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W.-D. NIEMEIER – O. PILZ – I. KAISER (HRSG.)

● KRETA IN DER GEOMETRISCHEN
UND ARCHAISCHEN ZEIT

Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums
am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen
27.–29. Januar 2006

JAMES WHITLEY

The Cretan Orientalizing. A comparative perspective

PDF-Dokument des gedruckten Beitrags

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ATHENAIA

Band 2



W.-D. Niemeier – O. Pilz – I. Kaiser (Hrsg.)

Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit

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To the memory of John Nicholas Coldstream

Umschlagbilder

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VORWORT UND EINLEITENDE BEMERKUNGEN

Vorwort

Die Idee zu dem Kolloquium, dessen Akten hier vorgelegt werden, ist entstanden, als wir feststellen mussten, dass in den letzten Jahrzehnten zwar viel neue Literatur zur frühen Eisenzeit Kretas, in der die Insel eine führende Rolle in der griechischen Welt spielte, erschienen ist, aber gerade jüngeren Wissenschaftlern, die sich mit diesem Themenbereich beschäftigen, nur wenige Möglichkeiten geboten wurden, ihre Ideen zu präsentieren und zur Diskussion zu stellen. Hier sollte das Kolloquium ansetzen und die Plattform für einen Dialog bieten, den es bis dahin in dieser Form nicht gegeben hatte. Obwohl die ursprüngliche Idee darin bestand, einen kleinen Workshop für Nachwuchswissenschaftler zu veranstalten, wurde auf Anraten von Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier beschlossen, auch die renommierten Vertreter der archäologischen und historischen Forschung mit einzubeziehen. Dass dies die richtige Entscheidung war, zeigt, so hoffen wir, die vorliegende Publikation. Durch den Dialog verschiedener Forschergenerationen ist ein reflektiertes Bild entstanden, das den derzeitigen Forschungsstand in umfassender Weise widerspiegelt.

Wie der Titel besagt, zielte das Kolloquium nicht auf einen bestimmten thematischen Aspekt ab, sondern hat lediglich den zeitlichen Rahmen abgesteckt. Somit enthält der vorliegende Band einerseits neue Grabungsergebnisse, andererseits aber auch Beiträge, die sich mit der Rückbesinnung auf das minoische Erbe, den Beziehungen zum Orient, der Entstehung der Polis, dem Schriftgebrauch, der Religion und den Mythen sowie der Kunstproduktion beschäftigen. Die Vernetzung dieser einzelnen Aspekte sowohl im regionalen kretischen Zusammenhang als auch im innergriechischen bzw. mediterranen Kontext ist ein wichtiges Ergebnis des vorliegenden Bandes.

Herzlich danken wir allen Referenten für ihre in Athen vorgetragenen Beiträge und deren schriftliche Fassung für den Druck. Des Weiteren sei allen Teilnehmern für ihre unermüdliche Diskussionsbereitschaft gedankt, die ganz wesentlich zum Gelingen des Kolloquiums beigetragen hat. Allen Mitarbeitern an der Abteilung Athen, insbesondere Astrid Lindenlauf und Sascha Maul, danken wir für ihre tatkräftige Unterstützung bei der Organisation und Durchführung der Tagung. Der Gerda Henkel Stiftung schulden wir Dank für die großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung, die das Kolloquium in dieser Form überhaupt erst ermöglicht hat. Darüber hinaus übernahm die Gerda Henkel Stiftung auch einen Teil der Druckkosten der vorliegenden Publikation. Die englischsprachigen Beiträge wurden von Caitlin D. Verfenstein in bewährter Weise redigiert. Kerstin Helf fertigte dankenswerterweise eine Abschrift des maschinenschriftlichen Manuskriptes des Beitrags von J. Nicolas Coldstream (+) an. Nicht zuletzt gilt unser Dank Peter Baumeister, der 2009 die redaktionelle Bearbeitung übernommen und zügig zum Abschluss gebracht hat.

Gewidmet sei der Band dem Andenken von J. Nicolas Coldstream. Nicht nur sein wegweisender Abendvortrag »Geometric and Archaic Crete: A Hunt for the Elusive Polis«, sondern auch seine äußerst kenntnisreichen Diskussionsbeiträge, die er seiner ruhigen Wesensart gemäß stets sachlich und ohne jede Polemik vortrug, haben uns – und hier glauben wir für alle Teilnehmer sprechen zu können – tief beeindruckt. Sein Tod hat uns schmerzlich berührt und hinterlässt in vieler Hinsicht eine nicht wieder zu schließende Lücke.

Einleitende Bemerkungen

Bei der archäologischen Erforschung der Kultur der Insel Kreta standen bis in die jüngere Zeit hinein die bronzezeitlichen Entwicklungsphasen deutlich im Vordergrund. Eine der Hauptursachen hierfür bildete die frühe Entdeckung der ›minoischen‹ Palastkultur bei den von Arthur Evans im Jahr 1900 begonnenen Grabungen in Knossos. Nicht nur die eindrucksvolle architektonische Gestalt der Paläste, sondern auch die überaus reiche und vielfältige künstlerische Produktion der minoischen Kultur und deren Einfluss auf die mykenische Kultur des griechischen Festlandes hat zunächst ein nur begrenztes Interesse an der Kultur und Geschichte des nachbronzezeitlichen Kreta aufkommen lassen.

Wie die Forschung gerade in den letzten Jahrzehnten zunehmend erkannt hat, spielte die Insel aber auch im 10. bis 7. Jh. v. Chr. im Entstehungsprozess der griechischen Kultur der historischen Zeit eine bedeutende Rolle. Eine wichtige Voraussetzung hierfür bildete zweifelsohne die strategisch günstige Position der Insel am Schnittpunkt zahlreicher Handels- und Kommunikationswege im östlichen Mittelmeer, der es zu verdanken ist, dass sich die auswärtigen Kontakte der Insel nach dem Zusammenbruch der bronzezeitlichen Palastkultur bereits in der protogeometrischen Zeit erneut intensiviert haben. Dadurch wurde vielfältigen Einflüssen insbesondere aus der Levante und dem Vorderen Orient deutlich früher als auf dem griechischen Festland der Weg bereitet. Später, im 7. Jh. v. Chr., gingen beispielsweise die Impulse zur Entstehung der griechischen Großplastik und zur Ausstattung von Tempeln mit Skulpturenschmuck von Kreta aus. Auch in politischer Hinsicht ist die Entwicklung auf Kreta im frühen 1. Jt. v. Chr. hoch bedeutsam, bilden sich doch in diesem Zeitraum soziale Strukturen und Institutionen heraus, die zumindest teilweise bereits auf die im 8. Jh. v. Chr. entstehende Polis vorausweisen.

Das internationale Kolloquium ›Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit‹, das vom 27. bis 29. Januar 2006 an der Abteilung Athen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts stattfand und dessen Akten in diesem Band vorgelegt sind, war die bisher erste Tagung überhaupt, die sich so umfassend mit diesem für die Insel so wichtigen Zeitraum auseinandergesetzt hat. Aufgrund der inhaltlich weitgehend offenen Konzeption des Kolloquiums deckt auch die Publikation der Beiträge ein breites Themenspektrum ab, ohne deswegen an Fokussierung auf die Kernproblematik einzubüßen: den komplexen Übergangsprozess von den soziopolitischen Strukturen der ausgehenden Bronzezeit zur griechischen Polisgesellschaft. Die insgesamt 32 Beiträge beleuchten diese Entwicklung zwar in erster Linie aus archäologischer Perspektive, jedoch kommt beispielsweise in den Beiträgen von A. Chanotis und F. Guizzi durchaus auch die althistorische Sicht zur Geltung.

Innerhalb des Bandes sind die einzelnen Beiträge zu thematischen Gruppen zusammengefasst. Mit zehn Beiträgen nimmt die Präsentation neuer archäologischer und topographischer Forschungen sowie die Publikation von Funden und Befunden aus älteren Grabungen einen wichtigen Platz ein. Hervorzuheben sind hier insbesondere der konzise Überblick über die Ergebnisse der 2006 abgeschlossenen amerikanischen Grabung in der Siedlung von Azoria sowie die Publikation der geometrischen Nekropole von Eltynia. Mit dem Erscheinen des Kolloquiumsbandes verbreitert sich die Materialbasis für die weitere Auseinandersetzung mit dem geometrischen und archaischen Kreta somit entscheidend.

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bilden Beiträge, die sich gezielt mit einzelnen Gattungen der handwerklich-künstlerischen Produktion Kretas im fraglichen Zeitraum auseinandersetzen. Naturgemäß nimmt hier besonders die Keramik breiten Raum ein. Dass der Erschließungsaspekt wiederum eine wichtige Rolle spielt, wird u. a. am Beitrag über die Keramikfunde aus dem Haus Γ auf dem Hügel Nisi in Eleutherna deutlich, einer möglichen Töpferwerkstatt der geometrischen Zeit.

Eine weitere Gruppe von vier Aufsätzen, die einen stärker synthetischen Ansatz verfolgen, widmet sich dem Problem der Entstehung der Polis auf Kreta, so u. a. der möglichen Rolle von Synoikismen im Prozess der Siedlungsverdichtung, der mit der Genese der Polis einhergeht. Daran schließen

sich je zwei Beiträge an, die Heiligtümer und Kulte auf Kreta bzw. Darstellungen von Mythen in der kretischen Kunst in den Blick nehmen. Die folgenden drei Aufsätze stellen verschiedene Teilaspekte der kretischen Kultur, beispielsweise den Schriftgebrauch und die Hausarchitektur, in den gesamtgriechischen Kontext. Den Abschluss des Bandes bilden zwei Beiträge, die thematisch über den griechischen Bereich hinausgreifen, indem sie die Beziehungen Kretas zum Vorderen Orient untersuchen. Hierbei ist der wegweisende Beitrag zum Bronzegürtel und -köcher aus Fortetsa hervorzuheben.

Der Tatsache, dass die Tagung bewusst als Kolloquium konzipiert war, trägt die Publikation insofern Rechnung, als die teilweise ausführliche Diskussion zu den einzelnen Beiträgen in den Band aufgenommen wurde. Die Diskussion vertieft nicht nur einzelne Aspekte, sondern eröffnet vielfach neue Perspektiven auf die jeweiligen Sachverhalte. Dass das Athener Kolloquium einen entscheidenden Anstoß zur Beschäftigung mit den bisher stark vernachlässigten nachbronzezeitlichen Entwicklungsphasen Kretas geliefert hat, wird daran deutlich, dass sich die Forschungsdiskussion seither intensiviert hat. Die Akten des Kolloquiums spiegeln den derzeitigen Forschungsstand zu Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit in umfassender Weise wider. Aufgrund dieser thematischen Breite steht zu hoffen, dass sich der Band als Referenzwerk für die weitere Auseinandersetzung mit der materiellen Kultur und soziopolitischen Entwicklung im geometrisch-archaischen Kreta etablieren und der Forschung weitere wichtige Impulse geben wird.

W.-D. Niemeier, O. Pilz, I. Kaiser

THE CRETAN ORIENTALIZING

A comparative perspective

Introduction

Like many papers in the conference, I will be talking about the Orientalizing, and how a process we should perhaps call Orientalization manifested itself in Crete as compared to other parts of Greece in the period 950–600 B.C. This will not however be a paper thick with new facts, and new examples. In my defence, I argue that the concept itself is much more problematic than previous scholars have allowed.

What do we mean by the term ›Orientalizing‹? There are several possible answers to this question, all of which acknowledge Greece's debt to the civilisations of Egypt and the Near East. First, the Orientalizing has traditionally been seen as a *phase* in the development of Greek art and material culture, a phase largely confined to the seventh century B.C. As well as a phase, the Orientalizing has also been seen as a particular *style*, one marked by the adoption of techniques and motifs from Levantine metalwork to the surface, painted decoration of Greek ceramic vessels. It is in these two related senses that ›Orientalizing‹ is used in most histories of Greek art, and most accounts of the archaeology and history of early Greece. Third, the Orientalizing has been seen as a *revolution*, most notably by W. Burkert¹ – a cultural revolution that required extensive borrowing not only of specific techniques and motifs, but

a whole range of ideas, stories and technologies. As a revolution, it too had a specific time frame; it began in the late eighth century, and had ended by around 600 B.C. As either phase, style or revolution, the ›Orientalizing‹ has had a particular role to play in various narrative accounts of Early Greek art, history and culture – the role of a catalyst. It was that touch of oriental spice (or perhaps that drop of perfumed oil) that acted as the extra, exotic ingredient that helped to create that unique mix we think of as ›Greek culture‹ of late Archaic and Classical times. Neither R. Cook², nor M. Robertson³ devote much space to this phenomenon, because what interested them was what came after, since it is what came after that can be considered uniquely Greek, truly Hellenic.

This view of the Orientalizing shared between M. Robertson and R. Cook, that is the idea that it is a phase with a definable beginning and definable end largely confined to the seventh century B.C., has been under some strain for some time. As early as the 1950s, T. J. Dunbabin⁴ was placing the phenomenon in the context of a variety of encounters between ›the Greeks and their Eastern neighbours‹. J. Boardman⁵, who continued T. J. Dunbabin's line of enquiry in ›The Greeks Overseas‹ was forced, by the very evidence he set out to examine, to look either side of the seventh century – his account ends with the

I would like to thank Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, Oliver Pilz and Ivonne Kaiser for inviting me to participate in this conference, and Ivonne Kaiser for sharing her thoughts (and offprints) on Protogeometric B. I would also like to thank the British School at Athens and the American Journal of Archaeology for permission to reproduce images.

List of special abbreviations:

PG	Protogeometric	Fortetsa (+ number)	Object from the Fortetsa tombs, as listed by Brock 1957
PGB	Protogeometric B		
EG	Early Geometric	Teke (+ number)	Object from the Teke tombs in the Knossos North Cemetery, as listed by Coldstream and Catling 1996
MG	Middle Geometric		
LG	Late Geometric		
EO	Early Orientalizing	KMF (+ number)	Object from the Crete Medical Faculty site of the Knossos North Cemetery, as listed by Coldstream and Catling 1996.
LO	Late Orientalizing		
LM	Late Minoan		

¹ Burkert 1992.

² Cook 1972, 41–46.

³ Robertson 1975, 21–33.

⁴ Dunbabin 1957.

⁵ Boardman 1980.

Battle of Plataia. More recently, M. West⁶ has shown that ›Greek literature‹ owes much to the literature of the Near East, and that such borrowing must have started much earlier than previously thought; and the work of M. Bernal⁷ (whatever we may think of it) and S. Morris⁸ has forced scholars to recognise that ›the Orientalizing‹ has Bronze Age antecedents. At the other end of the chronological spectrum, M. Miller's work⁹ has encouraged us to reconsider the relationship between Athens and its great ›Eastern Neighbour‹, Persia, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Few would now want to defend the position, still enshrined in the master narratives of a generation ago, that the Orientalizing was merely a necessary, but mercifully brief, flirtation with the un-Hellenic East.

In view of all this, ›the Orientalizing‹ needs to be systematically re-thought, and placed in a wider context. In short, it needs to be *theorized*. In this paper, I want to advance the following propositions:

1) The Orientalizing is a stylistic (epi)phenomenon that represents a cultural *process*; it is not simply a phase. The Orientalizing (the phenomenon) marks Orientalization (the process).

2) Orientalization is a process that begins as early as the late third millennium B.C., and has no clear end (it certainly lasts into Classical times).

3) Orientalization is an example of a wider process we know as *acculturation*. Acculturation represents the selective borrowing of ideas, practices and technologies from one culture and their adaptation by people in another culture or society to suit their own, local tastes, purposes and circumstances.

4) As such, Orientalization must be seen as an active process of engagement with what the Near East had to offer, and a selective one. Greeks were not simply passively ›influenced‹ by the Orient, and there are markedly different patterns of selection of Oriental practices in different parts of Greece. It is also a conscious process, and so (to use the jargon of American social anthropology) in part an emic one.

5) Orientalization must be seen as being as much a social and cultural process as simply one of ›skills transfer‹. So it is the proper object of study for a social, contextual and processual archaeology.

6) We have to think of the ›why‹ as well as the ›how‹, the ›when‹ and the ›what‹ of this process.

These propositions raise a number of wider theoretical issues, which have recently come to the fore in the study of Mediterranean history over the *longue durée*. First is the general problem of acculturation, the general phenomenon of selective borrowing by one culture of the ideas, practices and technologies of another. From one perspective, both the Aegean and more widely the Mediterranean have been subject to several identifiable acculturation processes. The emergence of ›palaces‹ on Crete in the Middle Bronze Age must in part relate to the palace cultures of North Syria and Mesopotamia (Mari and Ebla in particular), even if Cretan palaces seemed to have functioned quite differently from Syrian ones, and this can be seen as an early example of ›Orientalization‹. Within the Aegean, the acculturation process that has been most discussed in recent years is of course ›Minoanization‹¹⁰, a process with contrasting outcomes (or effects) on Kythera and on Thira. Until recently, one could talk confidently about the ›hellenization‹ of the Mediterranean world in the centuries after 800 B.C., a process usually linked to something referred to as ›colonization‹. Both terms have come under critical scrutiny recently, especially in relation to our understanding of what happened in Sicily and Italy between 800 and 500 B.C. These debates have some (indirect) relevance to the subject of this paper, and deserve a digression.

Terms Ancient and Modern

While the debate about ›colonization‹¹¹ and ›colonialism‹¹² is not really germane to this paper, ›hellenization‹ clearly is. This term has been criticised for three reasons. First, there has been a reaction, especially on the part of Etruscan scholars, to the implicit notion of Greek superiority and Italian barbarism – that ›hellenization‹ is simply a case of the grateful acceptance of elements of a superior ›Greek‹ culture by the aesthetically-challenged inhabitants of Latium, Etruria and Campania. Second, ›hellenization‹ seems to be process linked inextricably, and simultaneously, to ›Orientalization‹ – just when the Italians were beginning to pick up the *tessarae* of Hellenism, and incorporate them into their own cultural mosaic, so they persisted, during the seventh and even into the sixth century B.C., in their unfor-

⁶ West 1997.

⁷ Bernal 1991.

⁸ S. P. Morris 1992.

⁹ Miller 1997.

¹⁰ See Broodbank 2004.

¹¹ Osborne 1998.

¹² Gosden 2004.

tunate attraction to things further East. Orientalization and Hellenization seem to have been part of the same process in Early Iron Age Italy, which D. Ridgway¹³ now prefers to call ›interaction‹. Third, doubt has been cast on the idea that this must have been a conscious process of adopting and adapting elements from a recognisable ›Greek‹ source. According to J. Hall¹⁴, a recognisable collective ›Greek‹ or ›Hellenic‹ identity did not emerge until the late sixth century B.C. When, from the eighth to the early sixth century, the Etruscans were borrowing ideas, images and technologies from the Iron Age Aegean, they are unlikely to have been conscious that they were borrowing specifically ›Greek‹ ideas, images and technologies – rather than something generically ›Eastern‹.

In a sense, we have the opposite problem when it comes to Orientalization. Whereas the hellenization of the Western Mediterranean has been seen as something both natural and good, being based first on the inherent superiority of Greek art and culture and second on the natives' growing awareness of this transcendent fact, the Orientalizing has always been viewed as an embarrassment. There is a palpable sense of relief, on the part of many scholars of earlier generations, when they can observe that oriental elements have been properly assimilated within an overwhelmingly Greek cultural matrix. To take one example from a discussion of the ivories from Perachora:

»If we compare the Perachora seals with the equally large collection from Sparta, we see at once that, though their subjects are similar, their style ... is different. The Spartan seals have the undigested conventions of their oriental prototypes still clinging to them, and appear *grotesque and hasty* [emphasis mine], while the best of those from Perachora are alive and carefully finished and *thoroughly Greek* [emphasis mine]«¹⁵.

In this passage, Greek is unequivocally good, whereas oriental is at best problematic. It is a passage that, inadvertently and almost innocently, bears out both E. Said's¹⁶ and M. Bernal's¹⁷ critiques of Western attitudes to ›the Orient‹ – that is ›Orientalism‹. Oriental and its derivatives are loaded terms, terms moreover

that do not correspond very clearly with any concept known to the ancient Greeks. The Greeks knew of no ›Orientals‹ as such; Herodotus distinguished between various peoples of the East (Lydians, Persians, Assyrians, Syrians [Cappadocians], and Egyptians) and mentions *en passant* the Philistines (Palestinians) of Ashkelon (Askalon; Hdt 1, 105); Homer, Hesiod and the lyric poets do distinguish between Egyptians, ›Phoenicians‹ and Babylonians (e.g. Alk fr. 165, 3). But no Greek source that I know of refers to the Aramaeans (they are not Herodotus' Syrians), even though we know that objects of North Syrian manufacture and with Aramaic inscriptions reached both Samos and Eretria in the Archaic period¹⁸.

Modern scholars¹⁹ tend to use the term ›Oriental‹ to describe the people and products of the Levantine arc from Egypt to North Syria and Cilicia – thus excluding the peoples of Anatolia, who are somehow less Eastern. Of course, in the Early Iron Age, the Levantine arc that extends from Cilicia to Egypt embraced a number of peoples, who did not have necessarily much in common with one another. And Greeks took different things from these various peoples – artistic ideas from Egypt, metalworking techniques from North Syria, perfumed oil vessels from Cyprus, and the letters of the alphabet from the Canaanite coast (Phoenicia) itself.

There is then a difficulty in relating our modern ›etic‹ category of the ›Oriental‹ onto the ›emic‹ categories of the ancient Greeks. Relating such categories is a key feature of any understanding of ›Orientalization‹ as a conscious cultural process of selection and adaptation of exotic material culture. This problem is compounded by recent studies of the material culture of the Levant in the Iron Age, which has identified local workshops and styles of ivory- and metal-working in different regions of the Levantine arc. Not all ivories from the Idaean cave, for example, are from Nimrud – some are from Aramaea, and others from Phoenicia²⁰. Similarly there are clear differences in the bronzeworking traditions of Egypt, Phoenicia, Aramaea, North Syria and Cyprus²¹. Following this logic, there was not one ›Orientalizing‹ phenomenon, but several. Systematic comparison, even of the Early Iron Age Aegean, would therefore entail discussion of the relationship between Crete

¹³ Ridgway 2004.

¹⁴ Hall 2002, 125–171.

¹⁵ Stubbings 1962, 411.

¹⁶ Said 1995.

¹⁷ Bernal 1991.

¹⁸ For Samos, see Jantzen 1972, 55–70, esp. 58–62; Kyrieleis – Röllig 1988, no. B 2579 which has the Aramaic inscription. A similar inscription on another piece of North Syrian bronze (a horsefrontlet) is found on Eretria no. B 273; see Charbonnet 1986.

¹⁹ e.g. Whitley 2001, 106–115; but see Dunbabin 1957.

²⁰ See Winter 1976; and most recently Pappalardo forthcoming.

²¹ Matthäus 1985; Matthäus 2000; Winter 1988.

and North Syria, as against Euboea and North Syria, and between Crete and the Canaanite coast and Euboea and the Canaanite coast, and so forth.

Such problems multiply when you consider the broader dimensions of any comparative analysis of this process. Even if it were possible to treat the ›Oriental‹ as a convenient aggregate category, there would still be three possible dimensions to such comparison. First, one may compare different phases within the process, and their respective outcomes. A systematic comparison of Orientalization in the middle Bronze Age (which must be a factor in the origins of the Cretan palaces) and the Early Iron Age would be a very useful exercise. Similarly, one could compare this process to another (hellenization, or Minoanization). And finally, one could compare regional variations, and regional outcomes of this process within the Aegean during one specific time frame.

It is this, more limited, enterprise that has been attempted here. However desirable a multiple comparison of the various regions of both the Levant and the Aegean in the Iron Age might be, the task is too large for this short paper. And there is at least a *prima facie* case for classifying all the material that came from here as generically Oriental, for three reasons. First, because the craftsmen of these regions borrowed extensively from each other, and produced a variety of hybrid art styles whose various elements are unlikely to have been distinguishable by their Greek recipients (and until recently could not be distinguished by modern scholars); second, because, while the Greeks used different terms for different ›Easterners‹, Greek terminology is ethnographically and geographically vague. The third reason is perhaps the most important – for the Greeks, the connotations for many (not all) Easterners were similar. In the poems of Sappho and Alcaeus, the terms Babylonian and Lydian all carry with them a whiff of *habrosyne*, of luxury and good living²². In Homer, the silver krater that Achilles picks up in a prize in the funeral games of Patroclus (Hom. Il. 23, 740–749) was entangled in the life histories of other famous

men, but, like the silver krater that Menelaus gives to Telemachus (Hom. Od. 4, 611–655) was made by Sidonians. Both kraters have strong ›Eastern‹ connotations, similar to those conveyed by Lydian or Babylonian in Alcaeus and Sappho²³. Such considerations have led I. Morris²⁴ to argue that objects of Oriental manufacture always retained a sense of luxury, of *habrosyne*. Oriental objects became entangled in the cultural politics of early Archaic Greece, between an ›elitist‹ culture of the aristocrat and the ›middling‹ ideology of the *polis*.

For all these reasons, a limited comparison of the ›Orientalizing‹ phenomenon might prove a good first step towards understanding the general process of ›Orientalization‹. This paper will simply try to compare the local manifestations of Orientalization (that is, the Orientalizing) in Crete, Euboea, and Corinth during its major, Early Iron Age phase – that is, between circa 950 and 600 B.C.

The Cretan Orientalizing: a brief historiography

Since 1952, the development of Cretan art has increasingly diverged from any general narrative of Geometric and Archaic Greece. At first, the Cretan Orientalizing had seemed problematic. For Halbherr²⁵ and later Kunze²⁶, the bronze tympana from the Idaean cave showed the early influence of Oriental metalwork (*fig. 1*). Arthur Evans had excavated a number of tombs with Orientalizing pottery in 1907, material which Payne²⁷ published together with the results of his investigations in 1927. For Payne²⁸ ›the treatment of the new, Oriental, motives shew an initial reluctance to depart from the Geometric tradition, a phenomenon which is to be noticed in many other parts of the Greek world«. It was Pierre Demargne who first noticed that there was something amiss. Both he²⁹ and Thomas Dunbabin³⁰ were puzzled by Crete's sudden efflorescence in the late eighth to seventh centuries B.C., and equally sudden fall into provincial-

²² Kurke 1992; see also Page 1955, 131–132. 223–234.

²³ It is worth quoting Winter 1995, 263: ›It should probably come as no surprise that an ›Orientalizing‹ period should be the one most prone to ›orientalism‹ ... a powerful component of orientalism is the attribution of the exotic, of luxury and even of transgression of a putative ›East‹ – an East constituted in an amalgam of both knowledge and prejudice, in which exoticism and xenophobia, constraint and desire, consumption and denial combine to tell us a great deal more about the ›constructing‹ culture than about the constructing«. For a discussion of Homeric passages concerning Sidonian kraters and other Oriental objects, see S. P. Morris 1997b.

²⁴ I. Morris 1997, 10–18; I. Morris 2000, 178–185.

²⁵ Halbherr 1888.

²⁶ Kunze 1931.

²⁷ Payne 1928.

²⁸ Payne 1928, 278.

²⁹ Demargne 1947.

³⁰ Dunbabin 1952.



Fig. 1 The Hunt Shield from the Idaean Cave (Heraklion Museum 7)

ity³¹. When J. K. Brock³² came to publish his account of Payne and Blakeway's 1933 excavations of early Iron Age tombs near Knossos, he was forced to acknowledge that ›Oriental influence‹, in the form of motifs borrowed from metalwork, was evident in the decoration of some of the painted pottery, which otherwise continued to be decorated in the ›Protogeometric‹ style. He called this ceramic phase/style ›Protogeometric B‹, dating it to the late ninth century B.C., while retaining the term ›Orientalizing‹ for the (largely polychrome) painted pottery datable to the latest phase of the cemetery, the seventh century B.C.³³ Later, in his re-appraisal of Early Iron Age material culture in general and the Khaniale Tekke tombs in particular, John Boardman specifically linked the precocious appearance of Oriental motifs on pottery, and early Orientalizing bronzes (for

example, the Fortetsa bronze girdle and quiver³⁴) to a migration of an hereditary guild of metalworkers (i.e. bronze and gold smiths) from somewhere in North Syria³⁵. But such interpretations did not lead to any change in established terminology. N. Coldstream has continued to use Protogeometric B and Orientalizing to mark late ninth century and seventh century Cretan styles respectively³⁶. S. Morris'³⁷ suggestion that ›Protogeometric B‹ (PGB) be re-named ›Proto-Orientalizing‹ has not been taken up.

There may be good reasons to stick with the established term ›Protogeometric B‹. An Orientalizing pot style is one that borrows techniques and motifs from a particular Oriental source, usually metalwork or ivory (perhaps with the implication that it retains Oriental connotations of luxury), and then applies these techniques and motifs both to the form and

³¹ In view of recent attempts to revive a ›catastrophist‹ explanation for the sixth-century Archaic ›gap‹ (e.g. Coldstream – Huxley 1999), it is worth quoting Dunbabin 1952, 197: »The hypothesis of a catastrophe at Knossos and displacement of power in Crete elsewhere cannot fully explain the decline of Crete, for a flourishing society should be able to overcome such shocks. It may be that the sharpness of the archaeological break masks the fact that the decline was more gradual. It was perhaps economic, and only secondarily artistic; perhaps, as a century later in the somewhat similar case of Sparta, there were *social* reasons.« [emphasis mine].

³² Brock 1957.

³³ Brock 1957, 142–145.

³⁴ Brock 1957, nos. 1568. 1569.

³⁵ Boardman 1961, 134–137; 1967; see also Blome 1982. For a contrary view, see Hoffman 1997.

³⁶ Coldstream 1968, 235–239; but see below.

³⁷ S. P. Morris 1997a, 58; see also Brock 1957, 143.

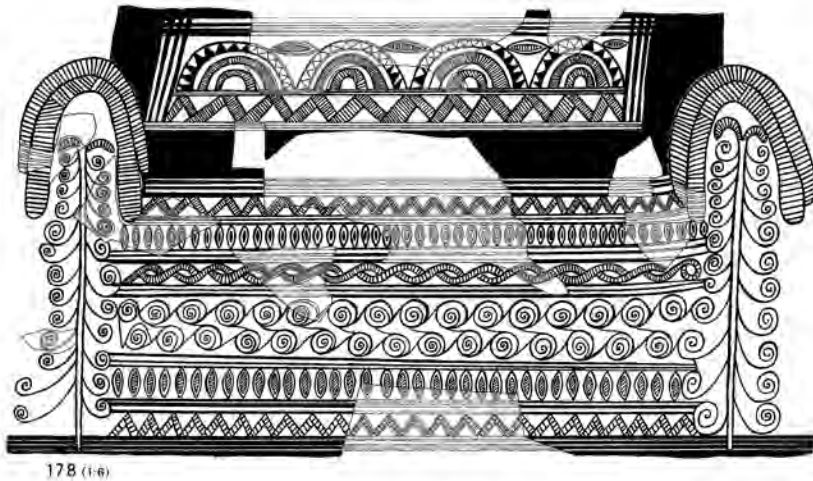


Fig. 2 PGB straight-sided pithos
KMF 107.178

decoration of a pot³⁸. Protogeometric B is more eclectic than the term ›Proto-Orientalizing‹ would imply; its shapes (principally the straight-sided pithos) are clearly local; many Protogeometric decorative elements are retained; and the sources for its figurative and curvilinear ornament appear to be diverse. While no-one would question that the cable motifs found on many PGB vases derive from metalwork (if only because they are so common on Oriental bronzes that have turned up both in Knossos and the Idaean Cave³⁹), some other motifs do not seem to be obviously derived from Oriental imports. The scale pattern on Fortetsa no. 1440, the horizontal and vertical spirals on KMF no. 107.178 (*fig. 2*) and KMF no. 75.110, and the trees on the KMF nos. 107.178, 107.114 and KMF 283.11 may have a different source of inspiration in the decoration to be found on a number of LM III A–B larnakes (notably KMF no. 107.214) in Bronze Age chamber tombs re-used in the mid ninth century. This point has been argued forcibly in a series of articles first by N. Coldstream and most recently by I. Kaiser⁴⁰. Such may be the inspiration for many of the female figures found on the products of the ›Tree Painter‹⁴¹.

While these points are well taken, I would resist the implied tendency to make Protogeometric B not so much a ›Proto-Orientalizing‹ as a ›Neo-Minoanizing‹ style, which seems to be the thrust of Kaiser's

argument. This is not merely because of deep misgivings about the term Minoan⁴² – Minoan is a modern term, not an ancient one, and if ninth-century Cretans were seeking to reference their past, they cannot have thought about their predecessors/ancestors in this way. It is also because a large number of elements in the Protogeometric B repertoire (the cable and the rosette in particular) do seem to be ›Orientalizing‹ – that is to be derived from Oriental metalwork. What must be stressed about Protogeometric B is its eclecticism, a feature reinforced if one remembers that it is more or less contemporary with the ›atticising‹ Early Geometric style (both styles are to be found on Teke nos. D.12 [*fig. 3*], KMF 104.23 and KMF 292.144). There is moreover nothing contradictory in trying to reference both the power of the ›heroic‹ or ›ancestral‹ past and the exotic East by mixing these sources of inspiration – according to I. Morris⁴³ both strategies were used by the aristocratic elites of the Early Iron Age.

In any case, Protogeometric B is not found throughout the whole of Crete in the late ninth century. Like the earlier ›Subminoan‹, it seems to be mainly a Central Cretan, if not North Central Cretan, style. The bulk of the finds are from Knossos; there is much similar material from Eltynia⁴⁴ and from Prinias. In South Crete, some of the ninth-century material from the temple at Kommos can be classified as Pro-

³⁸ As in Whitley 2001, 102–106; see also Gosden 2004, 153–155.

³⁹ On Oriental and Orientalizing bronzes from the Idaean cave see Halbherr 1888; Sakellarakis 1988; Matthäus 2000; Kunze 1931. Markoe 1985, 163–167 notes ten (nos. Cr2–Cr11) ›phoenician‹ bronze bowls from her, though some of these at least must come from North Syria, see Matthäus 2000, 545. Two of these ›phoenician‹ bowls are from Knossos: Fortetsa no. 1559, from tomb P; see Brock 1957, 133–134; Markoe 1985, 163 no. Cr1; and Teke G.f1; see Catling 1996, 564.

⁴⁰ Coldstream 1984a; Coldstream 1998; Coldstream 2000; Kaiser 2006; Kaiser forthcoming. LM III A–B larnakes have been found in KMF tombs 75, 107, 132, 134 and 292, and do not seem to have been reused as such. All the information is supplied in Coldstream – Catling 1996.

⁴¹ Coldstream 1984a; Coldstream 1996, 315–317.

⁴² Whitley 2006.

⁴³ I. Morris 2000.

⁴⁴ Εγγλέζου 2004.



Fig. 3 PGB straight-sided pithos Teke D.12

togeometric B⁴⁵. But, though there are Orientalizing features in ninth-century material from Eleutherna, the differences between Eleuthernan and Knossian styles are so great as to preclude the term⁴⁶. In Eastern Crete, there is simply no Protogeometric B pottery, properly speaking⁴⁷. Here, the Orientalizing only really arrives in the seventh century, and when it does arrive, it is again quite distinct from the Orientalizing polychrome style of Knossos⁴⁸.

Pot styles are one thing; the broader cultural process another. Of all the things that Greeks took from their Eastern neighbours, it was the alphabet that, in the long term, had the most profound cultural effects. Evidence for early Levantine connexions, combined with a greater similarity in letter forms to Phoenician than in other early Greek scripts, had lent weight to the idea that Crete was the Greek alphabet's original home⁴⁹. Few would maintain this today. In general discussion of the early alphabet and early literacy has not overlapped with discussion of the uses and meaning of Oriental objects and the origin and pur-

poses of Orientalizing styles – clearly a desideratum if we are to understand Orientalization as a cultural process.

Some comparisons

To throw some oblique light on the unusual character of the Cretan Orientalizing, it is best to start with Corinth. In 800 B.C. there was little that could be called ›Oriental‹ in the Corinthia. Burial practices (interments in large cists), and a distinctive, local style of Geometric pottery marked out differences with neighbouring communities⁵⁰. By 730 B.C., the only major change is that the distinctiveness of Corinthian material culture vis a vis its neighbours becomes more marked, with the development of a linear style of Geometric decoration and a local repertoire of distinctive lipless drinking shapes, notably the kotyle⁵¹. Oriental ›influence‹ gathers pace in the years just before and just after 700 B.C.; a ›phoenician‹ bowl and some mesomphalic phialai (inspired by, if not manufactured in, the Near East) begin to turn up at the sanctuary of Perachora, which begins to receive offerings whose origin can be traced not only to the Aegean but across the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean⁵²; the first examples of Corinthian inscriptions using Greek letters appear around this time; and, most spectacularly, an ›Orientalizing‹, partly figurative style of pot decoration develops. This style adopts motifs from the repertoire of Oriental metalwork, such as the guilloche and the palmette. It by no means replaces the earlier Linear style – which persists, and is used for the full range of shapes⁵³. Exact statistics are not available, but it is clear that this Orientalizing style, in its initial phase, appears preferentially on a restricted range of distinctive Corinthian shapes; the kotyle (for drinking, *fig. 4*); the olpe (for pouring) and the aryballos (for perfumed oil, *fig. 5*)⁵⁴. By around 650 B.C., Corin-

⁴⁵ Callaghan – Johnston 2000, 227–232.

⁴⁶ Kotsonas this volume.

⁴⁷ Τσιποπούλου 2005.

⁴⁸ Moignard 1996; Moignard 1998.

⁴⁹ Jeffery – Johnston 1990, 9–10.

⁵⁰ Coldstream 1968, 94–98; Coldstream 2003, 82–86. 376.

⁵¹ Coldstream 1968, 98–111; Coldstream 2003, 168–177. 392; Benson 1989.

⁵² Markoe 1985, 209 no. G11 counts one phoenician bowl and some ›griffon protome‹ vases amongst the largely 7th–6th century mesomphalic phialai from the deposit of Hera Limenia at Perachora, see Payne 1940, 148–156. The Geometric deposit at Hera Akraia contained a few Egyptian scarabs of the XXVth and XXVIth dynasties: Payne 1940, 26–77; see also James 1962. There are some early (late 8th century) ivory seals (nos. A 23 and A 123; see Stubbings 1962).

⁵³ For the Protocorinthian style generally, see Payne 1931, 1–42; Amyx 1988; Benson 1989; for chronology, see Dunbabin 1953/1954. For more recent interpretations, see Rasmussen 1991; Shanks 1999. The term Protocorinthian is used for both the Linear and Figurative/Orientalizing styles, its connotations being primarily chronological.

⁵⁴ For the context of the kotyle in *fig. 4*, see Kraiker 1951, 41–42 no. 190. The aryballos in *fig. 5* (Boston 95.10) has been variously attributed, most recently to the Chigi group by Amyx 1988, 37 and the ›Boston Chimaera Painter‹ by Benson 1989, 58–59. Figured ›Orientalizing‹ pots seem to outnumber plainer ›Linear‹ examples in the Protocorinthian and Corinthian finds from Perachora: Dunbabin – Robertson 1962, but this may be because of selection of ›representative‹ examples by the publishers. Mr Thomas Patrick, who is re-examining this material informs me that many pots from Perachora remain uncatalogued and unstudied.



Fig. 4 Early Protocorinthian (EPC) kotyle from Aigina, Kolonna



Fig. 6 Lefkandi, Toumba ›heroon‹ no. 327



Fig. 5 Middle Protocorinthian aryballos ›from Thebes‹, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 95.10

thian painters had adopted a new technique from Oriental metalworking, the use of incision to mark out painted figures of humans, animals and mythological creatures (which marks the origin of the true black figure style).

All these developments took place without any major influx of Oriental metalwork. The sanctuaries of Perachora and Isthmia⁵⁵, for all their wide connexions, and despite their accessibility, are notably poorer in imports of Oriental bronzes, such as Phoenician bronze and silver bowls, than the sanctuaries of Olympia and the Samian Heraion⁵⁶. There is little difference between the numbers of Oriental goods in the Corinthia as compared to Attica – if anything, Oriental imports into Attica are earlier (e.g. the ›Phoenician‹ or North Syrian bowl from Kerameikos grave G42)⁵⁷. But the effect of the ›Oriental‹ seems to have been much greater in relation to the stimulus. The Corinthian Orientalizing is also a creative synthesis – one that applies metal-derived motifs and later techniques, in the first instance, to a restricted range of shapes with a specific social role. Perhaps the most startlingly original outcome of this Orientalizing process as it played itself out in Corinth was the development of the symposium, a combination of the oriental practice of couched dining with the Greek practice of krater-centred wine drinking for a restricted elite. The first symposium scenes appear on Early Corinthian kraters datable

⁵⁵ For early finds at Isthmia, see Morgan 1999, 157–160 and discussion 410–429; Raubitschek 1998, 84–89 counts only 15 fragments of bronze ›Orientalizing‹ cauldrons of the 7th century B.C., and does not identify, with any degree of certainty, one oriental import.

⁵⁶ Markoe 1985, 204–206 notes four such bowls from Olympia (nos. G3, G5, G6 and G7); for Oriental imports to the Samian Heraion, see Jantzen 1972; Kyrieleis 1979; Kyrieleis – Röllig 1988.

⁵⁷ For this see Kübler 1954, 237–238 pl. 162; Markoe 1985, 203 G1. This bowl was once thought to be Phoenician, but has, with the examples from Lefkandi (Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 131–136), been re-classified by Matthäus (2000, 531–532) as belonging to a North Syrian class. For my views on the peculiar Attic response to the Orient, see Whitley 1991, 116–180; Whitley 1994; Whitley 2001, 115–127.

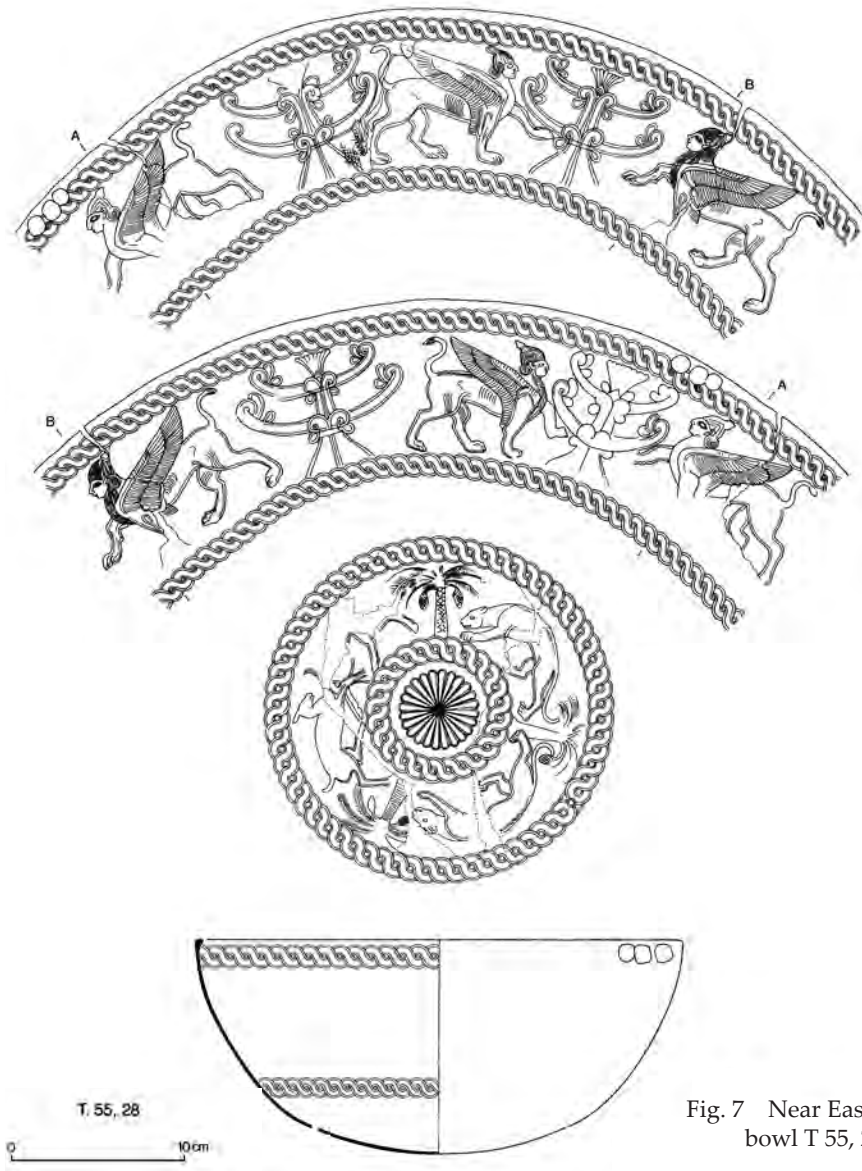


Fig. 7 Near Eastern (Phoenician or North Syrian) bronze bowl T 55, 28 from Lefkandi, Toumba grave 55

just before 600 B.C.⁵⁸. I must emphasise that, before about 650 B.C., Corinthian kraters were nothing special, and tended to be decorated more in the ›Linear‹ than the ›figurative‹ or ›Orientalizing‹ style. Indeed, in earlier Geometric times Corinthian kraters were more usually not turned on the wheel and decorated with paint, but coil-built, hand-made and plain⁵⁹.

Euboea represents a stark contrast to this. For, in Lefkandi at least, the Orientalizing was underway as early as the tenth century B.C. The evidence for this is not simply the numerous Oriental imports – bronzes, ivories, faience etc. – found first in graves (particularly in the Toumba cemetery, Lefkandi)

and then from the eighth century B.C. in sanctuaries (particularly the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria), but also the way in which Euboean pot painters are already employing Oriental motifs⁶⁰. An example is the tree (so-called ›tree of life‹) which appears on this enormous krater of circa 950 B.C., found in the large building at Toumba (fig. 6). That this is part of an ›Orientalizing‹ trend is confirmed by the iconography of the imported Near Eastern bowl T 55, 28 (fig. 7) found in the nearby Toumba cemetery.

One example does not make a trend, but that a krater should form the earliest vehicle for such an Oriental motif marks a significant contrast with

⁵⁸ As on Louvre E635, from Caere; see discussion in Whitley 2001, 204–213; see also Murray 1994.

⁵⁹ Kraters seem to be sparse at Perachora. There are fourteen Protocorinthian examples (Dunbabin – Robertson 1962, nos. 1275–1282, 1287–1292) out of a total of 1305 Protocorinthian vessels catalogued. The information about plain kraters I owe to Sara Strack.

⁶⁰ For the finds from the Toumba cemetery see Popham et al. 1980, 168–196, 217–264; Popham – Lemos 1996, esp. pl. 131–137. The earliest oriental find is of course the Late Bronze Age Cypriot krater; see Catling 1993. For the finds from Eretria see Huber 2003, 88–100; Charbonnet 1986.

Corinth. And, in contrast to Corinth, there seems to be an inverse relationship between the degree of Oriental stimulus (as measured by the number of imports) and the Orientalizing effect, as manifested in painted local pots with Oriental motifs. The Euboean Protogeometric, Subprotogeometric and Geometric styles develop along broadly Attic lines, with the odd figured scene and Oriental motif turning up⁶¹, without Euboea ever becoming home to a major Orientalizing figured style in the seventh century B.C.

Does familiarity then breed contempt? Were Euboeans so familiar with what the Orient had to offer that no amount of imports could provide the right kind of stimulus, could exert its proper catalytic effect? Well, there is one important exception to this general picture of Euboean conservatism; the adoption of the alphabet. The majority of alphabetic inscriptions (graffiti) on pots which can be securely dated before 700 B.C. either come from Euboea itself (Lefkandi or Eretria) or from sites elsewhere in the Mediterranean with clear Euboean connexions, such as Pithekoussai. It has been argued with some force that many of these early inscriptions from these Euboean areas, and adjacent regions such as Attica, show a peculiar concern with poetic expression (many of the earliest are in hexameters), and with the accurate transcription of poetic speech⁶². I will not rehearse all the arguments here – but the case for the alphabet being an Euboean invention, or rather a peculiarly Euboean adaptation of Phoenician letter forms to suit new, Greek poetic purposes (which required vowels as well as consonants) is a strong one. Corinth was a comparative laggard here – there are no Corinthian alphabetic inscriptions securely datable to before 700 B.C.⁶³

Corinth however was no laggard compared to Crete. And Crete had no excuse for being slow to adopt and adapt this particular, Near Eastern ›technology of the intellect‹. For not only had Phoenicians been active in Southern Crete around Kommos from the 10th century B.C. onwards⁶⁴, but also the earliest,

and perhaps the only inscription in Phoenician (both language and letters) found in the Aegean is from near Knossos (Teke), and dates to the early ninth century B.C.⁶⁵. The earliest Greek alphabetic inscription from this great Cretan centre is almost two hundred years later (circa 650 B.C.), dating to a few decades after the earliest Cretan inscription that uses Greek letters (from Phaistos)⁶⁶. None of these early Cretan inscriptions are ›poetic‹, and by 600 B.C. Cretan literacy (that is, the uses to which writing was put) had diverged significantly from mainland practice. Might a re-examination of the whole Orientalizing process in Crete shed any light on why this should be so?

Revisiting the Cretan Orientalizing

Let us look again at ›Protogeometric B‹, the Cretan style contemporary with the inscribed bronze bowl from Teke, whose development and that of the immediately succeeding (and very similar) EG phase can most easily be traced in Knossos. Of the motifs here (*fig. 2*) the cable is a motif clearly derived from metalwork, and we have seen the so-called ›tree of life‹ before in Lefkandi. The rosette too and the running cable, in these EG examples, must be derived from the same source (*fig. 3*) – that is either Oriental metalwork or immigrant metalsmiths from North Syria⁶⁷. But neither here, nor for the most part in later ›Orientalizing‹ phases, is there any attempt at incision⁶⁸.

All this would seem to support the notion that ›familiarity breeds contempt‹, or at least fails sufficiently to stimulate. Certainly, in the eighth century in Knossos, while the MG and LG styles continue to use a variety of the same, or similar Oriental motifs, such as the cable, the decoration remains predominantly Geometric and Atticising⁶⁹. Only in the seventh century do Oriental motifs, mostly derived from examples found on Oriental bronzework (such

⁶¹ Such as the very similar tree flanked by two animals which appears on the Cesnola krater (New York 74.51.965), discussed by Coldstream (1968, 172–174; 1971; 1994); on Euboean Late Geometric and Orientalizing, see now Huber 2003, 45–68.

⁶² Powell 1991.

⁶³ Stillwell (1933) originally dated these inscriptions before 700 B.C., but this has not been followed by more recent scholarship; see Jeffery – Johnston 1990, 114–132, esp. 130–131 nos. 1–4; Powell 1991, 132–134.

⁶⁴ Shaw 1979.

⁶⁵ Snycer 1979; for the ninth-century context (Teke tomb J.f1) see Coldstream – Catling 1996, 25–30.

⁶⁶ For the earliest Greek alphabetic inscription from Knossos see Johnston 1996; for the Phaistos inscription see Levi 1969; see also Jeffery – Johnston 1990, 467–469.

⁶⁷ The debate about which items from Knossos are truly oriental and those which are ›orientalizing‹ (see Hoffman 1997) is not pertinent here; clearly, both oriental and orientalizing objects are to be found.

⁶⁸ There are two inevitable exceptions – Fortetsa no. 1299, an alabastron which uses what is in effect a black-figure technique similar to contemporary Protocorinthian in its depiction of two sphinxes (Brock 1957, 111–112 pl. 101), and Fortetsa no. 1512, another very fragmentary alabastron with some human figures (Brock 1957, 131 pl. 100. 166). This early experiment seems to have been still born.

⁶⁹ Coldstream 1968, 242–255; Coldstream 1996, esp. 318–331.



Fig. 8 Late Orientalizing two-handled polychrome pithos KMF 285.27 from the North Cemetery at Knossos

as the guilloche, the row of pendant tongues, the cable, the lotus, the palmette and the stylised sacred tree), come to dominate the decorative repertoire⁷⁰. These motifs are now often used in conjunction with figured scenes, predominantly of birds, sometimes arranged antithetically (as on *fig. 8*⁷¹); sometimes in rows, as on the EO pithos no. 60 from Payne's 1927 excavations⁷², here accompanied by a row of fishes and a panel with perching birds. Other figures are rarer – there are one or two octopuses (as on KMF no. 292.168) and some lions and a sphinx on KMF no. 82.1. Human figures on locally produced vessels are even sparser. There is an elaborate scene on the pyxis KMF no. 107.76; and a panel with a man wearing a helmet with a high crest confronting a woman is to be found pithos no. 38 from Payne's 1927 excavations (*fig. 9*)⁷³.

There seems therefore to have been a certain lack of ambition amongst Knossian pot painters in the seventh century. This is not through any lack of skill – the figured scenes on Orientalizing polychrome vessels are clearly more accomplished than those of their PGB predecessors (including the Tree Painter) – one local painter even tried his hand (quite successfully) with the black figure technique, in the Corinthian manner (see note 68). One factor in this lack of ambition may be that the polychrome pithoi be-

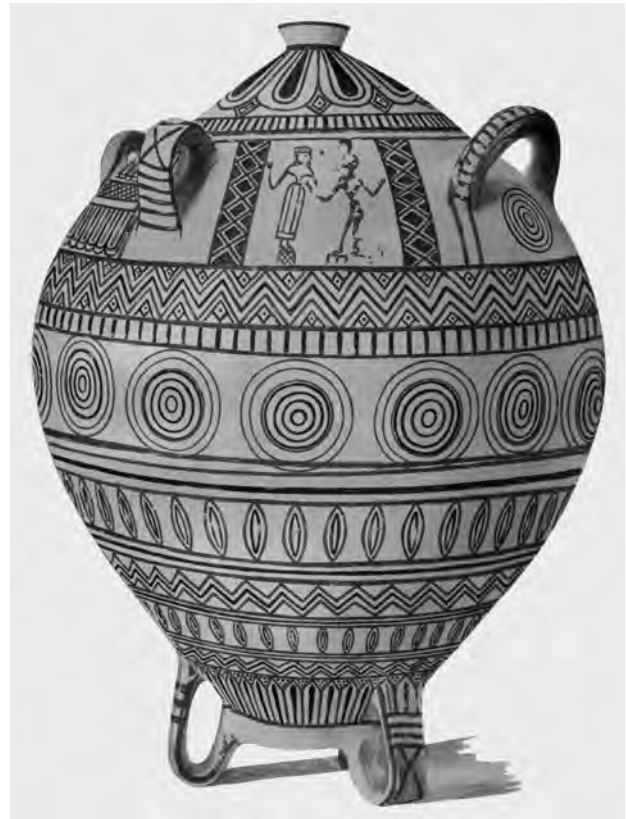


Fig. 9 Pithos no 38 from Payne's 1927 excavations, Heraklion museum 6391

ing produced were solely for funerary use – though they must have looked splendid in a funeral (and in watercolour reconstructions), anyone who has examined these pithoi closely cannot fail to notice that the paint is poorly fired, and not properly bonded to the surface of the vessel (which suggests firing at low temperatures). These are objects to be seen once, and then removed from view. Certainly, the single panel with a single figure is hardly the best setting for the development of true narrative in art – and it should come as no surprise that narrative art (at least in Attic or Corinthian terms) did not really develop in Crete in Archaic times⁷⁴.

Narrative art needs a social context as well as a surface, a medium or a stimulus. Funerals did not seem to provide such a context. Here another observation is relevant: motifs from metalworking and figured panels dominate the repertoire of those vessels, chiefly funerary urns, we can class as ornate,

⁷⁰ Brock 1957, 144–145; Moignard 1996; Moignard 1998.

⁷¹ See also Fortetsa nos. 972, 1234.

⁷² Payne 1928, 244–246 pl. 14–16.

⁷³ Payne 1928, 240 pl. 11 nos. 10–12 (Heraklion museum no. 6391). Payne dates this to EO rather than LO, which I find odd. The helmet with a high crest finds its best parallel from Afrati (Hoffmann 1972, 5–6 no. H5 [now Hamburg 1970.26c] pl. 13). Fragments of such crests have now turned up in Azoria and Prinias, in contexts which suggest a date much later than the early seventh century.

⁷⁴ See Whitley 1997; Whitley 2001, 120–121, 204–213, 243–252.

which by the end of the period means polychrome (figs. 8, 9). A significant minority of the Orientalizing burial pithoi (42 Linear; 80 polychrome/orate) were decorated in a Linear style⁷⁵. It would be a mistake to think of this Linear style as ›Subgeometric‹, since the principal motif (Brock's 9q⁷⁶) on the shoulder of these vessels is borrowed from imported Cypro-Phoenician perfume flasks, not from any residual ›Geometric‹ or ›Protogeometric‹ local tradition⁷⁷. Clearly one could orientalize in different ways, richly or plainly, and the question must have been, for Knossians, not whether to orientalize (that is accept or reject what the Near East had to offer) but how to do so.

A similar dilemma faced Knossians when they came to deal with the products of the ›Orientalizing revolution‹ in other parts of the Greek world. In two tombs in the North Cemetery (tombs KMF 34 and KMF 56) there are assemblages that seem to represent ›symposium sets‹, composed of a mixture of East Greek and Corinthian imports, with some local imitations⁷⁸. The centrepiece of each set is a large dinos (krater), some drinking cups and some pouring vessels (chiefly oinochoai). One might have expected these imports to herald a new phase in ›secondary Orientalization‹, or perhaps ›Hellenization‹ (that is, Crete becoming more like the rest of the Aegean world). But it was not to be. Locally produced, ornately decorated kraters with central panels (often with figured scenes) had been falling out of fashion in Crete for some time. The sixth century is marked by a preference for plain kraters, either locally produced or imported from Laconia⁷⁹.

I have argued elsewhere that there were social reasons for this ›turning away‹ from the symposium, and ›symptotic culture‹⁸⁰. By symptotic culture I do not simply mean the symposium as a place where one drank and ate with one's (male) peers. It was that, but it was also an arena for an informal *agon*, where the skills of literacy and visual literacy were

required. The symposium – and especially the use of its centrepiece, the krater, as a setting for visual narrative and myth, usually accompanied by written clues in the form of dipinti – put a premium on the skills of literacy and ›visual literacy‹ (that is, the ability to tease out the myth behind the image). It created an arena for performative distinctions, as opposed to those established by birth or wealth. In a nutshell, the symposium was rejected in Crete because Crete was moving from being a ranked to a stratified society⁸¹, and it was accepted elsewhere for precisely the opposite reason (aristocracy as performance of *aristeia*⁸²). Competition creates the opportunity for mobility, and this cannot be tolerated in a static social and political order. Similar considerations perhaps also explain the marked absence of any kind of personal literacy, for the ostentatious display in votive offerings. Such factors may also explain the Cretan preference for monumental law codes⁸³, whose execution required the services of a specialist, the *poinikastas*⁸⁴ – a term redolent with the Eastern origins of this ›technology of the intellect‹.

If so, one could suggest a ›social‹ reason for the precocious development of Protogeometric B. Its floridity, and partly Oriental eclecticism might be seen as the product of a more fluid, and openly competitive social order than one that prevailed in Crete after 600 B.C. It is a product of ›keeping up with the Jones'‹, when one can never anticipate what the Jones' next move will be. The seventh century Knossian Orientalizing by contrast is already conservative. It is technically and conceptually timid – polychrome yes, but figured scenes are confined to small panels. The potential for narrative art here is small – and it is perhaps no surprise that later seventh century Cretan art develops, not towards narrative, but to simple antithetical, ›heraldic‹ images⁸⁵.

Whether or not such ›social‹ conclusions are warranted, some kind of social explanation is called for. Or, to put the argument another way, I have, almost

⁷⁵ Whitley 2004.

⁷⁶ See Brock 1957, no. 814, pl. 52.

⁷⁷ Coldstream 1984b.

⁷⁸ See Coldstream – Catling 1996, 82–85 for KMF tomb 34; 94–98 for KMF tomb 56. Both assemblages are discussed in Whitley 2004.

⁷⁹ Erickson 2000.

⁸⁰ Whitley 2004; Whitley 2005.

⁸¹ The terms are those of Morton Fried (1967). For arguments for Crete moving from a ranked to a stratified society, see Whitley 2005.

⁸² See Duplouy 2006.

⁸³ Whitley 1997; 2005.

⁸⁴ Jeffery – Morpurgo Davies 1970.

⁸⁵ Hoffman 1972.

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1: Redrawn by Howard Mason after Kunze 1931, fig. 1. – Fig. 2: after Coldstream – Catling 1996, fig. 111. – Fig. 3: after Coldstream – Catling 1996, fig. 57. – Fig. 4: after Payne 1931, pl. 2 and Kraiker 1951, Taf. E 190. – Fig. 5: after Hoppin 1900, pl. 4. – Fig. 6: after Lemos 2002, 50 pl. 74, 1. – Fig. 7: after Popham – Lemos 1996, pl. 133. – Fig. 8: after Coldstream – Catling 1996, fig. 139. – Fig. 9: after Payne 1928, pl. 12.

in passing, put forward two ›common sense‹ explanations in this paper, and neither is satisfactory. First, following Boardman, it has been suggested that the degree of Orientalization evident on Cretan pottery first in the late ninth and then in the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C. simply reflects the two major phases of influence from Oriental metalsmiths. Pottery follows metalwork, and reflects its practice fairly accurately. This suggestion fits in neatly with ›catastrophist‹ interpretations of the Archaic gap in Crete in the seventh century B.C. The second is the idea that ›familiarity breeds contempt‹. There were simply too many Orientals, and oriental objects, around in Crete for a creative response to be stimulated. There are problems with both arguments. The first simply ignores society, and detaches art from anything other than an ›artistic‹ context. The second should, with equal force, apply equally to Euboea as well as Crete, which was also only too familiar with what the Near East had to offer. That Euboea reacted so differently (and so creatively) to Oriental stimulus should prompt us to look deeper for the underlying causes of Cretan exceptionalism.

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Addendum to »The Cretan Orientalizing. A comparative perspective«

By James Whitley, 11th February 2010

Since 2006, when this paper was originally delivered, there has been an explosion of interest in the phenomenon of the Orientalizing (or Orientalization), evident in the papers in Riva and Vella (Riva – Vella 2006). This process has been seen (correctly) as an integral part of those broader processes that brought together the different regions of the Mediterranean in the period 1000–500 B.C., especially during the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. Ian Morris (2003) has proposed that this broader process (or combination of processes) be called ›Mediterraneanization‹. The word is cumbersome, but is a better umbrella term for both the processes and the results of these processes (that is, a more connected and integrated Mediterranean world) than ›interaction‹. Interaction in itself was nothing new – what was new was the way in which these multiple processes bound the Mediterranean together in a network that was to survive until the Arab invasions of the 7th century A.D. It is this that archaeologists and historians have to explain.

This broader process (whatever we call it), under the title »Meetings between cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean« formed part of the major theme of the XVIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology held in Rome in September 2008. Many papers (for example Irad Malkin's) talked about networks, but the creation of stable networks is only the half of it. In contrast, François de Polignac called for greater efforts to be made to understand the ›cultural filters‹ operating in the Iron Age Mediterranean. That is, on those mechanisms which selected some techniques (and not others), and some traits (and not others), mechanisms which would help to explain the different cultural outcomes that we see in different parts of the Mediterranean. Though many of the contributors to Riva and Vella (Riva – Vella 2006) talk about ›hybridity‹, they rarely address the problem of cultural filters – why, for example, Etruria was so much more receptive to Corinthian and Athenian ›symposium culture‹ than was Crete. This paper should be seen as a contribution to the study of these ›cultural filters‹.

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I. J. Winter, Homer's Phoenicians: History, Ethnography or Literary Trope? A Perspective on Early Orientalism, in: J. B. Carter – S. P. Morris (eds.), *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (Austin 1995) 247–271.

Discussion

Angelos Chaniotis: Just a remark: It is really very useful to propose this comparative perspective and it was a very thought-provoking talk which may lead to a reconsideration of the use of terminology in early periods of Cretan and Greek history. I would like to suggest another comparative approach or comparative perspective that might be equally fruitful. You have compared different areas in the same period of time. Perhaps a comparison with other ›-izations‹ in the ancient world, I mean the ›Romanization‹ and the ›Hellenization‹, may also be useful. In the case of Romanization/Hellenization, which are both very problematic terms for different reasons than the ones you mentioned with regard to Orientalization, we have great empires: in the case of Romanization we have the Roman Empire, in the case of Hellenization we have states that supported this process. In the case of Orientalization this is not known, although one can never exclude that one day an Assyrian source will be found, claiming that Greece was part of the Assyrian Empire.

Another important issue is something that you mentioned at the beginning of your talk, without elaborating it: There are other cultural components in cases of ›-ization‹, for instance dress, eating habits, language, behaviour, religion and so on. I think that a comparison between Romanization and the theory behind it and Orientalization might also be useful.

James Whitley: It is funny that you should say that, because in December at the British School we had a workshop on ceramic petrology proposing a multi-comparative project, exactly the kind you've just outlined, from Orientalization through to Islamization using particularly the study of ceramics and ceramic assemblages, using the techniques available at the Fitch laboratory (the chemical and petrographic analysis of pottery).

One of the issues raised there was the exchange of coarse wares. So it had occurred me, and it has also occurred to Evangelia Kiriati. But it is a difficult thing to pull off.

Nikolaos Stampolidis: I would like to ask, before going to Romanization or Hellenization, if this model you proposed is to be applied, how could you see all the aspects you have given us in the beginning with another Orientalizing society or societies of the same age like the Etruscan aristocracy?

James Whitley: Obviously, I haven't engaged in that particular comparison but, from what I can remember about Early Orientalizing in Latium and in southern Etruria, in the 7th century B.C. there is an enormous phase of deposition of oriental metalwork or Orientalizing metalwork in graves; it doesn't correspond to the same kind of phase of deposition in Greek sanctuaries. The starting point might be to compare the sort of patterns of deposition in graves *vis-à-vis* sanctuaries in Greece and Etruria and see what the differences are. That may be a good way of looking at an initial stage into the process.

Antonios Kotsonas: I have two points. By insisting on processes at postprocessual or even later times, are you not faced with the criticism that has been directed against processual approaches? The second point is totally different; the 7th century circles are sometimes Orientalizing, when they, for example, have the outer circle broader than the rest, but otherwise they can not be distinguished from the Protogeometric ones. Vessels with this kind of decoration were continuously produced, at least in Eleutherna, from the 9th to the late 7th century.

James Whitley: I'll take your second point first. I was speaking specifically about the Knossian examples and the point I simply wanted to make is just when you see concentric circles they are not necessarily Subgeometric or Subprotogeometric. Given that these things occur on Cypriot-Cretan black-on-red ware you can see them as Orientalizing in a ›plain‹ way. Just that possibility I wanted to raise. And to get away from this notion of Subgeometric, which, I think, causes a certain amount of confusion. And

I am not as familiar with the Eleutherna material as you are so I'll be guided by your greater knowledge of that.

On your first point, that is a very big debate, of course. I think we can still talk about processes while being aware of what might be called in general terms

›the structureagency dilemma‹. At some point we're dealing with what we might want to see as structures, which are static, and then we have to bring in some notion of human agency into the discussion. That is a long standing theoretical problem, which I am not going to try to pontificate about here.