988.

(14) For legislation against tyranny: Andoc. 1.96-98; see M. Ostwald, "The Athenian Legislation against Tyranny and Subversion," TAPA 86 1955, 103-28. For the anti-tyrannical intentions behind ostracism: Ath. Pol. 22.3-6; Philochoros FGrH 328F30. For curses before meetings of the Assembly and Boule see the parody in Ar. Thes. 335-339 and its analysis by P.J. Rhodes, The Athenian Boule (Oxford 1972), 36-37. Curses were also included in the heliastic oath (Dem. 24.149) and according to Andoc. 1.96 were a part of ceremonies in the tribes and individual demes.

(15) For a tyrant's bia: Solon fr. 29, 29b; Thuc. 1.95.1-3; 6.54.3; Andoc. 4.27; Xen. Mem. 1.2.44; Pl. Resp. 569b, Isoc. 8.143; Dem. 10.4. For a tyrant's: Theognis 1181; Soph. Ant. 1056 Anon. Iamb. 13; Eur. Phoen. 549-553; Pl. Resp. 344a; Xen. Hiero 8, 10; Cyr. 1.3.18; Isoc. 12.243. For the tyrant's fyonow: Hdt. 3.80.4-5; Eur. Suppl 444-445; Xen. Hier. 7, 12. For the metaphor of enslavement: Soph. OT 408-410; Eur. Pheon. 520; Herc. 251; Critias TrGF 19 Snell; Xen. Hell. 7.3.8; Dem. 10.4; Lyc. Leoc. 61.

(16) 429-30.

(17) 3.80.5.

(18) Cf. D. Lanza, Il tiranno e il suo pubblico (Torino 1977) and Rosivach 1988.

(19) E.g. Hdt. 1.8-12: Candaules exposure of his wife; 1.61.1: Peisistratos will only have sex with Megacles' daughter ou kata nomon; 5.92: Periander's necrophilia; Isoc. On Nic. 6: Aristodemos of Cumae's sexual predation of women and children; Arist. Pol. 1311a22f. a list of stories of various tyrants' sexual hubris; for more cf. Eur. Suppl. 444-445; Xen. Hier. 7, 12; Arist. Pol.1314b24-45; Alkiphron 2.35.

(20 For the tyrant existing above all laws and legal review: Aeschyl. Prom. 326; Hdt. 3.80.3; Arist. Pol. 1295a20; Soph. Ant. 506-7.

(21) Pol. 1311a5-6.

(22) For discussions of this principle see K.J. Dover, Greek Homosexuality (New York 1978); M. Foucault, The Use of Pleasure (Paris 1984); D. Halperin, One Hundred Years of Homosexuality (New York and London 1990); J. Winker, "Laying Down the Law: The Oversight of Mens' Sexual Behavior in Classical Athens," in Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World (Princeton 1990) 171-210.

(23) Winkler 1990 in particular discusses this fact.

(24) Supra n. 20.

(25) A point well made by D. Cohen, Law, sexuality and society: the enforcement of morals in classical Athens (Cambridge 1991).

(26) Pl. Resp. 1.458b; cf. Xen. Mem. 2.1.1-5; 3.7.1; Hdt. 6.11-14; Pl. Grg. 494c-e. On Athenian sexual conventions and their role in gender determinations see in particular D. Halperin 1990 and J. Winkler 1990 above.

(27) Pl. Symp. 182af. Plato, in fact, compares the complexity (poikilh) of Athenian conventions surrounding male pederasty favorably with other areas of Greece who are less bounded by rules and ritual procedures and, in the eyes of the philosopher, are either culturally corrupt (Ionia) or less civilized (Thessaly).

(28) J. Bremmer, "An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty," Arethusa 13 1980 279-98, tries to read Greek pederasty as an ancient Indo-European heritage. For a discussion of ritualized homosexuality in another cultural context see G. Herdt, Guardians of the Flute (New York 1981).

(29) Cf. the implications of the law against hubris: S.G. Cole, "Greek Sanctions Against Sexual Assault," CP 79 1984, 97-113. In the account of the tyrannicides in the Ath. Pol. 18.1 the tyrant's brother Thettalus even calls Harmodios a malakon.

(30) See Winkler 1990.

(31) Aes. 1.21.

(32) Aes. 1.29; Dem. 45.79.

(33) B. Lavelle, "The Nature of Hipparchos' Insult of Harmodios," AJP 107, 318-31.

(34) G. Sissa, Greek Virginity (Paris 1988), argues that a girl could remain a parthenos and comprimise her virginity only if her sexual deviance was effectively hidden from public knowledge.

(35) Xen. Oec. 7.3f.

(36) For discussion of the social significance of these ceremonies for parthenoi see A. Brelich, Paides e Parthenoi (Rome 1969); C. Calame, Les Choeurs des jeunes filles en Grece archaique (Urbino 1977).

(37) 438-41.

(38) FGrH 328F8; cf. Hesychios s.v. kaneforein; scholion Ar. Ach. 1.242a; Photios s.v. kaneforien.

(39) Plut. Sol. 22.

(40) On the nature of female citizenship in Athens: C. Patterson, "Hai Attikai: The Other Athenians," Helios 13.2, 49-67; N. Lorraux, Children of Athena (Paris 1981).

(41) For the limited public role of Athenian women see J. Gould, "Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens," JHS 100, 38-59.

(42) [Dem.] 59.113.

(43) 1.182.

(44) For a concise discussion of the different types of symbols and different means of symbolization see T. Sebeok, Signs: An Introduction to Semiotics (Toronto and Buffalo 1994).

(45) J.K. Davies, "Athenian Citizenship: The Descent Group and Its Alternatives," CJ 73 1978, 105-21.

(46) Davies cites all of the relevant evidence for this phenomenon. Suffice it if for purposes of illustration I cite Pericles' very restrictive citizenship law of 451 (see C. Patterson, Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451-0 B.C. (New York 1981) for discussion) and the two diachfhsai, or purging of the citizen rolls, in 445/4 (Philochoros FGrH F119; Plut. Per. 37.4) and 345/4 (Dem. 57.1f.). Cf. Ar. Wasps 715-18 on the severity of the legal statute (grafh jeniaw) designed to punish the illegitimate assumption of citizen privileges.

(47) For a definition of inconicity see U. Eco, "Introduction to a Semiotics of Iconic Signs," VS: Quaderni di Studi Semiotici 2 1972, 1-15. Generally an icon is a sign which evokes other signs through a similarity of form. Thus it is a second order of symbolization totally dependent on the first order symbolic meaning of any given sign or set of signs.

(48) 1972.

(49) 6.57-61. There are even indications in this digression that the Gephyraioi were still not fully integrated into Athenian society in Herodotos' time.

(50) Or in Barthes own words: "The signifier of myth [read icon] presents itself in an ambiguous way: it is at the same time meaning and form, full on one side and empty on the other. As meaning, the signifier already postulates a reading...[it] is already complete, it postulates a kind of knowledge, a past, a memory, a comparative order of facts, ideas, decisions. When it becomes form, the meaning leaves its contengency behind; it empties itself, it becomes impoverished, history evaporates, only the letter remains. There is here a paradoxical permutation in the reading operations, an abnormal regression from meaning to form, from linguistic sign to the mythical signifier." (117). Perhaps Barthes most famous example of this semiotic process is his analysis of the picture of the French negro soldier saluting what Barthes assumed was the tricolour on the cover of Paris-Match. In this image Barthes saw not only a representation of military allegiance to country but the symbolization of the French imperiality through the form of the image. In other words the relation between flag and saluting soldier evoked that between the empire and those over which it exercised its dominion. Accordingly the form or icon of a willing African soldier saluting the colonial power's flag legitimized an order which was based on historical conquest and continued political oppression.
I am therefore arguing that in the narrative text of the tyrannicide tradition possessed the same function as the visual text of the cover of Paris-Match. Its representations on one level of symbolization were given meaning by a set of significant discourses within the democracy. Yet on another level the form of these representations, i.e. the relationships it figured, connoted the ongoing, highly charged discourse on the boundaries of the democratic polis, which in this instance manifested itself in popular historical tradition, but also can be witnessed (passim Davies 1977) in Athenian literature and law.

(51) Herodotos' digression about the foreign origins of Gephyraioi illustrates one more feature of the sign observed by people such as Derrida (Of Grammatology 1974). That is that the meaning of the sign always changes according to context and function: it slips from one set of either denotative or connotative set of meanings to another as it is read in the context of different congregations of signs. In this manner the clan history of Harmodios and Aristogeiton problematizes the ideology of Athenina autochthony and ethnic purity on which the exclusiveness of the citizen community was built since the two men could in another semiotic context (i.e. the Histories of Herodotos) stand for an

undeniably foreign element within the boundaries of Attica and the citizenbody of the democratic state. Therefore the emancipatory power of such an analysis lies in the fact that such signs can ultimately deconstruct any and all ideologies which appropriate them for their own end.

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The Syro-Mesopotamian Origins of Arslantepe's Administrative System

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The late fourth millennium period at Arslantepe, a site in the Taurus mountains of southeast Anatolia, is rich in evidence of administrative practices, in particular, the use of seals and sealings as accounting and controlling devices for a variety of goods. The majority of the evidence from Arslantepe comes from a local, regional tradition. Nevertheless, the excavators have connected the administrative system to southern Mesopotamia.

I will argue, using examples from earlier periods and sites, that the fourth millennium, BC administrative system at Arslantepe develops out a tradition from greater northern Mesopotamia. Identification of the system at Arslantepe as a northern one challenges current scholarship, which associates it with southern Mesopotamia. Southern Mesopotamia has acquired such status and prestige in modern scholarship, that it has been desirable to link sites in outlying areas with the south. I believe that in this case, that desire has altered our perception of the identity of the administrative system at Arslantepe.

In the fourth millennium, material culture relating to the Uruk period in southern Mesopotamia appeared in sites to the east in Iran, and in greater northern Mesopotamia. The nature of the interaction between southern Mesopotamia and these other areas is often characterized as a "core" and "periphery" relationship within an expansionist model. So-called "colony" sites in greater northern Mesopotamia have almost one hundred percent material from southern Mesopotamia, while other sites have primarily local material alongside a smaller percentage of southern Mesopotamian material.

This "Uruk Expansion" coincides with a dramatic increase in the repertoire and use of administrative devices in southern Mesopotamia. Cylinder seals and cylinder seal impressions, first seen a few hundred years earlier, occur in great numbers in this period. Tokens, information storage devices in use in the north since the late Neolithic period, and in the south at least since the Ubaid period, are now found enclosed in hollow clay balls which are impressed with cylinder seals and marked with numerical notation. In this period we also have the first use of clay tablets, first used with numerical notation, and eventually with the pictograms that were the first means of writing.

This boom in administrative techniques in southern Mesopotamia during the Uruk period is reflected in the material found at the Uruk-related sites in greater northern Mesopotamia. Cylinder seals and impressions, hollow clay balls, and even numerical tablets were found at "colony" sites like Habuba Kabira. At these sites, where the pottery, architecture, and administrative devices correlate perfectly to those found in the south, it is a fair interpretation to assume that these items are imports from the south. Other sites, like Arslantepe, had some local material, some southern Mesopotamian. In these cases, it is more difficult to know which administrative devices developed out of a local tradition and which were imported from the south.

The earliest levels at Arslantepe date to the end of the northern Ubaid period, approximately the end of the fifth millennium BC (Frangipane, 1997: 213).   Monumental architecture is first noted in Late Chalcolithic levels (period VII), ca. 3700-3400 BC, calibrated (Alessio et al, 1983: 578).

The following period at Arslantepe, VIA, extends to roughly 3000 BC. A limited amount of southern-style pottery shows contact with southern Mesopotamia. Administrative activity dramatically increases at this time (Frangipane, 1997: 214).   The architecture of this phase includes a large, palace-like complex, called Building IV, only part of which has yet been excavated. In this complex, a short hall off of the east side of the main corridor connects two storerooms. The southern storeroom contained mass-produced bowls, and sealings--clay lumps attached to containers or doors to restrict access to them. A recess within the western wall of the main corridor was filled with many thin strata of discarded material, including over 2,000 sealings. Adjacent to Building IV is Building I, identified by the excavators as a temple. A narrow room in the northeast corner of the temple held stratified levels of discarded material, including 130 fragments of sealings (Palmieri, 1983: 98).

From the wealth of information at Arslantepe, the excavators have discerned the system in which the sealings were used. Items such as bags, wicker containers, ceramic jars, doorlocks, and sacks were sealed with a lump of clay, which

was impressed with a stamp or cylinder seal. The lumps of clay, or sealings, show an imprint on the reverse, of the wicker fibers, or the shape of the jar, and so on, so we know to what it was originally affixed. When the sealed item was opened, the clay sealing was archived; that is, it was collected in or near the place of the breaking. The next step in the system was to collect the sealings from the various places they were stored, count them, and dispose of them. The disposal was done carefully, presumably to prevent the sealings from interfering with future accounting procedures. Thus the sealings in the southern storeroom represent the initial phase of archiving, while the stratified sealings in the two narrow rooms represent the final phase of disposal.

The sealings, along with, perhaps, the mass-produced pottery found with them in the southern storeroom, make up the administrative system of Arslantepe. The question is, does this system have more in common with those that preceded it in greater northern Mesopotamia, or with what we know of the administrative system of southern Mesopotamia in the Late Uruk period? Certainly, the mass-production of pottery at Arslantepe is echoed in the thousands of beveled rim bowls found in the south. Some scholars link these bowls to a system of rations distribution. The pottery at Arslantepe, however, is wheel-made, while the beveled-rim bowls are cruder and mold-made. It is possible, despite this difference, that the idea of the mass-production of bowls came to Arslantepe from the south.

The sealings reveal more information about the administrative system. They bear impressions of both cylinder and stamp seals, though predominantly stamps. The cylinder seal is indisputably a southern innovation; it should be emphasized, however, that the cylinder seals at Arslantepe were cut in a local style, what may even be considered an "Arslantepe" style. This style is characterized by gauging, a curved back to the animals, and figures often depicted with three fingers or claws. A cursory comparison of impressions from Arslantepe with impressions from Susa or Uruk, in the south, show the distinction. The southern examples are drilled and modeled, and generally show a linear organization of space; while the Arslantepe seals are gauged and have a more circular organization of space.

A comparison between Arslantepe's seal impressions and those from sites in greater Northern Mesopotamia yields more striking similarities. I will now consider three sites whose administrative systems resemble that of Arslantepe. Tepe Gawra is located some distance from Arslantepe, near the Upper Tigris in northern Mesopotamia. Level VIII at Gawra is roughly contemporary with Arslantepe VIA (Rothman, 1997: 185).   This level at Gawra shows evidence of economic centralization: in addition to craft centers, there was a central storehouse (Rothman, 1997: 185).   Sealings with seal impressions were found in this storehouse, as well as in a building just to the south, interpreted as an administrative center (Rothman, 1994a: 113).   The other seals and impressions found at this level were concentrated in workshop and religious areas (Rothman, 1994a: 113).   This pattern of distribution has much in common with that at Arslantepe, where seals have been found associated with centralized administration and storage.

The sealings at Gawra, much like those from Arslantepe, are from sacks, jars, baskets, doors, tags, and bullae, which are clay lumps attached to string (Rothman, 1994b: 115).   There are similarities in motif as well. If sealings from both sites are compared (see publications for illustrations), it can be noted that both include images of two animals on top of each other, an animal with two or three smaller animals around it, right-side up and upside-down animals, and filling elements. Although the three-clawed style and curved back seems, in this period, to be restricted to Arslantepe, the compositions are similar enough to argue for a common regional style.

Another example comes from Degirmentepe, about a thousand years earlier than Tepe Gawra VIII and Arslantepe VIa, approximately the end of the fifth millennium, BC. Degirmentepe is located near Arslantepe on the upper Euphrates. Degirmentepe was taking part, in some way, in a culture shared across many regions, the Ubaid culture. The early part of the Ubaid culture was restricted to southern Mesopotamia, but the later Ubaid reached as far as this site, in southeast Anatolia. It is important to recognize that this was not a southern Mesopotamian culture which had overtaken greater northern Mesopotamia. Instead, certain stylistic elements, such as architecture and pottery, accompanying technological innovations such as irrigation farming, spread north and south, at different rates, from an area probably centered in the central Mesopotamia region. Whatever the nature of the relationship between the various areas with Ubaid material, it is important to emphasize that the Northern Ubaid, of which Degirmentepe is a part, is distinct from the southern Ubaid, and does not represent a rupture from the Halaf period which preceded it (Breniquet, 1996).

In this period, Degirmentepe consisted of tripartite houses and workshops, and a defensive wall. Twenty-four stamp seals were found, characterized by a gauged style with geometric and figural images (Esin, 1994: 60).   In addition,

approximately 450 sealings were found. These include jar and sack sealings, bullae, and door sealings (Esin, 1994: 66-69). Thus the usage for the seals appears to have been the same at Degirmentepe as at Arslantepe, 1,000 years later in the same geographic region.

Stylistically, parallels can be drawn to both Gawra and Arslantepe. At Degirmentepe there is an image of a pointy-headed human figure, which is comparable to a figure from Tepe Gawra, from approximately the same period, though with the three-fingered style seen in the later seals from Arslantepe. We can also compare the vultures at Degirmentepe with those at Arslantepe. The vultures at Degirmentepe are carved in a characteristic "Degirmentepe style, " with the interior space filled with hatched lines (Esin, 1994: 62).   One, however, has the three claws, characteristic of the later Arslantepe style.

Seals and sealings were found across the site of Degirmentepe, but the majority of sealings were found together in one room, corresponding to the storage areas in Arslantepe's system of seal use and disposal.

The earliest example of a sealing system like Arslantepe's comes from Sabi Abyad, a site in the Balikh Valley in Northern Syria. It shows evidence of continuous habitation from the Late Neolithic period through the middle Halaf period. Level Six falls in the transition from Late Neolithic to Early Halaf. This level was destroyed by fire and thus both architecture and *in situ* finds are well-preserved. These finds include approximately 300 clay sealings. Their date, approximately 6000 BC (calibrated) make them the earliest clay sealings known. The use of the sealings, as well as their distribution at the site, show that they functioned in a system which resembled, on several levels, that of Arslantepe. The sealings were used on baskets, mats, ceramic vessels, stone bowls, and leather bags, much like the Arslantepe repertoire of use, with the exception of door sealings (Akkermans and Duistermaat, 1997: 1).

The majority of sealings were found in two rooms of Building II, a rectilinear building with small, cell-like rooms. This building has been identified as a storage facility. The sealings were found associated with small vessels, figurines, and hundreds of tokens (Akkermans and Duistermaat, 1997: 2). The placement of the broken sealings in a storage room parallel the archive phase of Arslantepe's sealing process.

The motifs on the seal impressions range from geometric designs to anthropomorphic designs. Although I would not argue for stylistic similarities between these early Sabi Abyad impressions and the late Ubaid or Uruk period seals, the motifs, such as the pointy-headed anthropomorphic figure, caprids, and filling motifs, are similar.

Considering the evidence of systems, like the one at Arslantepe, in use in the north since the late Neolithic period, and considering that there is nothing purely southern about Arslantepe's system, what is the evidence for saying, as the excavators have, that this system follows a southern Mesopotamian model? The main evidence cited is the cylinder seal impression from Arslantepe which depicts a figure on a sledge. It is carved in the local style, but the sledge has been said to be a clear pictorial import from the south (Frangipane and Palmieri, 1987: 299). It has been compared to a plaque showing a similar sledge. It must be noted, however, that the plaque is from the antiquities market; its provenience is unknown (Sürenhagen, 1985: 231).   It cannot, therefore, be used as evidence of a southern Mesopotamian influence on the Arslantepe cylinder seal.

The other evidence cited in support of a southern Mesopotamian model is the centralization of the system at Arslantepe, with storehouses and a redistributive system. The redistributive system has not been clearly demonstrated or explained, however, and the storehouses have been seen in the north since the late Neolithic.

Despite the excavators' interpretation of Arslantepe as an autonomous site which had regional influence before contact with southern Mesopotamia, this view of autonomous development stills falls into the shadow of the influence of southern Mesopotamia. Our view of the sites in greater northern Mesopotamia in the late fourth millennium has been colored by our sense of the momentous history being made, literally, in southern Mesopotamia at the same time. In 1952, V. Gordon Childe pinpointed the shift from barbarism to civilization to southern Mesopotamia in the Late Uruk period, on the basis of the development of writing at the site of Uruk (Childe, 1952: 128).   This early distinction has left a marked Uruk-centric bias in the ensuing research on this period. As Hans Nissen has observed, however, when writing first emerged it was merely another step in the development of an accounting system (Nissen, 1987: 287).   It is therefore crucial to readjust our view of this period and see the developing urbanism in greater northern Mesopotamia, southwestern Iran, and southern Mesopotamia as the product of the preceding developments in all of these areas, rather

than as a diffusion from southern Mesopotamia.

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The Individual in Sabellian Material Culture of Campania and Lucania: Attempts of "Half-Breeds" to Assert Their Own Identity Against a Dominant Culture*

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The term 'Sabellian' refers to the ethnic background of the people living in the territories 'Campania' and 'Lucania' in South Italy. Classical archaeologists, historians and philologists of pre-Roman Italy and Magna Graecia are in fact presently involved in the struggle to come to terms with the meaning of these cultural labels. I will first present an account of the geographic and ethnographic boundaries, as well as the various names given to the people living in these regions of southern Italy before the Romans established their numerous colonies. I will then turn to the archaeological evidence and data related specifically to the areas in question around the Bay of Naples. The tradition of scholarship has persisted in denying the true nature of 'Campanian' or 'Lucanian' identity by considering the cultural material left behind in terms of Greek, Samnite or Etruscan contexts. [1] I will show that these people are best described as 'half- breeds', a unique form of identity or ethnicity which arose from the contact between Greek colonists arriving during the eighth century B.C. and the 'native peoples'. My inspiration for using this crude term comes from the Métis peoples of the North Western plains and park lands of North America. Métis identity is characterized by 'cultural syncretism' since its genesis, when the European fur-traders arrived. They adopt cultural practices from both their native and European- colonial 'halves'. Viewing the Campanians and Lucanians this way explains several problems and produces a different interpretation of the famous scenes of warriors and matriarchs depicted inside the walls of their chamber tombs and on the red-figure vases housed within these very same walls. Doing this will bring the modern observer closer to the true identity of the individual artist who fashioned these scenes, who is himself a half-breed.

The Italic territories of Campania and Lucania roughly corresponded to the modern regions of Campania and Basilicata in Southern Italy. Pre-Roman Campania consisted of the fertile plain extending inland from the Bay of Naples region, framed by the Apennine mountain range in all directions. Pre-Roman Lucania included the area surrounding Paestum, south of the Sorrentine peninsula, which is today part of modern Campania. [2]

These boundaries have been reconstructed by modern historians and archaeologists in a manner based mainly on the distribution of archaeological remains in combination with information from ancient historiographic and geographic literary traditions. [3] The boundaries are by no means fixed or determined. It is extremely important to note that the majority of our literary evidence comes from the period after Augustus organized Italy into eleven administrative "Regions" three hundred year later. [4] This evidence derives from both Greek and Roman historiographers, geographers and natural historians. [5] The Augustan sources also write after four periods of warfare which heavily influenced Roman perception concerning these boundaries. [6] Different cities took different sides either for or against Rome during these phases. The tradition concerning a particular city handed down to the Augustan writers was therefore heavily influenced by which side the city took during each successive phase. The words used by modern scholars to represent Italic culture also vary widely depending on the area and time period. The Romanized word 'Sabellian' [7] is used to refer to Italic culture deriving from the South-Central Apennine region exported into the areas formerly held in the Iron age by Greeks and Etruscans along the coast and along the fertile plains at the foot of the Apennine mountain range. [8] It is to be distinguished from the term Samnites, which refers to the peoples of the same region who were united against Rome in the late fourth and early third centuries. [9] The confusion arises from the fact that there are no contemporary accounts surviving from the period in question, except for the fragments that have survived predominantly in the Augustan writers. [10] These fragments do not always represent the source adequately. [11] There is also much evidence that the Greek sources were not even available to them first hand. Regardless of how much the Augustan writers had available to them, [12] their respective biases would not compel them to report genuine ethnographic information. [13] The Greek sources themselves, moreover, are extremely biased in favor of the colonists. The confusion surrounding the identity of the Campanians and Lucanians has been shown to be the result of the varying Greek and Roman sources in the accounts of the Augustan writers. [14]

Archaeological material in the area of Campania has been dated from the period before Greek settlement in the Italic Iron age in the mid-tenth century B.C., to the beginning of Roman colonization in the late 4th Century B.C. [15] The material in question is distributed mostly between the three major centers of Capua, Cumae and Paestum.

Excavations conducted by D'Agostino in Pontecagnano, near Paestum, and by Johannnowky in Capua have revealed that these interior sites were occupied very early by the same culture which would develop into Etruscan and Latin culture to the north in central Italy. 16 The term used to designate the native peoples indigenous to the area before the Greeks and Etruscans arrived is 'Opici.' 17 These 'Native- Peoples' exhibit a sophisticated culture contemporary with the beginning of Greek colonization (slides), before Etruscan influx into the region beginning in the mid-seventh century B.C. 18

This Etruscan influx left a rich artistic legacy especially in the city of Capua. 19 The nature of the Etruscan presence in Capua and the surrounding region is unclear. It seems as if they enjoyed an elevated status, but not at the level of a monarchy, as to the north in Rome where they began their rule in the year 623 B.C. 20 Regardless of this, Etruscan culture became dominant in the region of the interior, and even spread to the Greek cities, where many fine examples of Etruscan ware was found. 21 They appear to have peacefully co-existed with the native Opici and neighboring Greeks of Cumae and Paestum. Relations subsequently break down with the Greek colonies and they attempted to invade Cumae as early as the end of the sixth century B.C. 22 Their failure launched the reign of the tyrant Aristodemus, from 525 to 485 B.C., during which Cumae flourished. 23 They tried once again in 474 B.C. and failed. 24

The failure of Etruscan expansion coupled with mainland Greece's wars with Persia, Sparta and Syracuse paved the way for the expansion of a mysterious, hybrid culture in the latter half of the fifth century B.C. Capua fell to the 'Campanians' in 423 25 and Cumae followed in 420 B.C. 26 Greek aristocrats fled to the Greek city of Neapolis, recently established in 470 B.C. Poseidonia soon followed at an uncertain date 27 in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. 28

The period following the downfall of Greek and Etruscan hegemony in the regions of Campania and Lucania has puzzled both ancient and modern interpreters. The traditional position, set forth by Heurgon, 29 and followed by Salmon, 30 Schneider-Hermann, 31 and Frederiksen 32 is that the Samnites invaded from the mountainous regions and displaced both the Greeks and Etruscans. Salmon and Frederiksen both clarify that Diodorus reports a 'nation of Campani' 33 to have formed in 445, and not just to have seized it in a single assault as in a single siege. They still presuppose that there was an invasion, albeit gradual. Closer observation of the literary sources in combination with the excavations at Capua and Pontecagnano have led D'Agostino to argue that the Campani developed from the Opici. 34 He argues that the Opici were forced inland with the arrival of the Greeks, which subsequently led to the development of Capua as the center for Campanian ethnicity.

Their cultural legacy consists of hundreds of painted tombs found in burial sites of Cumae, Capua, Nola (near Pompeii), Paestum, and of several other centers of culture in the mountain region adjacent to these areas. 35 Hundreds of red-figured vases have also been found in these tombs. They stand out in style and subject matter from their Apulian and Sicilian counterparts. 36 The pottery from the south-east (Apulia) and Sicily predominantly display mythological subjects, while Campanian and Paestan pots frequently show scenes of warriors, matriarchs, and various combinations of both. 37 An extraordinary amount of sculptures and votive figurines have also been found in the sacred locales designated for worship outside of Capua and the other centers. 38 Furthermore, the Oscan language is introduced in written form at Capua as early as the fifth century B.C. 39

Scholars have struggled in trying to reconcile these impressive cultural documents with the literary evidence. The painted tombs and red-figured pottery have been given dates no earlier than the middle of the fourth century B.C., and as late as the early third century. 40 This corresponds to the period when conflict arises between the Romans and Samnites of the mountain region. Thus scholars have found it necessary to make a connection with the Samnites who fought against the Romans and the painted tombs and pottery of the Campanians and Lucanians. One rationale for this connection, other than temporal, is that the armor depicted in the paintings matches Livy's description of the Samnites. 41 The argument being that the Campanians and Lucanians must have bore a striking resemblance to their mountain cousins. 42

All the evidence suggests, however, that the Campanians and Lucanians were quite distinct from the mountain Samnites. The literary tradition clearly distinguishes between the Samnites, Lucani and Campani during the period in question. Passages in Livy and Strabo speaking of Samnite dress and armor reveal that this information was somehow derived from the Campanians, who as Strabo points out, eventually became Romans unlike the Samnites. 43 Livy states that the Campanians hated the Samnites and used the brilliant armor of defeated Samnite warriors in their gladiatorial competitions, and called these gladiators Samnites. 44 Livy suggests that the Campanians may have been mocking the Samnites by depicting their gladiators in Samnite armour. This may be confirmed by the mocking representations in some tombs and vases. 45 He may in fact be reporting a connection

made by one of his sources between the wall paintings and dress of the mountain Samnites. But there are also very serious depictions of cavalrymen in the tombs which must be representing Campanians and Lucanians, not Samnites. Strabo, writing at the same time as Livy, states that the customs and settlements of the Samnites have completely disappeared. 46 This is not surprising since he is writing after Sulla's bloody war against the descendants of the Samnites during the Social or Italian wars at the beginning of the first century B.C.

I will now use the Métis of North America as my cultural model for the development of a hybrid identity. The Métis are born out of a colonial context, in this case the fur-trade. Following D'Agostino's observation that the Campanians arise from the Opici, I propose that the 'ethnogenesis' of Campanian identity occurs during the original contact between the Opici and Greeks. This unique identity develops into a hybrid ethnicity over a long period of time, and is stunted with the assimilation of Campania into a Roman colony. Supporting evidence is found in Pithekoussai, the island off the north shore of the bay of Naples which is considered to be the earliest Greek settlement in the west. G. Buchner, excavator of the site noted that the female graves reveal a preference for native ornaments, while males adopt only the serpentine bow-fibula, a typically Greek form. This suggests to him that "...most, if not all the women at Pithekoussai were not Greeks, but natives who preferred the ornaments to which they were accustomed". 47 This evidence is supported by an account in the Sibylline Oracles. 48 The Greeks are said to have took both Pithecussae and Cumae by force, most likely slaying the males and taking the native women as wives. The fact that the natives were dispossessed by the Cumaeans is confirmed by Strabo. 49 Strabo criticizes the Campanians for doing the same thing to the Greeks of Cumae. He states that it is an act of *hybris* for them to have establish unions with the wives of (Greek) men. He affirms that traces of the Greek way of life were preserved in both their religious practices and law. This is of course the way it appears to a Greek writer drawing on Greek sources. This model of Hellenization has been followed too closely by modern interpreters. 50 The work of Morton Fried in political anthropology, and specifically on the problematic concept of 'the tribe' has shown that the formation of a 'tribe', is a secondary phenomenon deriving from the "intercession" of more complexly ordered societies. 51 Whitehouse and Wilkins postulate that a particular example in south-Italy during the same period is competition for precious resources, such as painted pottery. 52 This would explain the 'tribal' distinction that arises between Campanians, Lucanians, and Samnites. However in the case of the Campanians, a unique situation arises since the tribes fuse first with the complexly organized Greeks, and then perhaps with the Etruscans.

The approach taken by Burley, Horsfall and Brandon in their excavation of two Métis settlements in the North West can be applied to the Campanians as well. They found that the material culture revealed by the excavations did not reflect the true nature the hybrid nature of the Métis. Sophisticated English ceramic ware, Victorian architecture and catholicism are striking in their predominance in the settlement. However the archaeologists determined if they approached the data looking for *habitus*(unconscious tendencies of the mind that become manifest in structural patterns) tend to appear in various forms in the data. One example is the use of space within the Victorian homes, being more characteristic of Native ways of life. Open spaces are predominant as opposed to divisions. Another example is the nature of the fine china and its use. Such items are predominant in the Métis household, even when a nomadic lifestyle is pursued. This revealed a unique feature of the identity of a Métis wife. The possession of fine china was required for acceptance into the colonial English society of the husband. Similarly clothing reflects the combination of European utilitarianism and Native crafts characterized by the bright opposition of colours and patterns.

Using this approach the scenes of the tombs and vases may be viewed as representing the lifestyle of such a hybrid culture. The form or genre of the vases, first of all, are of course Greek. However, the patterns, colors, and scenes are not Greek. 53 Pontrandolfo has commented on the unique combination of marriage and death. 54 I would add that there is also a unique combination of marriage and warfare, which of course causes death. What is the warfare refereed to? I have already outlined the problems with viewing the warriors as mountain Samnites. A important aspect of the lives of Campanians and Lucanians which has been ignored is the unceasing warfare going on in the fourth century in southern Italy and Sicily. 55 The struggle was between the Greek colonial cities and the newly arisen aristocracy of the Italic communities. Campanian mercenaries are reported to have been involved on several occasions in the affairs between Greek cities and Carthage. 56 The ultimate victory went to the Italic communities, and I propose that the tomb paintings and vases in Campania and Lucania celebrate the institutions which brought about this victory. The emphasis on combat and training in the paintings and vases reflect the preoccupation of the Campanian cavalryman with establishing his superiority over opponents. The importance of the cavalry for Campanians has been demonstrated by Frederiksen. 57

The connection of warfare and matriarch ultimately derives from the religious sphere. F. Altheimer has shown

the importance of the female divinity in Pre-Roman Italy. 58 This is supported by the major shrine of divinities found outside of Capua, the fondo Patturelli. 59 The connection between the mercenary or knight and such sanctuaries is the figure of Herakles, who stands in for what Mars represents. 60 The predominant divinity of such sanctuaries is Kerres, whose nature is reflected in the numerous *kourotrophoi* sculptures. 61 This female divinity has taken on Hera's role in marriage. Hera was a major divinity at Cumae and Paestum, to say the least. This is an example of cultural syncretism characteristic of the half-breed identity.

The outcome becomes a Roman epilogue. Characteristic of half-breed identity is the tremendous pressure in attempting to maintain such an identity, especially when a dominant culture asserts itself all around. The Campanians of Cumae eventually requested of Rome to become a Latin speaking colony instead of Oscan in 180 B.C. 62 Capua, on the other hand, succumbed perhaps to the Samnite influence, since it remained ambiguous in its association with Rome. This is a pattern which is inevitable as is demonstrated by the outcome of the attempt of the Métis to form an independent nation. Soon after the Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867, Louis Riel the Métis leader, was hung for attacking representatives of the Dominion who were surveying the Métis land bought from the British government. Today the Métis are still struggling to come to terms with their half-breed identity on reservations, isolated from the dominant culture which forms half of their own identity.

* The following abbreviations are used:

Art of South Italy: The Art of South Italy: Vases from Magna Graecia. ed. M. Ellen Mayo. (Richmond, 1982).

Burley et al.: D. Burley, G. Horsfall and J. Brandon. Structural Considerations of Métis Ethnicity: An Archaeological, Architectural and Historical Study. (Vermillion, 1992).

CAH: The Cambridge Ancient History. (Cambridge, U.K., 1970).

Campani: L. Cerchiai. I Campani. (Milano, 1995)

Campania: S. De Caro and A. Greco. Campania. (Bari, 1981)

La Campania: La Campania fra il VI e il III secolo A.C. Atti del XIV convegno di studi Etruschi e Italici, Benevento 24-28 giugno 1981. (Firenze, 1992).

Campania Preromana: Studi sulla Campania preromana eds. M. Cristofani and F. Zevi. (Roma, 1995).

Capua Antica: W. Johannowsky. Capua Antica. (Napoli, 1989).

Capue Preromaine: J. Heurgon. Recherches sur L'Histoire, La Religione et La Civilisation de Capue Preromaine: des origines a la deuxieme guerre Punique. (Paris, 1942)

Dench: E. Dench. From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman, and Modern Perceptions of Peoples of the Central Apennines. (Oxford, 1995).

Italy Before the Romans: Italy Before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods. eds.D. Ridgway and F.R Ridgway. (London, 1979).

Frederiksen 1984: M. Frederiksen. Campania. ed. N. Purcell. (Rome, 1984).

Fried 1967: M. Fried. The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology. (New York,1967), pp.154-174 ('The Concept of Tribe').

Fried 1975: M. Fried. The Notion of Tribe. (Menlo Park, 1975).

Le genti non Greche: Covegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia (11th: 1971, Taranto). Le Genti non Greche della

Magna Grecia: atti dell'undicesimo Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 10-15 ottobre, 1971. 2 vols. (Napoli, 1972).

Greek World: The Greek World: Art and Civilization in Magna Graecia and Sicily. New York, 1996)

Gli Indigeni: Gli Indigeni Nella Pittura Italiota. (Taranto, 1971).

Italia in Magna Grecia: Italia in Magna Grecia: lingua, insediamenti e strutture. ed. M. Tagliente. (Venosa, 1990).

Italia alumna: Italia omnium terrarum alumna. ed. G.Pugliese Carratelli. (Milano, 1988).

Cuma: P. Caputo. Cuma e il suo parco archeologico: un territorio e le sue testimonianze. (Roma, 1996)

LCS: A.D. Trendall. The Red Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. (Oxford, 1967).

LCS suppl.I: A.D. Trendall, Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. First Supplement. (London, 1970).

LCS suppl.II: Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. Second Supplement. (London, 1973)

LCS suppl.III: Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily. Third Supplement. (London, 1983)

Lucani: A. Pontrandolfo-Greco. I Lucani. (Milano, 1982)

Materiali Dalla Campania: W. Johannowsky. Materiali di età arcaica dalla Campania. (Napoli, 1984)

Il museo Archeologico: W. Johannowsky. Il museo Archeologico dell' antica Capua. (Napoli, 1995)

Popoli e civiltà: Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica. (Roma, 1974).

Poseidonia-Paestum: Poseidonia-Paestum. Atti del XXVII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia. (Taranto, 1988).

RVP: A.D. Trendall, The Red Figured Vases of Paestum. (British School at Rome, 1987)

Salmon 1967: E.T. Salmon. Samnium and the Samnites. (Cambridge, U.K, 1967).

Samnites: G. Schneider-Hermann. The Samnites of the Fourth Century B.C. as Depicted on Campanian Vases and in Other Sources. ed. E. Herring. vol.2 Accordia Specialist Studies on Italy/ vol 61. Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplements. (London, 1996).

Storia e Civiltà: Storia e Civiltà della Campania: L'evo antico. ed. G. Pugliese-Caratelli. (Naples, 1991).

Le Tombe Dipinte di Paestum: A. Pontrandolfo and A. Rouveret. Le Tombe Dipinte di Paestum. (Modena, 1992).

Whitehouse & Wilkins: R. Whitehouse and J. Wilkins. "Greeks and natives in south-east Italy: approaches to the archaeological evidence" in Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology. ed. T.C. Champion. (London, 1995). pp. 102-126.

NOTES:

1.

This does not mean that scholars have not considered the culture of the Campanians and Lucanians unique. I am refering to the tendency to interpret the archaeological remains, literary references and inscriptions in terms of maintaining or conforming to Greek or Etruscan traditions. Most evident is Beazley's account of South Italian Red-figure pottery (J.D. Beazley. "Groups of Campanian Red-Figure". JHS LXIII (1943),pp.66-111.; He is followed by his student A. Trendall, with slight departures (see LCS, RVP, RVSS, Indigeni, and Art of South Italy, pp. 15-21) Trendall indeed begins to acknowledge at least that the pottery was made by natives, and not by colonists as Beazley maintains; see RVSS, Art of South Italy and one of his last contributions, "On the Divergence of South Italian from Attic Red-Figure Vase- Painting" in Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in honour of A.D. Trendall. (Canberra, 1990), pp.217-230.

E.T. Salmon's treatment of the Campanians and Lucanians, although not the subject of his Samnium and the Samnites, is along these lines. He essentially assimilates the unique and diverse culture of the Campanians and Lucanians into that of the mountainous Samnites, the subject of his book. This is not to say that there is no relationship between the mountain dwellers and coastal peoples. There is subtantial work to be done to isolate such influences apart from the original Opici of Capua and Pontecagnano, and the Greek and Etruscan colonizers. G. Schneider-Hermann has followed Salmon with this approach in Samnites. See also M. Frederiksen, "The Etruscans in Campania" in Italy Before the Romans, pp.277- 311.

Mainstream Italian scholarship led by Pugliese- Carratelli (Storia e Civiltà 69-102) and G. Colonna (Storia e Civiltà, pp. 25-67) exemplify the approach of associating early and middle Iron Age materials to the 'Non Greeks", and Greek-style art to the Italiotes. A. Greco (=A. Pontrandolfo) in Campania begins, in this early work, to reveal her belief that the Lucanian and Campanian tomb paintings reveal a unique cultural code through a language of Symbols. This culminates with her work with A. Rouveret, Le Tombe Dipinte; see also "Le necropoli dalla città Greca alla colonia Latina" (Pontrandolfo) in Poseidonia vol.1, pp.225- 265.; "Les langues figuratifs de la peinture funeraire paestane" (A. Rouveret), in Poseidonia.vol.1, pp.267-315. See also Lucani (Pontrandolfo); A. Rouveret, "L'organisation spatiale des tombes de Paestum". MEFRA 87 (1975,2), pp.595- 652.; A. Pontrandolfo, G. Prisco, E. Mugnione and F. Lafage, "Semata e Naskoi nella ceramica Italiota" in AION (archeol) 10, pp.181-202.; A. Pontrandolfo, "Personaggi mascherati nella tradizione figurativa dell'Italia meridionale" in Studi in onore di P. Zancani Montuoro (Roma, 1992), pp. 263-270; Greek World, pp. 457-470 (Pontrandolfo).

W. Johannowsky, excavator of the Capuan tombs, has not radically departed from this tradition; see "Nuove tombe dipinte campane" in Le genti non Greche, pp. 375-382;. See also Il museo Archeologico, Capua Antica and Materiali Dalla Campania. B. D'Agostino, excavator of Pontecagnano, followed by A. Pontrandolfo, have started to break new ground in the nature of the Lucanians (and the Opici, Campaniansa, and Samnites), Johannowsky tentatively following suit with the Campanians. This is most vividly demonstrated in B. D'Agostino, " The Impact of the Greek Colonies on the Indigenous Peoples of Campania", Greek World, pp. 533-540 and "Il processo di strutturazione del politico nel mondo Osco- Lucano. La protostoria" in AION (archeol) IX (1987), pp. 23- 39.; See also his earlier works "La civiltà del ferro nell'Italia meridionale e nella Sicilia", pp. 11-91 and "Il mondo periferico della Magna Grecia", pp.179-271 in Popoli e Civiltà vol.2. For a more recent survey see "Le genti della Campania antica" in Italia alumna, pp.531-589.

2.

The region of Lucania extends inland to the east and south-east all the way to the coastal region of the Ionian sea where Metaponto lies, and along the coast to the south until Laus on the Meditteranean coast and Thurii/Sybaris on the Ionian side. The regions further south and to the east in the 'heel' and up along the adriatic coast were occupied by various other Italic peoples. The Greek colonies occupied the coastal regions from Naples down along the Mediterranean coast until the Ionian coastal region. Colonial settlement does not however stretch around the 'heel' up the Adriatic coast until much later (4th century), when secondary settlements were established by the earlier Greek colony of Syracuse. See Dench. p.182.

3.

See Salmon 1967, "The Land", pp.14-27, and "The People", pp. 28-49.

4.

See Salmon 1967, pp.23-24.

5.

They are Livy, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Strabo and Pliny. The only major historian who

is earlier is Polybius, but he writes after the Punic wars. He loses only the potential bias created by the Social or Italian wars. Furthermore he begins his history after the end of the Samnite wars when the most important Samnite centers had been controlled by the establishment of Roman colonies. All earlier sources (Ephorus, Theopompus, Antiochus of Syracuse, Timaeus)

6.

These are the Samnite wars, the war against Pyrrus, the war against Hannibal, and the so-called Social or Italian wars. See Livy VII.29.1-4. Livy gives this bias away when he emphasizes that the Samnite wars are the first in this series of wars the Romans face. This shows that Livy was more concerned with the pattern than the actual event. The Samnite wars illustrate a typical phase in Rome's history of expansion.

7.

Salmon 1967, p.28-33. This term has been shown to be highly problematic by Dench; see especially Dench 179-183 (ancient perception); 186-193 (traditional theories); 193-203 (Dench's critique); & 203-212 (Dench's conclusions) The term Sabellian is incorrectly used by some modern scholars as a term to describes the generic, Italic culture of the Central Appennine region itself, and subsequent Italic culture emanating in all directions.

8.

It is essentially an adjective used to characterize the culture of the peoples occupying the regions of Campania and Lucania from the end of the Greek and Etruscan occupation to the beginning of the Roman occupation, or the beginning of the Hellenistic period in the Mediterranean. This period covers most of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. See Salmon 1970, p.703.

9.

Salmon 1967, p.40 on the author of the Periplus (Scylax of Caryanda?;c.350) using the term Samnites in the generic sense of Sabelli or Sabellian. 'Samnites' is used by some ancient historiographers to refer to the native peoples as a whole who systematically supplanted the Greek colonial cities in the fifth century. See Frederiksen 1984, p. 137, n.25. Strabo refers to 'Samnites' at Metaponto as early as the eighth century B.C. (6.1.15)

10.

The most significant sources of Livy, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus are Antiochus of Syracuse (a contemporary of Thucyidides, from the 5th Century B.C.), Ephorus of Cyme (a universal historian of the 4th Century B.C.), Theopompus of Chios(who wrote a history in the 4th Century B.C. continuing where Thucydides left off, and another revolving around the life of Phillip of Macedon,) and Timaeus of Tauromenium (the Sicilian historian highly criticized by Polybius for his lack of first hand observation and emotional embellishment, who lived from the mid-4th to mid 3rd Centuries B.C.).

11.

The geographer Strabo and natural historian Pliny are more concerned with geographical and cultural information of importance. Diodorus only briefly deals with matters at the local level since his history is massive, ranging from the Trojan war to the time he writes (Civil Wars of late Republic). Livy is concerned with Rome, and only pays great attention to Campania and Lucania when the Samnite wars begin.

The nature of the evidence for the period before the sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.) is confirmed to be scanty for Livy. He himself states this important fact at the beginning of book six (VI.1-3): "The history of the Romans from the founding of the city of Rome to the capture of the same city... I have set forth in five books dealing with matters obscure on account of the great antiquity just as that which can hardly be discerned from a great distance. Also because then there was a slight and uncommom use of writing, the only faithful guardian of memory of things accomplished, and because even if such things were in the commentaries of the pontiffs and in other public and private monuments, the most part of these records perished when the city was razed." It may be that the decrepid state of evidence only applies to the affiars of Rome, but the effects of war and invasion were probably the same for the Greek writers from Sicily and other parts of the Greek world.

12.

For example, Strabo's use of the term 'Samnite' for coastal peoples in certain cases derives from a Roman source following a Latin tradition (which would be corrupt before the sack of Gaul). His use of the term 'Campani' in other instances reveals a Greek source following a Greek tradition more conscious of the ethnographic phenomenon that gave rise to the Campanians (notwithstanding their hostile attitude to the people who conquered their fellow Greeks).

Antiochus of Syracuse, a source very popular with Strabo, writes in the Ionic dialect, following the tradition of the great fifth century hisoriographer and ethnographer, Herodotus (See L.Pearson. The Greek Historians of the West: Timaeus and His Predecessors. (Atlanta, 1987).pp.11-18.) This may imply that Antiochus included much

ethnographic information following Herodotus' example. However, being a Syracusan would have severley tainted any interest in the peoples of Campania in particular. Campanian mercenaries are reported by Diodorus Siculus to have supported both Athens and Carthage against Syracuse. They subsequently supported Syracuse under Dionysius I, but this ocurrs after the period during which Antiochus writes. See Frederiksen 1984, p.101; N. Purcell, "South Italy in teh Fourth Century B.C." pp. 398-400 in CAH VI; Salmon 1967, p.65. Also see D. Musti 1988 (supra n.12) pp. 217-234, on the Campanians and pp. 259-287 , on the Lucanians. See also Frederiksen 1984, pp.98-102.

13.

This is especially the case with Timaeus, the most frequently cited source. See D. Musti. Strabone e La Magna Grecia: Città e popoli dell'Italia antica. (Padova, 1988), pp. 217-234 (= D.Musti. "Per una valutazione delle fonti sulla storia della Campania fra il VI e il III secolo" in La Campania pp.31-46); E. Lepore. Origini e Strutture Della Campania Antica: Saggi di storia etno-sociale. (Bologna, 1989) pp. 85-99, for a discussion of the sources used by the Augutan writers specifically concerning Campania. See also E. Lepore. Storia di Napoli. vol. 1. (Napoli, 1968), pp.193- 240.

14.

Strabo, for example, seems to have known the history of Timaeus, who wrote during the period of the Samnite wars in the late fourth, early third centuries B.C., only through Artemidorus and Posidonius (Greek geographers of the second and first centuries B.C). See Frederiksen 1984. p.100.

15.

See E.T. Salmon. "The Iron Age: The Peoples of Italy". CAH Vol.IV.pp 676-719. For archaeological materials from Campania in the Iron Age see the following by W. Johannowsky: Il Museo archeologica, pp.17-45; Materiali; For late Iron age and the 'Samnite' period, see W. Johannowsky, "Il Sannio", in Italici in Magna Grecia, pp.13-21; W. Johannowsky, "Problemi riguardanti la situazione culturale della Campania interna in rapporto con le zone limitrofe fra il sesto sec. a.C. e la conquista romana" in La Campania, pp. 257-276; W. Johannowsky, "Nuove tombe dipinte" in Le genti non Greche. See also the several works on the subject by B. D'Agostino, supra 1 and "Greci, Campani e Sanniti: città e campagna nella regione Campana" in La Campania, pp.73-83; G. Collona, supra 1; S. De Caro, supra 1; L. Cerchiai, supra 1; P. Caputo. Cuma; N. Valenza Mele, "Le necropoli di Cuma: il supermento della commnità primitiva" in Italici in Magna Grecia, pp.23-33; N. Valenza Mele, "La necropoli cumana di VI e V a.C. o las crisi di un aristocrazia" in Nouvelle Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation Eubéennes. (Naples, 1981), pp.97-130; N. Valenza Mele, "Hera ed Apollo nella colonizzazione Euboica D'Occidente" MEFRA 89 (1977,2),pp. 493-524. L. La Rocca, C. Rescign and G. Soricelli. "Cuma: l'edificio sacro di fondo Valentino" in Campania Preromana, pp.51-79.

16.

See Frederiksen 1984, 118; D'Agostino in The Greek World, p,533-534 supra 1; Johnnowsky in Capua Antica,

17.

D'Agostino in Greek World, p.533, supra 1, and D'Agostino 1987, supra 1. See also L. Cerchiai, "Il processo di struuturazione del politico. I Campani". in AION (archeol) IX, (1987), pp. 41-53, and Campani, p.21.

18.

Frederiksen 1984, p. 120.

19.

See Capua Antica, pp. 21-51.

20.

Frederiksen 1984, p.118

21.

This led Gabrici in the late nineteenth century to mistakingly believe Cumae to be occupied by Etruscans from the time of its founding. See Frederiksen 1984, 119; and N. Valenza Mele in Italici in Magna Grecia and 1981, supra 15. Valenza Mele discusses the difficulty of working with Cuma due to its chaotic history of excavation.

22.

Frederiksen 1984, p.127

23.

Frederiksen 1984, p.69-71 and A.G. McKay, Ancient Campania, vol.1 (Hamilton, 1972), pp.135-144, for the buildings which can be dated to this period (525-428 B.C), and the nature of his rule.

24.

This was soon after Aristodemus was murdereded by the aristocrats who were sent into exhile. The Etruscans and

Carhaginians attacked by sea in 474 B.C., but they were defeated by the Cumaeans who had joined foces with Hieron of Syracuse. This Greek victory was celebrated in Pindar's First Phythian Ode, dedicated to Hieron. See Mckay supra 25, pp. 144-146.

25.
Livy (4.37.1-2)

26. 27.
Diodorus Siculus XIV,101-102. Diodorus relates how the 'Lucanians' took the Greek colonial city of Thurii and were supported by the brother of Dionyius I of Syracuse. Dionysius intended to subjugate the weak Greek colonial cities and thought that supporting the Lucanians would advance his plans. See N. Horsfall in CAH VI, p.387. Salmon 1967, p.42-43.

28.
Since the Lucanians were harassing the Thurians as early as 443 and 433 B.C. See Salmon in CAH IV, p.710.

29.
Capue Preromaine, pp. 81-90.

30.
Salmon 1967, p36-39

31.
Samnites, p. XXIX;

32.
Frederiksen 1984, pp. 137-138.

33. 34.
See D'Agostino in Greek World, p.540; D'Agostino 1987 supra 1. See also Cerchiai supra 17, and Campani, pp. 187- 190.

35.
See F. Weege, "Oskische Grabmalerei". JdI 24 (1909).pp.8-162. He includes references to the excavation reports regarding the tombs in other regions.

36.
See works of Trendall, supra 1.

37.
See Schneider-Hermann for an excellent presentation of these various scenes, including subtelties of clothing and armour.

38.
See H. Koch, "Hellenistische Architekturstücke in Capua", RM 22, pp.24-428; Johannowsky, Capua Antica. Heurgon, Capua Preromaine.

39. 40.
See W. Johannowsky in Capua Antica, pp. 57-63; Frederiksen 1984. p. 145-146

41.
See Schneider-Hermann in Samnites, pp.3-4. Frederiksen 1984, p. 144-145.

42.
See D'Agostino in Greek World, p.540, arguing for this contact to have occured in the territory of the 'Caudini', the mountain region adjacent to the plain on which Capua was situated. See Salmon 1967, pp.45-46, for his introduction of this branch of the Samnites.

43.
Strabo 6.I.2.

44.
Livy IX.40.17.

45.
See Pontandolfo 1992 supra 1 (personaggi mascherati); Schneider-Hermann, Samnites, pp. 85-88 ('The Mock Fight'),

46.
Strabo 6.I.2.

47.
D.Ridgway. The First Western Greeks. (Cambridge, 1992), p.67, quoting G. Buchhner in "Nuovi aspetti e problemi posti dagli scavi di Pithecusa con particolari considerazioni sulle oreficerie di stile orientalizzante

antico", Contribution à l'étude de la société et la colonisation eubéenes (Naples 1975), 59-86; English, adapted version, in "Early orientalizing: aspects of the Euboean connection" in Italy Before the Romans, 129-144.
48.
The text is as follows: "And the dwellers in the islands, when for a second time they have settled, not by guile but by force, and resolutely, on the Cumaean land of their adversaries, let them set up a wooden image of Hera, the holy goddess, and a temple in accordance with their ancestral laws." Frederiksen 1984, p.59.
49.
Strabo 5.4.3. The actual Greek word is "kataschein", from "katechw", to occupy, possess.
50.
See Whitehouse & Wilkins, pp. 102-103.
51.
Fried 1975, p. 114, and Fried 1967, p. 170-174.
52.
Whitehouse & Wilkins, p.122.
53.
See J. Noble in Art of South Italy, pp.37-47.
54.
Greek World, pp. 465-468
55.
See N. Purcell in CAH VI, p.381
56.
Salmon 1967 , p.65
57.
M. Frederiksen "Campanian Cavalry", DialArch vol.ii (1968), pp.3-31.
58.
Terra Mater. (Breslau, 1931)
59.
Cerchiai, in Campani, p. 161-163.
60.
F.Van Wonterghem, "Il culto di Ercole fra i popoli Osco-Sabellici". in Herakles. eds. C. Bonnet and C. Jourdain-Annequin. (Bruxelles, 1992).pp.319-351.
61.
T. Hadzisteliou Price. Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities. (Leiden, 1978)
62.
Livy 40.42

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Approaching a Reconciliation for Ethnic Construction
in Archaeology and Identity Politics

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American Archaeology creates identity in two ways: through the North American division of history and prehistory and the identification of cultural units in the past. The first process involves the subdisciplinary separation of precolonial and postcolonial subjects (pun intended) and the more general distinction between archaeology and anthropology. This temporal delineation produces ahistorical units - units formed through the compilation of attribute traits (the billiard balls) so familiar to students of postprocessual archaeological theory. As a result, current ethnic groups are severed from their pasts, or ignored in favor of their archaeological antecedents. The AtacameÒos of northern Chile are well researched archaeologically and are labeled academically as the San Pedro Culture. Today, however, they are ignored politically, assumed to have been assimilated in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, during the recent dictatorship that ended in 1989, the state legislated that there are no indigenous groups left in Chile (Bengoa 1990:49). According to these factors, we have no information about the current inhabitants of the Atacama desert who are thus denied Indian status and the establishment of a unique identity as a political platform for economic improvement. Both archaeologists and politicians have denied any possibility of a current AtacameÒo population. This is a significant obstacle to overcome for marginalized groups.

Unwittingly or not, archaeological units of study facilitate nation-states in the definition of indigenous groups as remnants of the past, imbued with characteristics that can be acted upon toward assimilation or ignored all together. The characterization of ethnic identity in the past formalizes differences - solidifies the somewhat ethereal and changing nature of self-definition outside of historical context, making identity an object that can be captured by science and changed by politics.

None of this is new. Postprocessual archaeology has recognized the ramifications of such an approach. There are, however, equally problematic implications of the alternative, relativist approach. In the case of state recognized indigenous groups in the southeastern United States, such as the Caddo Adai and the Choctaw-Apache of Western Louisiana, alternative approaches employed by archaeologists serve to impede their goals of becoming a federally recognized indigenous group. Federal recognition brings funds for education, employment, and social programs to rural communities fractured by poverty and racism. Archaeologists, however, who employ alternative interpretations note that these contemporary groups are often a product of an ethnically mixed past, thus weakening the indigenous group's claim of a continuing, stable identity throughout time. In this case (and others), archaeologists and indigenous groups are at odds. How do we negotiate this? Can we justify our interpretations without weakening the case of indigenous groups attempting to acquire power within the structure of government-defined categories of identity? Modern(ist) nation-states function according to official definitions. According to Collier et al. (1995), bourgeois law assumes the equality of all subjects, even in their right to hold distinct identities. Although identities differ, all citizens have the right to express an inborn identity. The naturalization of innate identities disguises class differences and provides disenfranchised communities with a tool for self-differentiation. In fact, bourgeois law sets up the conditions wherein emancipation is dependent on self-determination as different - as holding a distinct, natural, imbued identity. Because all citizens are assumed to be equal before law, an equality belied by social and economic conditions such as poverty and racism, our only outlet to rectify these injustices is to demand distinct status according to inherent qualities - indigenous identity, etc. Legislation then attempts to normalize and accommodate these variants through classification. Most importantly, we no longer see economic conditions or identify formation as socially produced and socially strategic phenomena.

We therefore come to a conundrum. Although essentialism has failed to capture the fluidity and varied manifestations of identity in both prehistory and history, it is an important tool for community emancipation in the modern nation- state. As scholars, we are caught between a belief in a multicultural past that has been examined only recently and a desire not to deny current indigenous and disenfranchised groups a coherent, unified identity. Currently, we are both moving toward a multicultural/plural methodology that recognizes the contingency of identity formation and maintenance in the past while attempting to accommodate social realities

that confront us in the here and now.

Archaeological Investigations of Multiethnicity
One of us, Emily Stovel, works in Northern Chile, excavating a multicultural trade and metallurgical center from the Late Intermediate Period through the Middle Horizon (from AD 200 to 1000). The other, Diana Loren, studies the formation of creole identities on the eighteenth-century Louisiana/Texas frontier. Despite geographic and temporal differences, we are both interested in the creation of identity in plural social environments subject to differences in power, race, class and gender. We are specifically interested in how each historic context defines the relationship between identity and material culture.

An important recent focus in archaeology and anthropology is the impact that colonization had on indigenous societies (Galloway 1995; Hill 1996; Lightfoot 1995; Stoler and Cooper 1997). This research has lead to the realization that colonial centers, communities, and households were almost invariably multiethnic (Lightfoot 1995). In these situations, economic, social, and political interactions between Europeans, Africans, and indigenous peoples resulted in a creolized population that continues to the present day. Despite this, creolized people are a largely overlooked group in both the distant and recent pasts. In response to these silences, recent archaeological investigations of multiethnicity have served to bring these groups to the forefront of history (Patterson 1995; Sued Badillo 1995). Indigenous groups are also highlighted in this search to uncover those forgotten in conventional and state authorized histories. At the same time, indigenous groups putting forth their own versions of history are looking back to colonial situations in an attempt to winnow out their identity through time (Landsman 1997; Schmidt and Patterson 1995).

While archaeologists have recognized that we must turn to new methodologies to uncover a multiethnic past, these multiple identities are often investigated through conventional examinations of the archaeological record for certain representative characteristics (Lightfoot 1995). One inherent problem with this approach is that most archaeologists researching identity fall back on essentialist categories by breaking an archaeological site down into either "Native" or "non-Native" components. "Native" artifact types, such as chipped stone tools and indigenous pottery, are used as markers of cultural continuity while "non- Native" or "European" goods are used to discuss the percentage of acculturation. The underlying assumption is that the greater the percentage of non-Native or European material within an indigenous context, the greater the degree of acculturation. There is then a contradiction between recognizing a site as multiethnic, or mixed, and examining the archaeological record as if material culture were comprised of discrete units.

In their goal of becoming federally recognized, indigenous groups in the southeastern United States, who are often a product of a creolized colonial past, have used essentialist archaeological and ethnohistoric material compiled by archaeologists to affirm their continuity as an autochthonous group (Handsman and Richmond 1995). There are two types of essentialism presented here: one embraced by indigenous groups looking for political validation and another developed by archaeologists both previous to and within multicultural analysis. While a more complex recognition of a multicultural past should circumvent essentialism in archaeological analysis, and thus avoid ethnocentric models that represent native groups as passive, it serves to weaken indigenous groups in the eyes of the US government and other nation-states. Denying multicultural analysis, however, in favor of a pragmatic essentialism does not automatically empower indigenous groups who are trying to establish an enduring identity. Essentialist models are used by nation-states to assert their own versions of history and the role of indigenous groups in those histories.

What then is our stance theoretically and methodologically? If we rely on race or ethnicity alone in our investigations of identity, then we cannot avoid essentialist models. What is needed then is a methodology that incorporates the different aspects of identity: gender, ethnicity, race, and status (Brumfiel 1991; Callaway 1987; McClintock 1995; Namias 1992; Scott 1986, 1988; Spector 1993; Stoler 1989, 1997). New categories must be constructed rather than relying on exhausted essential categories. We can use these new categories to interpret identity as strategically developed in response to changing political situations in the past and the present.

New Directions
A continued problem is that archaeological investigations of identity in the recent and distant pasts are often conducted without knowledge obtained from indigenous groups. For the most part, indigenous groups are left out of the process. At the same time, these indigenous groups are searching for their own identity and history by using information obtained from archaeologists, with or without their knowledge. How do we work within a model of multiethnicity or creolization while at the same time trying to accommodate new political agendas of

indigenous groups asserting their own identity?
Are we as archaeologists continuing to marginalize indigenous groups by asserting a creolized or "mixed" past?

People's attempts to exploit the "constitutional and democratic residues" of
bourgeois legal practices...often tend to recapitulate and naturalize the
liberal categories freedom seekers contest (Collier, Maurer and Su·rez-
Navaz 1995:20).

We can avoid this conundrum by recognizing that identity is a tool for political agency. Ethnic identity is but one of many possible identifiers (such as family, neighbourhood, city, region, gender, class, etc.). What is important is to assert how these different social factors create an environment where ethnic identity becomes the most important tool and how they structure the manifestation of identity formation, maintenance and failure. Contact or multicultural environments are ideal for studying this process as different situations demand shifting allegiance to different identifiers. In this way we escape seeing identity as a transcendental feeling or an innate sense of belonging, but as a sequence of conscious political choices in a plural environment.

One way to conceptualize identity as a changing phenomenon is to envision it as a process of maintaining and reforming boundaries. In each context, whether prehistoric or historic, identity was and continues to be constructed according to an individual's personal, political, economic, and social agendas. However, controlling groups often sought to mark and maintain boundaries to control the actions of subaltern groups. At the same time, subaltern groups created new boundaries in reaction to those imposed upon them, thus blurring or masking official divisions. Identity formation then represents a shifting pattern of the construction, maintenance, and reformation of these boundaries through time.

To support this model we have several examples in ethnohistory of documented shift in ethnic or racial affiliation. In the case of the colonial Andes, changing economic and political conditions prompted changes in self-definition from Indian to Mestizo to improve one's access to local markets and to better position oneself (Harris 1995). The definition of "Indian" as a fiscal category implied tax and labour obligations so individuals changed their legal definition, though perhaps not their behavior. Conversely, in early republican Peru, northern highland groups demanded recognition as Indians despite racism and labour obligations because nation building liberalism denied the very category and therefore removed their rights to a distinct status and land ownership freedoms (Mendez 1991). In seventeenth-century Mexico, individuals negotiated their status by refashioning their casta or identity in different contexts to suit their personal and political agendas (Boyer 1997). Again, in colonial Mexico, Cope (1994) documents a regular practice of changing ethnic affiliation which did not necessarily lead to upward social mobility but improved access to local resources and changing social relationships (often more important that economic relations). In essence, these quick summaries describe the intersection of local communities with supralocal racial or social categories. Our access to self-definition comes from official documents which describes the process whereby lower class individuals are required to check a racial box, despite their own ignorance of familial racial background (Cope 1994). Changing use of fiscal or bureaucratic categories does not imply a cavalier attitude toward social relationships, but perhaps a sanguine use of different relationships according to the demands of each situation. In this way, identity is strategic and ethnic identity is but one level of self-description.

Our interpretations of identity in the past have very real implications for indigenous groups in the present. If we conceptualize identity as a shifting phenomenon in the past and in the present, how are indigenous groups today to define and validate a continuous identity? For the groups that we study in both North and South America, the colonial period represents a crossroads. In the face of colonial power structures, indigenous and European groups came together and created a mixed or creolized population. Today, remnants of these creole groups now assert a continuous indigenous past in order to acquire power, money, and freedom for themselves.

Methodologically, the implication of such a stance demands we examine the intersection of supralocal power relations with local community contexts to highlight specific identity strategies and the conditions that foster them. Prehistorically, though, we are left with few resources to flesh out these relationships clearly and we depend on generalizations. The fluidity of identity is evident in so many situations, it probably occurred in prehistory as well. We many not have access to specific historic contexts, but we do have access to categories in the past, reflected in conspicuous use of material culture. We may never know, however, who established these categories. These categories do not correspond to innate, normative co-occurrences, but conscious combinations of artefacts that demonstrate membership and that change through time. The nuances of material use in burials,

for example, do not change through unconscious shifts in fashion but in response to political pressures that cause changes in self- representation. We need to compare several realms of material use (such as structural remains and tombs) in order to untangle the negotiation of politics and representation instead of reducing types to the unconscious expression of shared behaviour. In this way, identity, as a tool of social agents in the past, is comprised of not only ethnicity and race but also gender and class.

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Tradition and Transcendance in Russian America
An Archaeological Approach to Identity in Colonial Contexts

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Historical archaeologists have been increasingly drawn to the concepts of ethnicity, class and gender in understanding the formation and transmission of cultural identity during the North American contact period. These research emphases, adding to earlier empirical studies of pearlware and square-cut nails, take inspiration from a growing number of anthropological and historical works which demonstrate the complexly entwined nature of social phenomena. A variety of case studies across time and space suggest that ethnicity, as but one aspect of identity, is fluid, exists without geographical boundaries, and is both culturally and historically situated (Barth 1969; De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1975). If *ethnicity* is so transitory, then how can historical archaeologists begin to understand the material dimensions of ethnic *identity*, as I define it, the means by which people perceive and represent their kinship, shared history and social boundaries? And how does identity formation and expression exist within hegemonic relationships, when people not only identify themselves in relation to others, but are also subjected to classification by dominant groups?

The complexities involved with culture change and ethnic identification create major methodological and operational problems for historical archaeologists (Schuyler 1980; McGuire 1982). A variety of approaches to identity in colonial contexts have used a combination of textual, oral historical and archaeological methodology to make sense of both variability, and similarity, within the archaeological record. Studies ranging from the Yukon gold rush, to the Spanish colonization of Florida , to the slave communities in New England and the American south have focused variously on commonalities of architecture, material culture, foodways and the frequency of artifact types as ethnic indicators (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Otto 1975; Deetz 1977, 1993; Baker 1980; Schuyler 1980; Deagan 1983; Pyszczyk 1989; Stevenson 1989). While archaeologists continue to struggle to recover identity in the archaeological record, with time it has become clearer that while the "building blocks" of ethnicity may change, the *way they are re-arranged* may be a clue to not only cultural predispositions (Bourdieu 1977), but also, ethnic *identity*(Leach 1954; Deetz 1977; Deagan 1983; Ferguson 1992). In this paper I present three arguments: 1. That identity is a relational and situational process, serving to distinguish one group from another on one or more axes of ethnicity, class and gender, 2. That identity is most visible during times of social and economic upheaval, when individuals may serve to gain or lose social or economic privileges within complex sociopolitical relationships, and 3. That identity is archaeologically visible, particularly through examinations of the spatial arrangements of household architecture and the organization of gender-related tasks. The following paper focuses on the nineteenth century provisioning post site, the Afognak artel, to discuss the symbolic role of material culture in both transmitting, and trancending, Alutiiq identity within the context of Russian colonialism in the North Pacific.

Based on the results of over six decades of archaeological research, scholars have argued that the Alutiiq of the Kodiak archipelago have been present as a north Pacific indigenous culture for the last 7,000 years (Clark 1984; Knecht 1995). When the Russians first arrived on the archipelago and settled at Three Saints Bay in the mid - 1780s, they classified these people as "Aleut", and later, "Kaniaga," based on what the Aleuts of the Aleutian chain called their traditional Pacific enemies; later, anthropologists variously termed these North Pacific people "Koniag" or "Pacific Eskimo." Since the early 1990s, the native people of Kodiak now formally distinguish themselves as "Alutiiq", although some elders continue to identify themselves as Aleut, and many of the "Alutiiq" have both Russian and American surnames as residues of the colonial period. Despite what may be seemingly confusing to the outsider, it is clear that these native people share a common cultural tradition, an ancestral Alutiiq language, and the firm belief that they are neither Eskimo nor Indian. After two hundred years of colonization, the Alutiiq people continue to exist as a discrete identity; while they may have added new elements to their cultural and technological repertoire, these elements have been combined in traditional ways. I believe that we can trace the roots of Alutiiq identity through examining the material remains of the Kodiak archaeological record; what *is* Alutiiq is the Alutiiq *way of doing things*. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Russian American period, when identity maintenance and transformation was the key to Alutiiq cultural survival.

While anthropologists and historians have attempted to produce comprehensive accounts of Russian American Company colonization in the north Pacific, surprisingly little is known of the actual "on the ground" mechanics

as to what extent the Russians were successful in incorporating indigenous peoples into a growing global economy; neither are we certain, on either a regional or local basis, how these native peoples responded to the conditions imposed upon them (Gibson 1987; Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988). Archaeologists have argued that at the time of Russian arrival in the late seventeenth century, traditional Koniag culture (this term being defined by archaeologists), was at the culmination of a steady trend of increasing socio-economic complexity since the initial occupation of the archipelago, circa 7000 BP. Tracing Alutiiq prehistory through Ocean Bay and Kachemak phases, scholars have argued for a cultural continuity in houseforms and material culture from the earliest times through to the Koniag period, 1200 AD to the time of Russian contact. The Koniag period, demarcated for its apparent growth in population on the basis of the number of recorded settlements and the complexities of house size, was a time during which there was a shift in emphasis from a sea mammal hunting economy to one based mainly on the procurement of anadromous fish (Clark 1984; Knecht and Jordan 1988). This change in subsistence was accompanied by a striking increase in items associated with personal adornment and ceremonialism, taken to be the archaeological correlates for what has been described by regional scholars as social stratification with a redistributive economy. Koniag society consisted of chiefs (*anayugak*) and classes of nobles, who inherited their positions, commoners, some who achieved their status by ascription and other by hunting skills (*umialiks*), and slaves; villagers were ranked between the free classes and stratifed between free and captive classes. Warfare, trade, intermarriage, feasting and ceremonialism not only encouraged interactions between settlements, but also reinforced status distinctions and enabled the accrual of coveted luxury items and resulting prestige.

When the Russians arrived in the late eighteenth century, they aimed to strategically transform Koniag traditions by introducing changes in space, economic and societal organization on the social geography of the archipelago. In its early years, the Russian American Company eradicated native villages and forced relocations of natives not only on the Kodiak archipelago, but also to other locations in the North Pacific (Shelikov 1981; Dymytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan 1979). The Company introduced changes in the built environment by introducing new methods of construction and settlement layout (Shelikov 1981; Senkevitch 1987; Lidfors and Peterson 1990). Russians changed the intensity and order of the Koniag seasonal round in order to maximize sea mammal hunting, a practice which disrupted both the traditional division of labor, as well as the ecological carrying capacity of the archipelago (Lisianski 1968; Pierce 1976; Black 1977; Dymytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan 1979). Russians introduced new trade items, materials and technologies to the archipelago, and with them, a new system of economic exchange based on barter, wage labor and debt (Federova 1971; Dymytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan 1979). And lastly, the Russians imposed a new social organization on the Koniag by not only choosing new native leaders (*toions*) as Russian American Company employees, but by re-classifying the Koniag on the basis of sex, age and occupation. The Russians enforced and maintained these new social and economic categories by means of a policy to classify all natives based on "Dependent", "Semi-Dependent", "Independent", and "Creole" categories.

Despite these great social and economic changes in the north Pacific, a critical analysis of archaeological data demonstrates that the Alutiiq continued to express their distinct ethnic identity through household architecture and task-related artifacts during the Russian American period. It may be that the very Russian dependence on the natives for survival may not only have encouraged Alutiiq cohesion, but in fact, *created* it. The evidence comes from the recently excavated Russian American Company settlement and provisioning post, the Afognak *artel*. Established in the late 1790s by Gregorii Shelikhov, the founder of the Russian American Company, the *artel* consists of at least eight structures now positioned on a forested beach ridge (Shelikov 1981; Pierce 1977; Woodhouse-Beyer 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997). Excavation of the structures has revealed a large timber-planked house (Structure 2), likely the household of a Company officer, and a number of other structures associated with Alutiiq workers' quarters and storehouses.

A number of social historians and anthropologists have posited that architectural space both reflects and molds social relations, ideologies and power relationships (Foucault 1980 ; Spain 1992; Massey 1994); following this research, historical archaeologists have further argued that spatial organization is both product and producer of daily behavior, including social and economic relations (Leone 1988; Rotman and Nassaney 1997). While historical sources claim that Gregorii Shelikhov brought not only a Russian toolkit of material culture, but also architectural plans for settlements, the actual "on the ground" archaeological data indicates that Russian hegemony was not total. This may have especially been true in the smaller, more isolated settlements such as the Afognak *artel*.

Psychologists and anthropologists have long known that a person or group's identity gains relevance through

social dynamics and creative expression (Harris et al. 1995); historical archaeologists have documented architectural form in relation to socioeconomic and ethnic difference and maintenance (McGuire and Schiffer 1983; Kent 1990; Hodder 1990). Like other colonial cultures, such as the Spanish, British and French, the Russians expressed their overlordship through establishing planned communities in North America and continuing architectural traditions of the motherland (Senkevitch 1987; Lidfors and Peterson 1990; Canny 1987; Zuckerman 1987). The Russian American Company typically built houses for Company managers and supervisors which were larger, positioned in higher locations relative to the rest of the community, and were constructed with luxury materials, such as hewn timber logs, bricks, and glass windows. The Russians chose to architecturally distinguish themselves from the Alutiiq at the expense of efficiency and comfort. The Russian log houses were tremendously inefficient for surviving the rigors of the Kodiak seasons; not only did builders have to select straight spruce timber, but the trees needed to be felled. Kodiak winds necessitated frequent household maintenance and the heavy rains rotted the houses from the inside out as evidenced from the "Supervisor's House" (Structure 2) at the Afognak *artel*. Despite its seemingly advantageous large size, timber construction and higher location, the house had major drainage problems due to its positioning on rainforest soils. In short, to the Russians, the symbolic aspects of the structure outweighed the utilitarian ones; their construction choices not only expressed Russian ethnic identity relative to that of the Alutiiq laborers, but it also was a constant reminder, to both the Russians and the Alutiiq, of what the Alutiiq were *not*. (McGuire and Schiffer 1983).

Throughout its time of influence in the north Pacific, the Russian American Company was chronically undermanned and undersupplied; it is more than likely that the Alutiiq, in addition to other native peoples, were requisitioned as laborers to help build Company settlements. By Russian plan, native barracks were generally separate from Russian quarters. The native barracks were built in the traditional pre-contact *barabara* style, of semi-subterranean sod and driftwood construction, and at the Afognak *artel*, were advantageously set upon the well-drained beach gravels. The difference in construction between the Russian and native *artel* structures was an overt Russian strategy to express status distinctions (Feister 1984; Monks 1992; Staski and Reiter 1996). While these native houses were smaller than the earlier Koniag pre-contact structures, the continuation of Alutiiq houseforms implies that the Russians allowed Alutiiq traditions to persist. Living within similar material and architectural surroundings no doubt encouraged a sense of corporateness among the Alutiiq laborers, just as it did among the slaves of the American south and the Irish under British rule (Zuckerman 1987; Canny 1987; Stevenson 1989; Ferguson 1992).

Not only did the Alutiiq at the Afognak *artel* continue to live in their traditional houses, but their daily life and material conditions truly differed from that of the Russians. For many historical archaeologists, material culture not only evidences past human behavior, but the artifacts themselves both reflect and create social relationships (Deetz 1977; Hodder 1982; Leone 1988). The Russians depended on the Kodiak natives for their labor to support the north Pacific fur trade; it was the Alutiiq who were reknowned for their expertise and skill in hunting sea mammals, particularly the sea otter (Gibson 1987). While the Russian American Company aimed to change the traditional Alutiiq division of labor, it is clear that these changes really were an intensification of traditional tasks. Evidence from the Afognak *artel* is more than suggestive.

To identify particular artifacts with ethnic groups is not a new phenomenon in archaeology; such studies must prove spatial and chronological correlations (Wilkie 1996; Stine et al. 1996). Strong ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence from the *artel* suggests that artifacts associated with sea mammal hunting and fishing are Alutiiq (Lisianski 1968; Davydov in Pierce 1976; Gideon in Black 1977). Correspondingly, at the Afognak *artel*, all of the harpoons, socket pieces, fish hook shanks and sea otter darts were found in spatial contexts that were clearly Alutiiq (House 5, Midden 5) or outside structures that may have been jointly used by the Alutiiq and Russians (Midden 2, Midden 7). All items associated with sea mammal hunting are of traditional form and material; the association of these tools with ethnohistorically-identified Alutiiq male tasks suggests that these items, and others, deserve further attention for their potential engendered meanings. Some of the harpoons are even distinguished by traditional Alutiiq ownership marks, such as those seen in earlier Kodiak archipelago collections. In order to be paid for their quarry, laborers needed to prove that the weapon that killed the animal was theirs. Payment was also ethnically relative - during the early nineteenth century, Russians paid the laborers in lengths of beads; ethnohistorical texts and archaeological data confirm that the Alutiiq were highly selective for red, white and black, suggesting that beads themselves, while of European material and form, may be indicators of ethnic identity (Davydov in Pierce 1976; Gideon in Black 1977; Hammel 1983; Schapiro 1988; Crowell 1994; Stine et al. 1996). Therefore, on a daily basis, through hunting and payment, the hunters were reminded of their status as Alutiiq laborers within the Russian American community.

In both Alutiiq male and female cases, while the "lexicon" of Alutiiq occupations and tasks remained the same, and indeed, were intensified, the "grammar" of the material culture changed. Researchers of gender relations and the North American fur trade now also focus on women as powerful agents in both the formation and maintenance of native identity and survival. It was native women who were most incorporated into the Russian American sphere; women's intensified activities in the productive and maintenance areas of skin-processing, gathering and fishing actually "fed" the fur trade (Gibson 1987; Perry 1973; Woodhouse-Beyer 1995). While Alutiiq men were off to the hunt more than ten months of the year, it was the Alutiiq women who maintained the *artel* settlements. They passed on Alutiiq traditions to their children by molding Alutiiq tasks and values through their everyday activities. As the Russians failed at their attempts to promote agriculture and were chronically undersupplied, it is likely that women also continued to prepare native foods.

Archaeologically, how are these processes evident in the archaeological record of the Afognak *artel*? In the Supervisor's House, we have identified several spatially discrete areas in which ethnohistorically-identified Alutiiq woman's tasks, skin processing and sewing, are archaeologically visible. In addition to traditional ground slate *ulus* (women's knives), sinew thread and hammerstones, we have also found copper alloy thimbles. Left behind at the *artels*, Alutiiq women had more access to luxury goods than their male counterparts; elsewhere, I suggest that changes in gender relations in the Russian American period led to socioeconomic change for the Alutiiq. This led to more opportunities for women to gain status within both Russian and Alutiiq ideologies. Therefore, while Alutiiq material culture may look like what some have described as acculturation or assimilation, these "new" artifacts continue to be utilized within traditional Alutiiq comptetion for status. While nowhere on the site do we find evidence of traditional cottonwood bowl and spruce baskets, we do find ceramics - nearly all of which are teacups and saucers; several scholars have noted the association between tea services and women's status acquisition (Burley 1989; Wall 1991; Jackson 1994). On one example, a pearlware plate, there is even evidence of Alutiiq use - it was repaired in the traditional Alutiiq manner - by drilling holes. While Alutiiq women also were left in charge of children while the men went hunting, a toy bow and a starter labret recovered in the area of the native barracks are evidence that Alutiiq mothers continued to transmit Alutiiq traditions. The Alutiiq case study adds to an increasing number of contact period studies which demonstrate that women, more than men, were the conservators of the traditional culture even while incorporating new goods(Deetz 1963; Deagan 1983; Burley 1989).

Alutiiq identity in Russian America was not only transmitted through architecture and artifacts, but also through interactions between people. Through intermarriage with Russian officers, a practice that was encouraged by the Russian American Company, Alutiiq women not only had access to luxury goods, but had the power to produce a new socio-economic class - the Creoles. Creoles were educated at the expense of the Company, and often served as skilled laborers, clerks and middle-level managers. While the Creole population of Russian America was small during the first years after contact, they steadily increased in number. In 1818, Russians numbered 450 and the creole population at 280; by the 1860s, Russians in the colonies numbered a mere 66, while out of 1081 natives, 431 men and 481 women were classified as Creoles (Workman and Clark 1979). Creolization, and the formation of creoles as a sort of ethnic buffer between full-blooded natives and Europeans, effected profound changes on concepts of citizenship and the allocation of resources, power and prestige (Cohen 1974). Being a Creole in Russian America certainly had its advantages, and to express oneself as a Creole meant access to power and resources that the other Aleuts were denied.

It is through the process of creolization, in its more general usage, that the Alutiiq culture maintained its old identity by combining diverse elements in new forms. This hybridity took place all over the Russian American sphere of influence, but most particularly at its margins and frontiers, the smaller Company settlements and *artels*. I believe we can identify this process at the Afognak *artel*, where some houses are native in form, but combine new and old elements. House 7 is of sod and driftwood construction and contains a native style hearth, such as the ones commonly recovered at a nearby prehistoric site dating 300 years before Russian arrival. Yet the structure also contains a Russian-style chimney and artifacts that are wholly Eurorussian. Directly outside the structure is an associated midden which contains a number of traditional harpoons found together with items of Eurorussian manufacture; one artifact displays a mixing of cultural elements: an incised slate stone with Cyrillic writing and an Alutiiq-style head. This architectural and material culture hybridity, especially when viewed in the context of the other clearly Russian and native houses at the *artel*, does acquire greater significance through a survey of the relevant texts. Interestingly, one of the first planned Creole villages in Russian America was located directly across the river at Afognak Village, established in 1840 - the same time that the Afognak *artel* was abandoned (Workman and Clark 1979; Dymytryshyn and Crownhart Vaughan 1979).

CONCLUSION

William Sturtevant, speaking of the Seminole, coined the term ethnogenesis to explain the emergence of an ethnic identity in opposition to a dominant group (Hill 1996). Ethnic groups use ethnogenesis as a creative adaptation to avoid demographic collapse or enslavement. The term ethnogenesis has been substituted for earlier foci of acculturation, which has been criticized for its view of cultures as bounded and static, and cultural change as linear. I see the term as no different from creolization: when two groups come into contact to exchange cultural materials, they select certain cultural elements and combine them in dynamic ways. Doing so, they may revitalize traditional culture, forge new alliances, and even appropriate European symbols of power. There is an ongoing, relational struggle to maintain and recreate identity, particularly in regard to other cultural groups doing the same.

In conclusion, I believe that the Alutiiq, who before Russian contact had, to our anthropological understanding, no geographical or social unity beyond the settlement per se, came to identify themselves as Alutiiq in relation to larger socio-economic and political processes during the Russian American period. This identification was the result of their classification by the Russians as Aleuts and Creoles, as well as e ever-present architectural and material culture reminders that they were not Russian. In the face of incorporation by a larger entity, an Alutiiq community was created that went beyond that of space and settlement alone. A common identity was forged from selected traditional and Eurorussian traits that were, within both Alutiiq and Russian ideologies, deemed advantageous to possess (Herskovits 1962; Hodder 1992). While the Russians strove to enforce and legitimize their dominance through metaphors and boundaries of space, material culture and classification systems, what they achieved was to actually promote the unity, the "we-ness", of those they had hoped to assimilate.

As archaeologists we must aim to approach our future investigations of ethnic identity with rigor. Archaeological research should be designed to investigate sites both extensively, and intensively as well as to target sites at both the community and household levels (Deagan 1983; Psyzczyk 1989; Stevenson 1989; Cusick 1995). These studies might be more productive if situated within historical or political contexts when ethnic identification determined survival. Examination of historical texts and oral histories may identify material culture traits and patterns important in ethnic identification; in turn, archaeology may illustrate the ways in which identity may vary within and between groups as well as overlap with gender and class variables. I believe that as archaeologists the onus is upon us to work on ways to separate out the many layers of variability in the archaeological record in order to investigate the material correlates of ethnic identity; yet if we view ethnicity as dynamic, we should not expect a one to one correlation between material culture and ethnic identification; we must expect that artifacts will have different meanings depending on their social and historical contexts (Upton 1996; Praetzellis et al. 1987). It is likely that we will never know from archaeology how people, particularly minority groups, actually perceived themselves in relation to colonizing groups; in other words, no text exists that explains whether native people utilizing European-style houseforms and material culture perceived themselves to be Alutiiq; however, as archaeologists we *can* investigate the material culture building blocks which may have been instrumental in forming and maintaining ethnic identity through contextual studies of site and text.

Today the Alutiiq of the Afognak Native Corporation have used the findings of archaeology to both recover aspects of the Alutiiq tradition as well as to set a course for Alutiiq culture in the present and future (Jones 1997). I do not subscribe to the theory that this development represents what some have called "invented identity" as from my situated understanding, this would assume that identity is a bounded and continuous "entity". The contemporary Alutiiq root their identity in both the past and the present - with an eye to the future. Today the Alutiiq still actively maintain their cultural boundaries by selecting certain Alutiiq symbols, building blocks if you will, - the lighting of the oil lamp, the practice of traditional crafts, and the tradition of subsistence, particularly, salmon fishing. To view the Alutiiq is to see a people with a strong sense of community based on conceptions of shared kinship and history; Alutiiq identity is a product of survival strategy, an ongoing process of self-definition and transcendance.

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Framing the Scholar: K. J. Dover and Greek Homosexuality

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The idea for this paper arose from my reading Part III, "Special Aspects and Developments" in Kenneth Dover's book *Greek Homosexuality*, published in 1978 (1). Up to that time only three books that I know of, dealing with ancient artifacts and sexuality, had been published in the 1930's. None dealt with the material as graphically as Dover's.

Dover explores the culture of sexuality in ancient Athens first by reviewing extant material about the prosecution of an Athenian named Timarkhos, who was accused of prostitution, and then discussing aspects of sexuality during that period. While the author's focus is primarily about homosexuality, he deals with such issues as "the manifestation of Eros," nature and society, including impulse, physique and style, courtship, dominancy and subordination, and both comic and philosophic exploitation.

Part III of Dover's book presents over ninety pictures of vases that portray sexual situations regarding young or old men, homosexual encounters, primarily among males and some females, heterosexual pairings, portrayals of gods and/or satyrs in different sexual poses. Dover's presentation seems to be based on a hierarchy of the figures portrayed on the vases. He uses terms to describe the active participant in a sexual encounter as the figure with power. *Erastes* is the term used for the active participant. The passive participant, the figure without power, is the *eromenos*. As I read this section and looked at the plates, I had the sense of looking at a catalogue. The plates are one large section in the center of the book and interrupt the flow of text. Next to each plate shown is an identification number and a brief phrase that describes the sexual content of the picture. An appendix classifies the vases by the century in which it was produced, its current location, and references to standard works. No information about provenience is included.

Discussion about the plates is limited to a running description of sexual context contained in the exemplars. There is little analysis. Some examples of the captions for the lates are as follows:

"a naked man with an unusual amount of body hair"
"a youth dresses"
"a man whose penis is much larger than that of the youth in the right top"
"a standing youth with small genitals and a seated man (vomiting) with larger genitals"
"A boy washes. Note the prominence of his genitals."
"Youths court boys, whose degree of resistance varies. Note that some dark-haired and others blond"
"A hairy satyr masturbates while pushing a penis substitute into his own anus"
"Satyrs enjoy fellation and anal copulation"
"A man courts a boy, and a boy responds affectionately to a man's courtship"
"A man courts a youth of massive physique"

I was astonished at my own reaction of surprise to these plates when I first read the book. I found myself asking the following questions: Why is Dover presenting these en masse? Is he trying to shock me? Did he mean to present these plates as a catalogue? What is trying to convey?

These questions prompted me to learn more about Dover's identity and his scholarly interests in producing his book. From his autobiography *Marginal Comment* , published in 1996, I learned that as a young teenager, he had developed an abiding curiousity in languages and their structure and for fun had taught himself several esoteric African and Pacific dialects (2). It was his intention to study linguistics at Oxford. He found that subject boring but was exhilerated by learning the Greek language. He turned instead to the study of papyrology. Dover credits Russell Meiggs with learning how to approach the study of ancient texts. That is, one must "begin with the inscriptions, construct historical hypotheses to account for this stone, bearing these words, [and] found here... and then to see how the historiography of the time fitted... [but] never for a moment to forget that the people whose activities [he]... [studied] were real... [and] to put [himself] into their place."(3) It is fair to infer that Dover uses this precept as a basis for his studying the vases.

I had assumed that Dover was an archaeologist because of the extensive use of pottery in his book. I asked myself,

should I have known something about him before reading the book? In what way did his training effect his perspective on the subject? What level of experience should I expect a scholar to have to merit study? What do I as the student need to know to penetrate scholarly veracity, perspective, or predisposition, all of which inform scholarship?

In his preface to *Greek Homosexuality*, Dover claims his objective is "modest and limited": to describe what homosexual behaviour and sentiment were in ancient Greek art. Further detailed or specialized exploration he would leave to others (4).

The book was considered a major milestone when it was first released in 1978, and its reception was essentially positive. There were several mixed reviews. One described Dover as "well known... for his painstaking and controversial assessment of ancient Greek... mores.... [and that the book] is now the standard volume on the subject.... [however it does suffer] from an irritating hesitancy: the author never quite gives us what he thinks about all the materials at hand." (5)

Another noted Dover's valiant attempt to stick as far as possible to "hard" data but provides only "a selective catalogue which fails to indicate provenience, subject, and shape, [and therefore] is not much use to the reader who wishes to ask further questions. .." (6)

Dover's handling of the literary evidence is questioned as is his interpretation of the relationship between the erastes and the eromenos. If the book is directed to the classicist, one reviewer suggested that Dover should have provided "a better summary of past work." Further criticisms from this reviewer were that Dover's stated aim is unsatisfactory, the individual topics insufficiently documented, and the book is too often misleading and not for the casual reader. (7)

Who was Dover's intended audience? Classicist or archaeologist? Because of the cross-over between the two disciplines, should a book of this kind have been written with either one or both audiences in mind?

Bernard Knox reviewed Dover's autobiography. He describes Dover as "fierce and sometimes embarrasing[ly] honest" and adds that "Dover's frankness will be no surprise to those who, familiar with his pioneering work on Greek homosexuality,... know that he is a man who never shrinks from calling a spade a spade. ..." (8)

Perhaps it is because Kenneth Dover may see himself as direct, honest, and uncaring of what the larger world might say about him, that he was motivated to publish Greek Homosexuality. This directness has a flaunting quality in this book and in his autobiography. In a discussion of postmodernism, Terry Eagleton provides an interesting evaluation of Michel Foucault and his style, one which I believe has direct bearing on my reaction to reading Dover. Eagleton suggests that the scrupulous and non-judgemental nature of Foucault's style is purged of the least hint of normativity: "This stylistic mode is not far at times from a certain perverse eroticism, as the most sensational materials. .. are mediated through a distanced, dispassionate tone. ... Pressed to an extreme, such a conflation of clinicism and sensationalism is the stuff of pornography, which is not to suggest that Foucault's own writing is pornographic." (9)

Dover's tone is similarly distanced and dispassionate; it invests both the book on Greek homosexuality and his autobiography with an aura of self-consciousness. Perhaps it is my sense of his self-consciousness that accounts for my questioning his method of presenting the vases. It strikes me as a calculated attempt at objectivity to remove the personal, that is, any hint of his own identity from our view. In fact it had the opposite effect on me.

Certainly our disciplines encourage the consideration of objective information only. But I wonder how a scholar can retain such objective purity in presenting his or her views. I ask the question, where does scholarly intuition or bias begin? Are they on a different plane entirely, or do they converge?

Dover described the method he chose to use when he was writing the book on homosexuality. By emphasizing one element in Greek sexual life he would answer questions about Greek society in general. His descriptions would be based on what was most easily and clearly observable. He would offer such explanations as are prompted by everday experience. Above all, however, he would attempt to restrain himself from not speculating at more theoretical levels. (10)

But which Greek society? Whose everday experience? Was homosexuality pervasive at all levels of Greek society, or

did it apply only to certain strata? Is the existence of the vases and the surviving literature conclusive in our understanding of Greek society? Perhaps my own limited knowledge of Greek archaeology and ancient Greek customs inhibits my unconditional acceptance of Dover's claim of pervasiveness. (11)

The cultural historian Linda Nead has some pertinent ideas on aesthetics and pornography. In her elaboration of an idea suggested by the anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu, she states that people's cultural tastes and preferences are determined by their upbringing and education. Taste, therefore, functions as an index of social class.(12) Those of us who have the ability "to decode the formal elements of an image... [possess] cultural power." (13)

In the presentation of these plates, does Dover's book have that appearance of pornography which Eagleton ascribes to Foucault? Is the book indicative of his, or our, own higher cultural standing? Both Bourdieu and Nead suggest that legitimacy ñ known also as high culture ñ is... constituted through the denial of lower vulgar or venal enjoyment and the assertion of sublimated, refined, and disinterested pleasure. (14) If Dover is attempting to push us to look at the vases in their "pure" form and view them as if we were in ancient Greece and not in the twentieth century, I would have liked him to say so directly. The omission makes me think that the issue is one of power and not of sexual orientation. Bernard Knox refers to Dover's frankness and his willingness to say whatever he thinks. (15) As a respected scholar, he has great freedom to do so and to exert his influence as he presents the vases in the way that he does. As students in the privileged society of academia, we are given the opportunity to look at work that might be construed as pornographic elsewhere. Within our academic community we can appreciate erotic art as high culture.

Pierre Bourdieu suggests that from this superior view of culture we can experience pleasures that are disinterested, refined, and gratuitous ñ and that these are pleasures we might deny to those in a lower social order. (16) In that regard, it is interesting to me that Dover sees sexual relationships in ancient Greece as the pursuit of those of lower status by those of higher status.(17)(18) A review of the book criticizes Dover for his tendency to "trivialize the Greek homosexual experience by isolating sexual behavior from its cultural context... and by focusing primarily on the 'common man's' view of homosexual practices." (19)

It is unclear how these vases were viewed by the ancient Greeks. Were they created to reflect all Greek society? Or were they used merely satirically or ironically? Somehow, Dover's presentation of material from an ancient society gives this material the embodiment of high culture. Yet the style of his presentation and his classification suggests to me the conscious removal of himself from the material at hand. Even though that was his stated goal, I would have liked more rather than less of his opinions about the material. I was left instead with the sense of being an unwitting participant in a game of objects and observations.

Dover sees the eromenos as being possessed and held in a frame of the erastes' construction. To what degree does Dover's collection reflect his identity or how he presents the identity of the figures on the vases? I offer the suggestion that perhaps Dover is the erastes and his study the eromenos. Is this how scholars perceive their work?

The question remains of how objective Dover, or I, can be in appraising the subject matter. It is praiseworthy that he presented the material so it can be discussed. But there still remains the issue of art and pornography.

I see them being defined here in terms of quality, ownership, and access. Does the mere existence of the book collapse the opposition between art and pornography, or does it rest on the reader's perception? Does the scholar have responsibility to do more than a catalogue of work, or should he analyze what he presents?

Aristotle suggests that a unified form is integrally bound with perception of the self and the construction of an individual identity. (20) I wonder how possible it is today to rationalize the perception of the original vases and their subject matter and construct the identity of the subjects on the vases, the artisans who made them, or of those who may have commissioned their creation. I end with a question: is there an objective validity about an ancient society that can be attained by a scholar in the twentieth century viewing objects made more than two thousand years before?

Notes

1 Dover, K. J. *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass. 1989, 1978) 111-184. Hereafter referred to as Dover GH.

2 Dover, K. J. *Marginal Comment: A Memoir* (London 1994) 22-24. Hereafter referred to as Dover MC.

3 Dover MC (supra n. 2) 59.

4 Dover GH (supra n. 1) vii.

5 J. Scarborough, rev. of *Greek Homosexuality*, by K. J. Dover. AHR, 84 (1979) 1028-29.

6 S. C. Humphreys, rev. of *Greek Homosexuality*, by K. J. Dover. CR, 30 (1980) 61-64.

7 N. Demand, rev. of *Greek Homosexuality*, by K. J. Dover. AJP, 101 (1980) 121-124.

8 B. Knox. "Habeus Corpus." rev. of *Marginal Comment*, by K. J. Dover. The Times Literary Supplement 13 Jan. 1995. 22.

9 Eagleton, T. *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford 1990) 384.

10 Dover GH (supra n. 1) viii.

11 Dover GH (supra n. 1) 1-3.

12 Nead, L. in *The Female Nude. Art, Obscenity, and Sexuality* (London and New York: 1992) 83.

13 Nead (supra n. 12) Ibid.

14 Nead (supra n. 12i) 84.

15 Knox (supra n. 8) 22.

16 Bourdieu, P. *Distinction.* (Cambridge, 1984) 7.

17 Dover GH (supra n. 1) 84.

18 As an interesting aside: in his book *The Maculate Muse* on obscene language and Attic comedy, Jeffrey Henderson discusses the differences between ancient Greek society and our own regarding obscenity. The ancient Greeks used expressions of obscenity in drama, for instance, to deal with anger and aggression. However, they were more concerned about "the shame of exposure." Apparently, obscenities in language and art were viewed as permissible as long as the Greeks could be spectators and shame was not attached to family members. See J. Henderson, "Introduction" and "Obscene Language and the Development of Attic Comedy" in The Maculate Muse (New Haven and London, 1975) ix-xii, 1-29.

It is striking to me that Dover strives to be direct and honest, even using the four-letter Anglo-Saxon word when he discusses in his autobiography his sexual relationship with his wife. It is likely that the ancient Greeks (and most people today) would have resisted exposing themselves (and their wives) in this way. As I was looking through Henderson, I had the idea that somehow Dover developed his "honesty" as a result of his readings in Greek literature when he was a student. Perhaps describing the quality of his sexual life is not seen by him as shameful. And I would agree it is not obscene. However, there does seem to be an element of the exhibitionism in his style. See Dover MC (supra n. 2) 243.

19 Ungaretti, J. R. "De-Moralizing Morality: Where Dover's Greek Homosexuality Leaves Us." rev. of *Greek Homosexuality* by K. J. Dover. JH 8.1 (1982) 1.

20 Nead (supra n. 12) 7.

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