

EARLY GREEK KINSHIP

by

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Abstract

Kinship is an important factor in modern explanations of social, political, and economic change in Early Greece (ca. 1000-450 BCE), particularly in social evolutionary schemes that see states develop from kinship-based clan societies. Following challenges to such schemes in several disciplines, including Classics, and following theoretical and methodological upheavals in anthropological kinship studies, our ideas and methodologies concerning families, descent groups, and kinship in Early Greece need to be reconsidered. In this dissertation, in order to avoid both applying typologies and employing universal biological kinship terminologies as points of analysis, a contextual methodology was developed to explore textual and archaeological evidence for ideas of kinship. Using this methodology, the expression and manifestation of kinship ideas were examined in Early Greek genealogical material, burial practices and patterns, and domestic architecture, taking each source individually to achieve a level of interpretative independence.

Early Greek genealogies are usually linear and descendent-focused or tendrilled and ancestor-focused, and include sections of story-telling that are an integral part of the descent information. List-like genealogies are therefore not the standard structure for Early Greek genealogies and the few late extant examples may be associated with literary techniques or epigraphic traditions. The genealogies are mythico-historical and connected the legendary past with the present in the interests of individuals and states and were not charters determining status or membership in particular groups. Early Greek burial practices and patterns were informed by an idea of descent and an idea of households over a few generations, represented by small mixed burial groups. Residency patterns and changes in Early Greek domestic architecture suggest household units, some of which were participating and became successful in the domestic economy and in agricultural trade. A synthesis of the

evidence reveals three broad overlapping Early Greek kinship ideas: blood and biology, generational households, and descent and ancestors. These ideas involve inheritance, ethnicity, success, wealth, and elitism. They therefore illuminate kinship's role in social, political, and economic differentiation and power and resituate it in theorizing about the developing Greek *polis*.

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List of Abbreviations

The following list provides abbreviations used throughout for books and some periodicals.

Other periodicals are abbreviated according to the guidelines of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

Periodicals

<i>AION ArchStAnt n.s.</i>	<i>AION Annali dell'Instituto universitario orientale di Napoli: Sezione archeologia e storia antica, Nuova Serie</i>
<i>Am Anthr</i>	<i>American Anthropologist</i>
<i>Am Ethnol</i>	<i>American Ethnologist</i>
<i>Am J Phys Anthropol</i>	<i>American Journal of Physical Anthropology</i>
<i>Annu Rev Anthropol</i>	<i>Annual Review Anthropology</i>
<i>AncSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>AP3A</i>	<i>Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropology Association</i>
<i>JFH</i>	<i>Journal of Family History</i>
<i>J Gerontol</i>	<i>Journal of Gerontology</i>
<i>JITE</i>	<i>Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics</i>
<i>J Radioanal Nucl Chem</i>	<i>Journal of Radioanalytical and Nuclear Chemistry</i>
<i>RivAntro</i>	<i>Rivista di Antropologia</i>

Books, Collections, and Series

<i>Alt-Smyrna I</i>	Akurgal 1983.
<i>Athenian Agora VIII</i>	Brann 1962.

<i>Athenian Agora XIV</i>	Thompson and Wycherley 1972.
<i>Corinth XIII</i>	Blegen et al. 1964.
<i>EGF</i>	M. Davies 1988.
<i>EGM</i>	Fowler 2000.
<i>FrGrHist</i>	Jacoby 1923-58.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>Inscr. Cret.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>
<i>Kerameikos IX</i>	Knigge 1976.
<i>Kerameikos V</i>	Kübler 1954.
<i>Kerameikos VII</i>	Kübler 1976.
<i>Kerameikos VII.2</i>	Kunze-Götte et al. 2000.
<i>Kerameikos XII</i>	Koenigs 1980.
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddel et al. 1996.
<i>Metaponto Necropoleis</i>	Carter et al. 1998.
<i>Milet VI</i>	Herrmann 1998.
<i>Nichoria III</i>	MacDonald et al. 1983.
<i>OCT</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Texts</i>
<i>PEG</i>	Bernabé 1987.
<i>Pfohl</i>	Pfohl 1967.
<i>Pithekoussai I</i>	Buchner and Ridgway 1993.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SGDI</i>	Collitz and Bechtel 1884-1915.

<i>Thorikos I</i>	Mussche et al. 1965.
<i>Thorikos III</i>	Mussche et al. 1967.
<i>Zagora I</i>	Cambitogolou et al. 1971.
<i>Zagora II</i>	Cambitoglou et al. 1988.

Preface

A note on spelling Greek names and places: I have chosen to use mostly Greek forms of transliteration over more traditional or Latinized forms. I do so for mythical figures, historical figures, and less well known historians (e.g., Achilleus over Achilles, Kimon over Cimon, Hekataios over Hecataeus), except in the case of very conventional names of well known historians, where I use the more standard Latinized forms (e.g., Herodotus over Herodotos and Thucydides over Thukydidēs). Place names generally remain in their more familiar English forms (e.g., Corinth over Korinth) for ease of reference and for consistency with the archaeological materials. There are some exceptions where common sense dictates the choice of a particular form. This system may appear somewhat inconsistent or arbitrary, but strict adherence to either style of transliteration would produce something quite foreign looking indeed and add an unnecessary degree of difficulty for the reader.

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for whom kinship needs neither proof of existence nor explanation of importance.*

And to M.C., who shows me that definitions of kinship are all still relative!

Chapter 1: Introduction

Although kinship plays a key role in all reconstructions of political and social organization and change (e.g., the development of the *polis*, the establishment of democratic ideas, the determination of class or citizenship) in Early Greece, we really know and have investigated very little about the Early Greek concept of kinship.¹ Not much has been done specifically on kinship in this period. Pomeroy's *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece* obviously does not go back that far.² Lacey's *The Family in Classical Greece* and Patterson's *The Family in Greek History* both cover kinship in this period, but run into evidentiary problems, to be discussed below, but mostly connected with using primarily textual evidence.³ A more recent volume on kinship and society in the Greek world, *Parenté et société dans le monde Grèce de l'Antiquité à l'âge moderne*, the result of a conference on the topic of Greek kinship held in 2003, presents a number of excellent and theoretically informed articles concerning kinship from antiquity to the present; Early Greek kinship, however, is not specifically addressed.⁴

Scholarship for this period often dances around the concept of kinship, talking about family, households, and descent groups or various concepts or things linked to kinship (e.g., clans, citizenship, inheritance, aristocracies), but not necessarily addressing the concept of kinship itself, which some consider to be at the heart of our most basic and earliest bonds as

¹ I use the term Early Greece as a succinct way of expressing a combination of Dark Age, Geometric, and Archaic Greece, indicating a period ca. 1000-450 BCE. For the broadness of this term, see my discussion of my approach below, p. 26.

² Pomeroy 1997.

³ Lacey 1968; Patterson 1998.

⁴ Bresson et al. 2006.

humans and others only Eurocentric fantasy and imposition. Classical scholarship has remained largely immune to such fundamental debates taking place in other disciplines.⁵ And although classical scholarship has never had a good picture of family and kinship for this period, our understanding of the concept of kinship and the bonds it supposedly creates has direct bearing on several significant and contentious areas of study in Early Greek history. 1) For a long time, family or kinship was an important factor in theorizing about the development of states, particularly in social evolutionary schemes that saw states develop from previously kinship-based societies. The *polis* was seen to come about, in such schemes, through a breaking down, reforming, or subsuming of family ties. 2) Kinship and kinship bonds also lie at the heart of the tribalism, tribal models, and social evolutionary schemes that were once (up until the late 1970s) as a standard applied to Early Greece. Although such theories are no longer applied with regularity, some vestigial assumptions remain concerning the nature of kinship and kinship-based society in pre-Classical Greece. 3) Kinship is also often cited as a criterion for determining social status and explaining elitism, both of which are fundamental concepts in understanding social, economic, and political change in Early Greece, and in the formation of the *polis* and its character. 4) The debate over whether there was a fusion or separation of state and society in ancient Greece is largely concerned with whether the state controlled or interfered in society, and especially whether it interfered with what we might consider to be family and kinship matters. 5) How rights, citizenship, obligations and duties, inheritance, and identity (both personal and ethnic) were understood are concepts often linked with kinship in the scholarship. Kinship is essential to many of the

⁵ See the discussion of kinship theory below, pp. 15-16.

great questions of Early Greek scholarship, and yet the concept is largely ill-defined and un-theorized in classical scholarship.⁶

Early Greek scholarship itself has seen several fairly recent and significant changes: a fairly widespread abandonment of strict evolutionary schemes, a growing dissatisfaction with structuralist analysis, a recognition of the difficulties presented by poetic and late sources, and a greater than ever and increasing use of archaeological evidence and theory in historical studies. Kinship should be assessed or re-assessed in light of such challenges and new directions. The discussion to follow highlights those issues which have had the most impact on the study of kinship in Early Greece. They can generally be characterized in two ways: by the sources which were considered as evidence and the way in which they were used; and by the influential theoretical positions (both implicit and explicit) and disciplinary tendencies followed.

Issues with Sources and Evidence

Quasi-Historical Trajectories

A major evidence or source-related problem is the quasi-historical trajectory which arises out of primarily using literary and textual sources for studying Early Greece. In reconstructing the Greek family and tracing its development from Homeric and Hesiodic society to the historical *polis*, some scholars end up drawing a progressive line from an earlier literary or semi-literary world of epic poetry to a later historical world. For example, Lacey's *The Family in Classical Greece* has a separate section on the family in Homeric

⁶ Bresson et al. 2006 is a welcome development in this direction, particularly Bonnard's article on kinship and filiation (Bonnard 2006).

society, which the author writes, “perished at some time between the 10th and 9th centuries and the 7th century” before the *poleis* evolved.⁷ Similarly, Patterson’s *The Family in Greek History* traces the development of the *polis*-family relationship in a linear manner from Homeric and Hesiodic society to the historical *polis*.⁸ Not only is this strange history but it is nearly impossible in such projects to take into account the archaeological evidence which is the bulk of our evidence for Early Greece. This problem has meant that other evidentiary types have been under-utilized or have not been as influential as they should be. For example, the evidence of domestic architecture has been overlooked in understanding Early Greek kinship, although new theories and methodologies for studying it and using it to answer questions about social change have recently been proposed and employed to Early Greek housing by Nevett and Lang.⁹

Homeric Society

The quasi-historical trajectory also exemplifies our trouble with Homer. Much has been written on ‘Homeric Society’ and the usefulness of Homer as evidence for an historical society or reality.¹⁰ Recent opinions on ‘Homeric Society’ range from completely denying historicity and arguing that the epic world is entirely fictional, to accepting and arguing that it

⁷ Lacey 1968, 51.

⁸ Patterson 1998.

⁹ Nevett 1999; 2007b; Lang 2005. See also Souvatzi 2008 for a theoretically informed methodology for studying neolithic Greek households.

¹⁰ Divergent opinions and approaches to ‘Homeric Society’ can be found in Snodgrass 1974; Morris 1986; 1997; Van Wees 1992; Murray 1993, 35-37; Seaford 1994; 2004; Osborne 1996, 147-160; Raaflaub 1997; 1998; Donlan 1997a; Finley 2002; Hall 2007a, 24-26; Ulf 2009b.

represents the society of a specific time. A middle ground is often claimed which treats it as a composite world made up of multiple fictional and real worlds and debate centres around how and if it is possible to read evidence out of such an amalgam. In the face of such divergent opinions and considerable critiques, studying 'Homeric Society' in isolation as a period or stage within an historical trajectory seems ineffective and fruitless in a historical study, unless absolute historicity can be explicitly proven. Much the same should also be said for Hesiod's poetry and Hesiodic society.¹¹ This is not to say that Homeric and Hesiodic poetry is useless as evidence, but that we should not study it without remembering the whole host of accompanying questions and debates. Nor should we study it in isolation, to the detriment of other evidentiary types.

Solonian Research

Many of the prevalent ideas about Early Greek kinship and affiliation, especially at Athens, have arisen out of the study of Solon, his poetry, laws, and reforms. Recent work on Solon, however, has identified serious source-related problems in all areas of research, including the authorship of the poetry, the veracity and provenance of the laws cited in fourth century legal speeches, the reality of land distribution and Solonian reforms, and the circumstances behind the writing of the poems and the political thought or legal spirit they espouse.¹² A good amount of circular reasoning is also involved in Solon research since the

¹¹ For discussion of Hesiodic society and history see Osborne 1996, 140-47, 156-60; C. G. Thomas 2005, 88-127; Hall 2007a, 24-26.

¹² Illustrative of such work is the collection *Solon of Athens: New Historical and Philological Approaches* (Blok and Lardinois 2006), which marks an important shift in Solonian research. The contributors, although often coming to different conclusions, raise important questions and apply healthy scepticism about the sources and what they indicate. Very intriguing is the use of archaeological approaches and questions, a rather new development in studies on Solon (e.g., Bintliff 2006; Forsdyke 2006; Ober 2006).

laws and constitutional reforms have often been interpreted within the framework of a tribal kinship-based society and its transition to a *polis*-centred society. But that evolutionary framework depends on interpreting Solonian laws and constitutional reforms as a move away from kinship-based power and society. This has begun to change with new assessments of the Solonian property classes and the ideology or political thought in Solon's poetry.¹³ As with other archaic poets, questions have arisen about authorship, intent, and audience in his poetry, involving and prompting further interest in ideologies and cultural ideas. In light of such work, earlier ideas about Solonian Athens and the influence of those ideas have to be reconsidered.

Late Sources

Recent work on Solon also reminds us that we should be very careful with the evidence of late sources for Early Greece. The laws and constitution of Solon are largely preserved for us through fourth century legal speeches, writers of the Roman period such as Cicero and Plutarch, and Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia*. Each of these sources merits careful criticism especially regarding their particular interest in appealing to Solon, who in later periods, as legendary sage, political reformer, and lawgiver, could be invoked in the name of many causes.¹⁴ Re-evaluation of the late evidence has led scholars to seriously question and

¹³ E.g., Foxhall 1997; E. M. Harris 1997, 2006; Mitchell 1997; Bintliff 2006; Forsdyke 2006; Van Wees 2006; Ober 2006; Raaflaub 2006.

¹⁴ Studies on the late sources include e.g., Hansen 1989; de Blois 2006; Gehrke 2006.

in some cases completely re-assess the veracity of the Solonian laws and constitution as we have received them.¹⁵

Another example of the problems with late sources is the association of the Homeric words *genos* (pl. *genea*) and *phylon* (pl. *phyla*) with the concepts of clan and tribe and the further association of these words with the classical Athenian civic divisions *genē* and *phylē* (pl. *phylai*) found in later sources. It has been argued and widely accepted that the late sixth to fourth century *genē* and *phylē* (pl. *phylai*) are not residual holdouts or remnants of a former tribal system, but rather fictions, involving kinship ideas, created for the political and social purposes and climate of those particular centuries.¹⁶ It is essential to recognize and not be misled by the possible use and abuse of history, myth, and kinship ideas in later centuries and sources.

Theoretical Assumptions and Disciplinary Tendencies

After Evolutionary Typologies

The evolutionist model of the development of the *polis* is based on seeing a move from a pre-state kinship-focused society to a state-focused society; therefore, theories of kinship are central to the model.¹⁷ Early Greece is seen to have had a tribal kinship-based society, sometimes called primitive or pre-state. Powerful family groups, usually labelled

¹⁵ E.g., Mossé 1979; Hansen 1989; Hölkeskamp 1992; Scafuro 2006; Blok 2006; cf. the ‘optimistic view’ of the authenticity of the laws and reforms in Rhodes 2006.

¹⁶ E.g., Bourriot 1976; Roussel 1976; Snodgrass 1980, 26; Donlan 1985; 2007; Sallares 1991, 197-202; Antonaccio 1997, 252-53; Hall 2007a, 124-25.

¹⁷ E.g., the evolutionary model can be found in Lacey 1968; Ehrenberg 1969; 1973; Jeffery 1976; Arnheim 1977; Forrest 1978; Littman 1979; Andrewes 1982; Frost 1994; Seaford 1994; 2004; Coldstream 2003.

clans or tribes (*genea* and *phylai*), led by a chief, controlled land and the population was indebted to them formally and informally. Land, and therefore political power and wealth, belonged to clans or powerful distinct kinship groups who feuded with one another and competed for power. But as the *polis* developed, the interests of the community overcame the interests of the family and the influence of family-based clans or tribes and family bonds had to be broken for the cohesion and security of the state because the respective interests of state and family were antithetical.

Since the late 1970s, the evolutionist model has come under increasing attack especially for its reliance on the concepts of the *genos* and *phylon* and land ownership and property.¹⁸ It is now uncommon to find it stated explicitly and fully formed in recent scholarship, although it does appear implicitly and thus remains somewhat pervasive. Some studies, where the idea of ancient *genea* and *phyla* as corporate descent groups have been rejected, aristocratic or elite families have been substituted for tribes or clans while the evolutionist construct remains intact. This is what I call a neo-evolutionist position, which recognizes the problems in accepting the *genea* and *phyla* as distinct corporate descent groups in Early Greece and questions the primary concentration in the evolutionist view on land ownership and property, but accepts the progression from pre-state kinship-focused society to a state society and employs typologies or stages of social and political

¹⁸ The works of Bourriot (1976) and Roussel (1976) represent a beginning in the challenge to the evolutionary view in classical history. See C. J. Smith 2006, 114-63, for a thorough survey of the historiography and evidence of the Attic *genos* and a rejection of its existence as a group before the sixth century (esp. 136), its continuation in Classical Athens as a relic of aristocratic society (esp. 136), and its direct correlation with the Roman *gens* (esp. 140). Further critiques and rejections of the evolutionary view include Snodgrass 1980, 25-26; Donlan 1985; Humphreys 1986, 88-89; Morris 1987; Sallares 1991, 197-207; Antonaccio 1995, 252-53; Pomeroy 1995, 111; 1997, 102-3; J. K. Davies 1997; Patterson 1998; Hall 2007a, 123-25.

development to understand societies and political change.¹⁹ Such progressive, linear schemes of political change and social development have met serious criticism in other disciplines, which indicates that it is probably time to re-evaluate the usefulness of both the evolutionary and neo-evolutionary model for studying Early Greece.²⁰ Re-assessing kinship and our ideas about it in general can go a long way toward this end and properly situate its importance to society and state formation.

Ideas concerning families, descent groups, and kinship in general have yet to be fully reconsidered in the wake of the challenges made by Bourriot and Roussel and in light of the questioning of evolutionist and neo-evolutionist schemes in other disciplines. As Pomeroy argues, there were important implications of the move away from the evolutionary model for women's history and historiography which remained unaddressed.²¹ The same is true for the history of the family and kinship. The study of kinship and kinship ideas in general has met with little interest after being excused as a structuring principle of Early Greek society.²² Moreover the study of larger kinship groups has receded in favour of studying the household or smaller family unit.²³ Meanwhile the study of social and political

¹⁹ E.g., Donlan 1985; 1997; 2007; Manville 1990.

²⁰ See Yoffee 2005, 4-21, for a review of the scholarship and theorizing in anthropology and archaeology on the subject, and thorough and somewhat damning critique of neo-evolutionary theory and typologies.

²¹ Pomeroy 1995, 111.

²² A notable exception is Loraux (2000), who deals with Athenian ideas about kinship connected to the myth of autochthony. Donlan (1985) does re-assess early Greek 'kinship' terms, such as *genos* and *phretra*, but out of that assessment reconstructs a neo-evolutionary scheme in which society evolves from tribal to stratified and warrior-chiefs become a horizontal aristocratic class (308). The problem is to re-assess 'kinship' terms and ideas in a non-evolutionary framework.

²³ E.g., Manville writes "Any discussion of Dark Ages culture must start with the *oikos*" (1990, 58).

change has turned to either aristocracies or elites and elite status with little critique of kinship ideas and their role in determining social status.²⁴ A notable exception is Duplouy's work on elitism in ancient Greece, which looks at the determination of elite status and suggests that political power and elitism may be less dependent on traditional kinship ideas of descent and membership in certain established families than on an individual's ability to self-promote and to secure *new* kinship ties.²⁵ For the most part, however, scholarship, even when not evolutionary, retains an understanding of kinship and descent largely informed by evolutionary theory and typologies or by the researcher's cultural ideas about kinship. These persistent but largely implicit ideas or assumptions reveal the need to re-assess our ideas about kinship following the criticism and in many cases dismissal of the tribal model of kinship-focused society.

Studying a Divided World

With the rejection of strict evolutionary schemes (but not necessarily neo-evolutionary ones) and a continually rising interest in women's history, studies of ancient kinship have left the political history arena for that of social history. Work has turned, with good reason, away from large politicized descent groups and has come to consider smaller kinship groups, namely the *oikos* or household. The trouble with this shift, however, is the

²⁴ Osborne (1996) and Morris (2002) write about an elite class and elite ideologies in the seventh and sixth centuries. Neither, however, specifically addresses what kinship ideas may lay behind the formation of an elite class or elite status. Hall (2007) writes about kinship terms in Homer, while criticizing the evolutionary model of a kinship-based society, and also about the problems in assuming there was an established aristocracy early on in epic poetry or in Dark Age Greece, but does not specifically connect the two issues. And so there is a place here to use new methodology and theory from kinship studies to understand the kinship ideas behind elite status.

²⁵ Duplouy 2006.

distancing of ideas of kinship or the family from political history and state formation. Part of this shift and its distancing effect can be attributed to structuralist approaches and their imposition of domains and dichotomies. In structuralist analysis, the family or household is placed in opposition to the state or community, conforming to the analytical binary pairs *polis/oikos*, public/private, even male/female.²⁶ Since kinship and state are seen to inhabit two separate, polar opposite domains, the result of employing such analysis is to divide the study of kinship from the study of the state except as they oppose one another. Approaching Greek society through this model is potentially exclusionary and therefore misleading, since it only leaves room for the incorporation of evidence which indicates opposition and none that does not.²⁷ Moreover studies of structuralist domains and pairings have largely been concerned with and cemented in classical Athenian society, which in turn is often viewed as a prime example of a divided world perfect for structuralist analysis. The public/private dichotomy is then used to contrast a thoroughly divided society in which state and household are firmly set apart from one another with an earlier kinship-focused society.²⁸ The resulting scheme of state formation, in which kinship and state are closely connected in earlier periods and then sharply opposed in the classical period, is a strange mix of evolutionary ideas and structuralist analysis.

²⁶ E.g., Humphreys 1983; 2001; Katz 1981; Cohen 1996. Pomeroy, differing somewhat, argues, “The traditional dichotomy public/private used to describe Greek life is misleading. A tripartite division is more accurate: public, domestic/public, and domestic/private” (1997, 18-19); however, she still uses domains or spheres as her principle form of analysis.

²⁷ For critiques of the use of analytical domains and dichotomies, especially those based in gender and ‘biology’, in anthropological kinship studies, see Collier and Yanagisako 1987; Yanagisako 1987; Comaroff 1987.

²⁸ E.g., Katz, although writing a literary article on *Iliad* 6, contrasts the “divided world” of the classical period with that of the Homeric world in which “the dichotomization of roles, attributes, and spheres of activities is far less rigid, and the opposition between ‘public’ and ‘private’ domains is arguably non-existent” (1981, 19).

Women and the Family

Influenced by structuralist domains and dichotomies, the scholarship on the social history of ancient Greece often links or equates the family with women and therefore the study of family with the study of women.²⁹ *Linking* the two can be sound, when it is not done automatically and when it results from the evidence. *Equating*, however, is a problem. Following the structuralist framework in which male equals public and female equals domestic, it promotes the assumption that family is primarily a female concern, diminishing or even excluding both male concern or involvement. It also either distances kinship ideas from the public sphere or distances kinship ideas or larger kinship groups from a smaller family unit. Moreover, while female activities in ancient Greece seem to have been largely, but not wholly, what we might characterize as domestic, to assign opposing structuralist domains to genders can be misleading. As Rawson writes, “The public-private opposition was not absolute. We therefore risk distorting women’s experience if we go too far in de-emphasizing the public sphere.”³⁰ She adds, “We should try to reconstruct women’s relationship to the city and the state.”³¹ As complement, I would add that we should also reconstruct kinship’s relationship to the city and the state, breaking down both the opposition between private and public spheres and the equation of the family with women.

²⁹ See Pomeroy’s interesting comments on women’s history and family history, in which she writes that she assumed that she would be concentrating on women while studying the family, since women’s sphere was the family. Her assumption proved false in that “it was easy to lose track of women” (1997, 14) and she attributes this to male interest and bias in the sources. While I accept this argument (there is clearly bias in the sources), it is interesting that this does not lead her also to reconsider the usefulness of dichotomies and spheres of interest as analytical tools.

³⁰ Rawson 1995, 13.

³¹ Rawson 1995, 13.

Primacy

The idea of a primacy of either state or kinship groups can be found in both evolutionary and structuralist approaches.³² Both involve a notion of competition between different types of human relationships. Both evolutionary and structuralist models set the interests of each party up as antithetical and explain political change through the breaking down of certain bonds (usually kinship) in favour of new bonds (those of the state).³³ These models have meant studying societies as kinship-focused, i.e., as societies in which there is a primacy of kinship bonds over other bonds, dominated by unilineal descent groups before they become state-focused at the expense of those previously powerful descent groups.³⁴ They, therefore, pit descent systems against societies of low and high levels of complexity and corporate descent groups against states and economic markets in complex societies.³⁵ Although such evolutionary schemes have long drawn serious criticism in many disciplines, *neo-evolutionary* typologies and evolutionary ideas continue to be adopted in historical and

³² E.g., Manville writes that the *oikos* “provided the primary principle of classical society, and everything known about earlier time suggests that this had long been the case” (1990, 58); Patterson firmly rejects the evolutionary view of the family-state relationship and its primary focus on the clan, but argues that the primary focus is the *oikos* or household, emphasizing “the centrality of the household as the primary focus of both family loyalty and identity” (1998, 47).

³³ E.g., in Seaford’s work (1994; 2004) a “contradiction between *polis* and household” (1994, xviii) and the need for the *polis* to triumph over kinship groups (the clan and the household) in order to become established are major themes.

³⁴ The idea of kinship-based society is implicit, e.g., in Andrewes’ conception of the development of the Athenian *polis*: he sees a time in which kinship was “the basis for social and political organization” and from which remnants of clan power were held over into the non-kinship-based society of fourth century Athens (1982, 367-68).

³⁵ For examples of such theories, see the discussion in Pasternak et al. 1997, 262-264.

anthropological studies of kinship and society, most often implicitly.³⁶ For example, some scholars see the formation of kinship bonds as being in competition with other modes of human bonding.³⁷ As discussed above, this has been in the case in scholarship on Early Greek society and state formation. There are, however, serious problems in such analysis.³⁸ We need not assume that humans are incapable of belonging or being loyal to multiple social groups or networks at one time nor that the interests of those various social groups or networks are so antithetical that they cannot co-exist or both retain social power.³⁹ It is therefore necessary to distance the study of kinship from ethnographic evolutionary models in which kinship is seen to characterize or constitute a whole society at a particular stage in its development.⁴⁰

The Aristotelian Model

Aristotle occupies an interesting place for historians as both colleague in political theory and ancient source. In his work we have the beginnings of the tradition of political

³⁶ A criticism, for example, lies in the fact that, although descent groups are less common in what anthropologists have classified as simple and complex societies, they are not absent from them, as Pasternak et al. point out (1997, 264).

³⁷ E.g., R. Parkin writes “human society has a long history of relationships formed in other ways than kinship, namely through informal associations or networks and formal contractual obligations. These, of course, are alternatives to kinship, and, while they may push back its boundaries, they have not so far been able to eradicate it entirely” (1997, 128).

³⁸ For a critique of the idea of kinship-based societies as part of a wider critique of traditional anthropological kinship studies, see Schneider 1984, 57-65, 181-85. See also Fortes 1978, 14-16.

³⁹ On social identity and social groups, see Hall 2007b, 338.

⁴⁰ For a useful overview of the relationship between the concepts of evolution and kinship in anthropology, see Jamard 2006, 45-58.

theorizing of which we are inescapably a part. At the same time his work is that of the ancient world and is an historical source. Either way his work is as subject to the full array of criticism as any other ancient work or scholarly colleague. Thus we should not accept his theory or his model of the family as a formative part of the state on a temporal or cultural basis, i.e., that he shares a *relatively* similar time and culture with the society in question, as some have done.⁴¹ Unless we can show both its applicability to the available evidence of kinship and its ability to address the questions we have of complex reality, we should, as J. K. Davies suggests, disengage ourselves from Aristotle's model and its influence not only for state formation but also for Early Greek kinship.⁴²

'Traditional' Kinship Theory

Although Humphreys and Cox have written on kinship structures in ancient Greece using anthropological theory, their methodology is that of more 'traditional' kinship studies, i.e., they follow a theoretical approach prevalent in anthropology before the 'demise' of kinship and kinship studies in the early 1980s.⁴³ This approach pre-supposes a cross-

⁴¹ E.g., Lacey 1968; Frost 1994; Sissa 1996; Patterson 1998.

⁴² J. K. Davies 1997, 26-27.

⁴³ Humphreys 1977, 1983, 1986; Cox 1998. Humphreys' work comes around the beginning of the 'demise' of kinship and does reflect the general move at that time toward the relativism that brought it on; however, it comes too early to have the benefit of the subsequent twenty-five years of theoretical debate and renewal in the field. Thus, although her work marks an important development in the anthropologically informed study of ancient Greece, the study of kinship needs updating. Cox was published in 1998 and, although she advocates for and uses anthropological methods (1998, xiv), does not address the methodological problems and theoretical debates that resulted from Schneider's challenge nor subsequent approaches in the field. To illustrate, her bibliography lists few of the pre-eminent theorists or scholars in anthropological kinship studies following the 'demise' and none who have worked on or addressed that pivotal and crucial problem directly. Notable omissions pre-1998 include, e.g., Schneider himself, Collier, Yanagisako, Carsten, C. C. Harris, and R. Parkin. Cox's work, however, is interesting and admirable for its adoption of Tilly's goals of social history, namely the rather standard goal of reconstituting the experience of particular groups and ordinary people, followed up by

culturally applicable definition of kinship based on marriage and procreation, and thus on the supposed universality of biology in determining kinship. Such studies employ the terminology of ‘traditional’ kinship theory (e.g., consanguines, affines, patriline, agnatic, etc...) as cross-cultural points of analysis and retain older kinship studies’ emphasis on marriage patterns and genealogy and descent mapped out in elaborate diagrams. Approximately thirty years ago this approach received significant criticism destructive enough to signal a ‘demise’ of the discipline, the most damning of which came from Schneider, who declared that there is no kinship.⁴⁴ At greatest issue was the assumption of a universally applicable definition of kinship and hence the use of Eurocentric or Western notions of kinship as points of cross-cultural analysis or comparison. The field has since reinvented itself through intense theoretical argument and reflection. From that discussion and the subsequent renewal and re-direction of kinship studies in anthropology, there is much to be learned by Greek historians about our own ideas of, assumptions about, and approaches to kinship.

Kinship Theory

An important concern of this project has been to develop a contextual approach to studying kinship in Early Greece using current kinship theory from sociology and anthropology. As just discussed, a number of important shifts have taken place in kinship studies and theory in the past twenty-five years, which should be brought to bear on the study

the important and meaningful goal of connecting such reconstitutions to larger social processes and change (Tilly 1987).

⁴⁴ Schneider 1972, 1984.

of ancient kinship.⁴⁵ Discussions and themes particularly important to this study are: the history and development of kinship studies and its classical connections; the difficulties of defining and studying kinship across culture and time; the benefits and challenges associated with contextual approaches; and the relationship between kinship and society.

Some attention must be given to the history and development of the terminology and concepts in kinship studies, in particular, to their connection to the study of the Classical world. Many of the working definitions and ideas in kinship studies today are derived from Eurocentric models, which in turn are linked to nineteenth-century views of the Classical world, ancient Rome in particular. For example, Stone gives the Roman *gens* as a prime example of a patrilineal descent group, referencing L. H. Morgan's *Ancient Society* from 1877.⁴⁶ Without turning to recent, even twentieth-century scholarship on Early Rome and the *gens*, she accepts, as is, L. H. Morgan's nineteenth-century ethnographic analysis of the Roman *gens* as a "named, exogamous, highly corporate group with land and property rights held in common, and with religious and political significance."⁴⁷ Stone also accepts L. H. Morgan's evolutionary, idealized, and epitomizing scheme of Roman history, in which the *gentes* (as clans) lose their corporate nature as Rome becomes a state and as land and property become held individually, so that by the later Republic only a sense of tribal identity remained as a holdover of the former corporate *gentes*.⁴⁸ The acceptance of such schemes of

⁴⁵ Conversely, recent shifts and ideas in ancient history should also be brought to bear on anthropological and sociological kinship studies, especially re-examinations the classical ideas and kinship systems which, in their nineteenth-century idealized forms, are so foundational to the field of kinship studies. But that is a matter for a different study.

⁴⁶ L. H. Morgan 1877, 285-308, esp. 292-93; Stone 2006, 76-78.

⁴⁷ Stone 2006, 77.

⁴⁸ Stone 2006, 76-77.

classical history, formed in the very different academic and cultural climate of nineteenth-century ethnography, seemingly without reservation, is extremely curious in light of the criticisms made in anthropology for applying such models to other cultures. It may be that the idea exists that such nineteenth-century models, while being too Eurocentric or culturally specific to be applicable to other societies and cultures, are accurate and appropriate representations of the classical societies which were their prototypes.

L. H. Morgan and colleagues such as Maine, McLennan, Bachofen, and Fustel de Coulanges, who were working to identify and characterize stages in the progressive evolution of human society, were very much interested in the classical world and its systems of kinship, especially ancient Rome and its *gens*, which were for them the patrilineal society and the patrilineal descent group *par excellence*.⁴⁹ They drew their terminology from ancient Rome and the contemporary understanding of the Roman *gens* became particularly influential in developing evolutionist ethnographic models of the stages in the progression of human society. Although such models have long been questioned and/or rejected across the humanities and social sciences, terminology and concepts from these early works in ethnography remain (e.g., *pater*, *mater*, *patriarchy*, *matrilineal*).⁵⁰ Anthropological models of tribal societies were fundamentally shaped by early ideas of the classical world. Since this study questions the theory that Early Greek society was focused on and characterized by kinship and descent groups along the order of the Roman *gens* or the Greek *genē* or *genos*, it

⁴⁹ See Service 1986, 113-32. Some of the consequences of this for understanding ancient Greek kinship have been recognized, e.g., by Bourriot (1976, 29-198), Roussel (1976, 17-25, 169-71), Humphreys with Momigliano (Humphreys 1983, 131-43), Sallares (1991, 197-201); Patterson (1998, 1-43), and C. J. Smith (2006, 65-113, 141).

⁵⁰ For an overview of the standard Latin kinship terminology used in anthropology, see, e.g., R. Parkin 1997, 14-36.

will be necessary to be wary of terminology and concepts influenced, at their origin, by idealized classical models and to be aware of the circular arguments such terminology and concepts can provoke. As C. J. Smith writes, “Taking a rigid definition of the *gens* and applying it as an archetype (explicitly or otherwise) to other societies has been the baneful characteristic of a century and more of classical scholarship.”⁵¹

We must also consider if universally or cross-culturally applicable terminology for family, household, and kinship is possible. This is what was at the heart of the so-called ‘demise’ of kinship in anthropology in 1970s and 1980s, in which the extreme relativist view, attributed largely to Schneider, claimed that there is no ‘kinship’, i.e., no comparable, universal institution or concept in human societies that can be called ‘kinship’, and therefore there is nothing to be studied, no field of kinship studies.⁵² Challenging the traditional viewpoint that all human societies have kinship because they recognize and elevate bonds created through the biological universals of sex and reproduction, Schneider casts serious doubt on the universality of biology and genealogy in determining relationships and thus also on the universality of the concept of kinship itself. After Schneider, defining and studying kinship has largely been caught in a struggle between his relativism in which there is no universally present concept of ‘kinship’ and a desire or need to continue studying family and kin relations as something that, outside of theory and the academy, people recognize is there

⁵¹ C. J. Smith 2006, 141.

⁵² Schneider 1972, 1984. Although Schneider is the usual representative of the critique of traditional kinship theory, others scholars similarly questioned the categories used in kinship studies as part of a larger movement in anthropological kinship studies (see Franklin and MacKinnon 2001, 2-4). On the demise, see C. C. Harris 1990, 34-35; Holy 1996, 3-8; R. Parkin 1997, 153-59; Stone 2006, 19-22. See Lamphere 2001, on what she labels the ‘transformation’ of kinship studies following the ‘demise’.

and is an important part of human existence. The challenge is to study kinship cross-culturally, while recognizing that it cannot be cross-culturally defined.

So what do we do? If we become too relativist, we risk having nothing to study. If we ignore Schneider's critique, we risk mistakenly imposing our concept of kinship on other cultures or picking apples and oranges to compare. Some scholars have returned to a more traditional universal definition, which is connected to biology, although they recognize that kinship can also be determined by social factors and that kinship in general is a matter of purely social definition.⁵³ Others have accepted Schneider's challenge and through them kinship studies re-emerged from its 'demise' more attuned to cultural differences and transformed in focus.⁵⁴ Collier and Yanagisako, for example, advocate that gender and kinship can be studied together as mutually constituted in social systems and that both are determined culturally, removing biological fact from both concepts.⁵⁵ Carsten has tried to resurrect kinship studies in light of the lack of a cross-cultural definition of kinship by studying 'relatedness' instead and beginning with a given culture's conceptions of 'relatedness'.⁵⁶ This approach has problems in that it only really renames the initial difficulty and becomes overly broad in scope encompassing all human relationships.⁵⁷ Thus

⁵³ For a more traditional definition with a recognition of social factors, see, e.g., R. Parkin 1997, 3, 6, 32: "All human societies have kinship, that is, they all impose some privileged cultural order over the biological universals of sexual relations and continuous human reproduction through birth" (R. Parkin 1997, 3).

⁵⁴ For movement towards a non-biological definition, see, e.g., Collier and Yanagisako 1987; Carsten 1995. See also, articles in Carsten's edited volume *Cultures of Relatedness* (2000) and in Franklin and McKinnon's edited volume *Relative Values: Reconfiguring Kinship Studies* (2001).

⁵⁵ Collier and Yanagisako 1987; Yanagisako 1987.

⁵⁶ Carsten 1995, 2000.

⁵⁷ For criticisms of Carsten's semantic switch, see Holy 1996, 168.

'relatedness' leaves us with the same problem of whether there are certain human relationships that are distinguishable from others and able to be classified apart from others and whether such relationships can be called kinship. It does, however, have the appeal of breaking free from some of the Eurocentric or Western ideas associated with kinship, if only by a semantic substitution. Another change that took place in the 1990s as a part of the renewal of kinship studies was to view kinship as a process, i.e., as created or emerging through various actions over time or lapsing with action or inaction.⁵⁸ While such an approach still does not provide a cross-cultural definition for kinship, it does present a way of thinking about kinship that is free of the constraints of biology and genealogy, but need not be divorced from them. Although no 'solution' has been found to the problem of how to study kinship universally, the field of kinship studies in anthropology and sociology is nevertheless thriving through methodological discussions and new areas of inquiry.⁵⁹

Since the mid-1980s, there have been calls for more contextual approaches to kinship and family.⁶⁰ It is not that cross-cultural comparisons are not useful or interesting, but rather that universal definitions and categories of kinship should not be assumed. The questioning of the universal role of biology in determining kinship reminds us that cultures may not have the same technological ability, respect, or taste for such scientific 'facts' and may determine

⁵⁸ E.g., Cowan et al. adopt a definition for family or kin in which "people's being family or kin to one another constitutes a special kind of personal and collective project -kinship involves a set of tasks as well as relationships" (1993, xi). Similarly, Stone writes, "Kinship relations *in general* entail the idea of rights and obligations" (2006, 5).

⁵⁹ E.g., the collections of articles embracing new approaches and theory edited by Carsten (2000), Stone (2001), Franklin and McKinnon (2001).

⁶⁰ E.g., Collier and Yanagisako 1987; Cowan et al. 1993, ix, xi; Stone 2006.

kin, kinship relationships, and descent in ways other than through blood and procreation.⁶¹

Thus it is neither possible nor appropriate to construct definitions that are cross-culturally (or cross-temporally) applicable, even if the concepts are seemingly biologically or genealogically derived. And so terms rooted in Western or Eurocentric ideas of kinship such as *patrilinear*, *consanguines*, or *cognatic descent*, for example, are useful only as descriptors and not as definitions or points and tools for analysis or comparison.⁶²

Contextual approaches can also treat gender as culturally determined rather than universally present through biological fact.⁶³ In this view, then, there can be no *universal* structuralist dichotomies and domains such as male equals public and female equals domestic. Either dichotomies exist but are not universal and their character is culturally determined or else dichotomies do not exist in reality and are only a theoretical product of structural analysis. Either position, however, suggests that *automatically* identifying women with the domestic sphere and domestic interests or with nature or any other supposedly universal pigeonhole should be avoided. Instead we should determine spheres and interests contextually along with our terminology and concepts.

One way to do this is to focus on kinship as relationships involving actions and obligations and rights and privileges, instead of focusing on kinship as comprised of concrete separate entities in a system.⁶⁴ This means concentrating less on descent or cognatic groups

⁶¹ See the discussions in Collier and Yanagisako 1987, 27-35; Franklin and MacKinnon 2001, 10-15.

⁶² This was a major component of Schneider's critique of kinship studies (1984, 196-97). See also, R. Parkin 1997, 7-8.

⁶³ E.g., Collier and Yanagisako 1987; Yanagisako 1987; Comaroff 1987.

⁶⁴ In this, I adopt more of a relational approach than a substantive approach, although it also involves a processual idea of kinship. See Parkin (1997, 138-39) on the substantive and relational debate.

and more on the whole class or category of relationships which may be based on indigenous ideas of kinship. Such an approach looks at the ways in which relatedness was expressed and thought what was important about kinship and its expression. This avoids the use of traditional kinship methodology and points of analysis and comparison, and attempts to understand kinship culturally and contextually. It still, however, allows for an understanding and importance of biologically and culturally determined kinship. It is an attempt to identify and study the ideas people had and expressed concerning their own relatedness. Such an approach *is* predicated on the idea that there is at least some loose category of human relationships to be studied across culture and time, which we might call kinship, but it need not rest on a universally applicable definition or concept of kinship.

Following this kinship ideas approach, I have set out in this project to explore how Early Greeks conceived of and expressed kinship and what was important in the expression of kinship. To investigate this question, I accept kinship as a certain type or classification of relatedness or human bonds, which can contain notions of obligation, privilege, and affection often based on, but not limited to, procreation and marriage. While this is a very loose working definition of kinship, this looseness allows the components of the working definition to be filled out and characterized contextually by Early Greek concepts and terminology. Therefore, where categories or terminologies are established in order to proceed beyond the paralyzing effects of extreme relativism and move on to analysis (e.g., households, generational households, descent), I do not accept their traditional definitions from kinship studies, but have attempted to understand them contextually.⁶⁵ Given the lack of a theoretical universal definition or concept of kinship resulting from the challenge to

⁶⁵ I do, however, use kinship terminology occasionally where necessary as practical descriptors.

traditional approaches to and definitions of kinship based on biology, the best method for this project has been to recognize the profound limitations of earlier conventions, adopt an approach sympathetic to Schneider's critique, and consider the matter of kinship contextually through kinship ideas.

Sources for Early Greek Kinship

The evidence of Early Greek kinship cannot tell us much about biological relatedness. Although efforts in physical anthropology are interesting, especially DNA research, maybe even promising, there are so few sites on which this work has been done, and those sites have so few answers.⁶⁶ The evidence also cannot give us actual family tree structures for Early Greece. The closest we have to the relationships of real people are those family trees compiled by J. K. Davies and Toepffner, which are later and only Attic.⁶⁷ Previous studies of Early Greek kinship, as has been mentioned, have been few. Lacey's is highly positivist in its acceptance of Homeric and Hesiodic society at face value, picking through the poetry for oblique references to kinship and accepting these out-of-context phrases as a direct reflection of Early Greek reality. Patterson's volume, while useful in its rejection of evolutionary typologies and models, contains only literary evidence for this early period and moves from the Homeric and Hesiodic worlds into the realities of the Archaic and Classical *poleis*. The realities of Early Greece cannot be read so directly out of poetic worlds. Poetic worlds and the kinship references they contain are the products of expression, and ought to be considered as such.

⁶⁶ This interesting area of recent development in Classical archaeology is covered in detail below, p. 166-76.

⁶⁷ Toepffner 1889; J. K. Davies 1971.

The evidence for family or kinship in this early period seems limited indeed when we put such *provisos* on the textual evidence, but that is the case for all questions involving Early Greece. I think what is required is a less positivist methodology than has been employed in the past and an acceptance of the material as it is, while maintaining an optimism with less explored evidentiary types. This is where the approach of kinship ideas proves useful: the evidence, textual and material, can tell us about expressions of kinship and the ideas informing those expressions. In this study, therefore, I have intended to make a departure from previous methods of studying kinship by looking at Early Greek kinship ideas and considering both textual and material evidence.

It has also been my intention to investigate each evidentiary type in its own regard, i.e., with neither providing the interpretative framework for the other. For this reason the project follows what is perhaps a more traditional disciplinary divide between textual and archaeological approaches to ancient history before combining the evidence in a final synthesis. Part 1 considers textual evidence, looking at Early Greek genealogical material and genealogical thinking and the ideas of kinship expressed therein. Part 2 turns to Early Greek burials and domestic architecture, to examine ideas of kinship expressed in the archaeological record. The project culminates in a synthesis of kinship ideas drawn together from each evidentiary type.

Although the aim of this project is ultimately a discussion of kinship ideas using text and archaeology, I felt it important, at least initially, to investigate each type of evidence in its own right, without interpreting one through the other and take on the challenges each presented without one type overshadowing or depending on the other, as can be a danger in incorporating both evidentiary types in ancient history. In this, the project corresponds to a degree with Kosso's model of epistemic independence, in which distinct pieces of evidence

with different sources of transmission and with different justifications for use report on the same topic.⁶⁸ Given that Greek material culture is generally not datable without reference somewhere down the line to textual evidence linked into our absolute chronological system, complete independence is not really possible. I have, however, adopted approaches to the material culture which do not hinge on scenarios derived from textual evidence, and likewise for the textual evidence. So, although the divide in this project falls along evidentiary types, which Kosso warns is not enough to determine evidentiary independence, the transmission and justification for the use of each type of evidence are different enough to provide at least some level of independence between the two parts of this project.⁶⁹

Before moving on to a brief discussion of the specific sources for Early Greek kinship used in this project, a few things should be said about its scope and scale. The term Early Greece, as indicated above, is a succinct way of expressing Dark Age, Geometric, and Archaic Greece. It indicates a lengthy span of time and serves to link rather than sever these periods whose overlapping, shared boundaries are difficult and contentious to determine. This is not to say that the periods of pre-classical Greece should be viewed together as an unchanging monolithic block or as a long period of small gradual changes, but that it is important in a project such as this, which is very much concerned with ideas, to consider as much evidence as possible and over periods of change.

This project also considers Early Greek culture on a large geographic scale, including settlements across the Mediterranean and beyond, and across the whole spectrum of society, encompassing whatever conceptions of kinship arise from the evidence, such as it is,

⁶⁸ Kosso 1995.

⁶⁹ Kosso rightly argues that independence of evidence cuts across disciplinary lines, not along them (1995).

wherever it is. Therefore, I do not abide by culturally arbitrary geographical boundaries, but rather try to consider the concept of cultural identity in determining areas in which to look for Early Greek kinship ideas. Such a broad approach allows for a greater evidence base with which to investigate wide-ranging and big picture questions about Early Greek society. This is not to say that we can expect to see the same things happening across this world and across different socio-economic classes and social strata, but that we can see differences and similarities, and trends and innovations better with a broader temporal and geographic perspective.

Genealogy and Kinship

For textual evidence, I have chosen to examine Early Greek genealogical material, partly because a comprehensive study of the material has not been done, but mostly, as is appropriate to the approach of this study, because genealogies were a context in which kinship was actively and purposefully expressed and through them we can see something of what was important to be said about or through kinship. I take Early Greek genealogical material to be extended expressions of descent or ancestry beyond a simple statement of relatedness. This means genealogy not as genealogical charts or family trees reconstructed by prosopographers, but genealogy as Early Greeks expressed it, which is really quite different. My study of genealogy is therefore not an exercise of modern prosopography, but an examination of Early Greek story-telling and mythico-history.

Part 1, *Genealogy and Early Greek Kinship*, begins with a chapter that considers definitions of ‘genealogy’ and examines genealogical material produced by Early Greeks, rather than tables, diagrams, or charts of ancestors and/or descendants created by modern scholars. Such material can be found in Homeric and Hesiodic poetry, archaic poetry, the

Early Greek mythographers, Herodotus, and inscriptions. This chapter also examines the forms that recounting ancestors or descendants took in Early Greek literature and the scope of genealogies. Chapter 3 looks at the relationship between genealogy and the origins of history writing and the place of written genealogies in Early Greek historiography. In it, I examine the reputed genealogy of Hekataios reported in Herodotus, and three sources of list-like genealogical material: the genealogies actually recounted in Herodotus (of the Spartan kings and Alexander of Macedon), the difficult and much-debated genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist (also known as the Philaid genealogy), and the genealogy of Heropythos (a lone inscription). Chapter 4, using the results from the preceding chapters, considers the categorization of Early Greek genealogies. It then investigates the purpose of expressing ancestry or descent information and ultimately the use of genealogies by various parties in the Early Greek world.

Archaeology and Kinship

For material evidence, I turn to Early Greek burials and domestic architecture. In this project, I take the position that the archaeological study of the household and of burial practices can help answer important questions about social organization and change and that it need not necessarily be informed by predetermined models of social organization and change derived from the literary evidence, teleological schemes, or anthropological typologies.⁷⁰ Since understanding kinship in Early Greece has been plagued by typologies, I have tried in this study to import as little background as possible about society and kinship from textual sources, and let the material evidence inform the framework as much as

⁷⁰ Similarly, on the potential of studying households archaeologically, see Souvatzi 2008, 2-3.

possible. I have done this with an eye to combining the evidence of each type later as at least relatively independent threads in a synthesis.

In approaching the material evidence, I have opted for a people-centred approach. Although I use the word reflect when considering the material culture and cultural practices, I recognize, as Hodder and Hutson have argued, that material culture is not simply a passive reflection.⁷¹ After all, what would kinship and kinship ideas be without people to be related to one another and think about how they are related? With Early Greek kinship ideas, however, we are in a realm of ideologies, representations, and conceptions that are not our own, and in investigating ideas in such a world, we have to look for their expression, whether in words or in things, which brings in the concept of reflection. It is not so much that material culture is doing the reflecting, but that the cultural practices or actions performed by agents or individuals to create material culture can reflect for us the ideas that inform them as well as contribute to their expression. But that is not the end of it; the *expression* of kinship ideas through actions which may manifest in the material record is also part of the *creation* and *reaffirmation* of those kinship ideas, all of which are shaped by the individual, the culture, and the past.⁷² Kinship ideas and acting upon them could be considered to be part of the individual, the culture, and the past that Hodder sets between behaviour and material culture. Indeed, how Early Greeks were related to their past and how that past was related to the present were major parts of their thinking about kinship and actions concerning kinship (both informing them and being informed by them) and as such, these questions have become major themes of this project.

⁷¹ Hodder and Hutson 2003, 6-10, 99-105.

⁷² See Hodder and Hutson 2003, 14-15, on behaviour and material culture.

Part 2, *Archaeology and Early Greek Kinship*, is concerned with the archaeology of kinship ideas. Chapter 5 considers the evidence of kinship in burials and burial practices. Possibilities for osteological research for the study of biological relatedness are reviewed in light of the nature of the science used and state of the discipline. Most of the chapter, however, considers burial practices and behaviours, and the kinship ideas that inform them and are reflected in them. Particularly important to our understanding of kinship ideas in burial practices is the grouping of burials in multiple inhumations, enclosures, plots, or clusters and whether or not grouping can be attributed to kinship and what such practices might tell us about how kinship was perceived and expressed. I also look at the kinship ideas that may be reflected in and reaffirmed through differentiation among burials based on age and gender. Chapter 6 is a study of domestic architecture as the physical space of the household and kinship. Instead of looking at typologies and classifications of houses, I consider what we may learn about kinship and the household, which I take as a kinship group, from the relationship between houses and settlements, from access patterns and room functionality, and from changes in each of these things. The concluding chapter is a synthesis, a tying together of the kinship ideas from the evidence examined in detail in the preceding chapters. It takes the findings of those chapters and brings the evidentiary types of the two parts together to explore broad and overlapping kinship ideas from the Early Greek world.

Part I: Genealogy and Early Greek Kinship

Chapter 2: Early Greek Genealogical Material

Early Greek genealogical material is usually studied for its place in the development of written history, its association with oral and literate culture, or its use in the expression of ethnic identity.⁷³ Associated with such important themes, genealogy is often assigned an important place in ancient Greek culture; however, no systematic study exists surveying ancient Greek genealogical material and its characteristics, structures, contexts, and purposes.⁷⁴ Recently, conferences on ancient genealogy have resulted in collections of short limited studies on a variety of topics involving ancient Greek genealogy.⁷⁵ While many of these studies offer interesting views and cover many aspects of Greek genealogy, as a whole they are no substitute for a systematic study of Greek genealogical material.

Some important work on genealogy has been done by scholars studying the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. Both West and Fowler take a comparative approach to genealogy in order to interpret the Catalogue, turning to examples from anthropological studies of a multiple number of societies.⁷⁶ Similarly, R. Thomas also uses ideas from anthropological studies of genealogy to inform her work on Greek genealogies. Such cross-cultural analysis has provided us with some good points to consider and has helped us to recognize, label,

⁷³ Historiography: e.g., Fornara 1983, 4-12; Jacob 1994; Möller 1996; Couloubaritsis 1998, 33-91; Bertelli 2001. Orality and literacy: R. Thomas 1989, 173-95. Ethnicity and identity: Hall 1997; Fowler 1998.

⁷⁴ An extended discussion of Greek genealogy appears in R. Thomas and is important and informative (1989, 173-95); however, it is not a thorough survey of genealogical material. Couloubaritsis discusses genealogy at some length but is distinctly interested in the development of philosophy and the history of ideas and does not produce a survey of genealogical material (1998, 33-91). Hall's important coverage of the role of genealogy in constructing ethnicity, although thorough, is very much focussed on genealogies connected with the Argolid, the subject of his case study (1997, 67-110).

⁷⁵ CIERGA (*Kernos* 19) 2006; Auger and Saïd 1998.

⁷⁶ West 1985, 11-30; Fowler 1998.

understand, and explain phenomena or practices we see in the Greek material, like telescoping or fluidity, segmentation, and filiation.⁷⁷ Cross-cultural examples, however, cannot fill in the gaps in our material. We cannot judge from what occurs or occurred in other societies, what we should see concerning genealogy in ancient Greek society. We cannot import a definition of genealogy, what it should and should not be, into the Greek world. Doing so could lead us to expect something quite different from what the material actually is, and in some cases lead us to make assumptions about structure, purpose, context, and material. For example, an association of genealogies with tribes, descent groups, or even aristocratic families should not be assumed for the Greek world unless it can be shown in the genealogical material itself or by the use and context of the genealogical material, regardless of the role genealogies may play in connection with such groups in societies labelled ‘tribal’ by anthropologists. Neither should list-like structures or models, perhaps familiar to Western scholars from biblical genealogies (*x begat y, begat z, etc...*), be held as the expected standard of genealogical material.

In part 1, I am interested in the genealogical material of the Early Greeks, i.e., how Early Greeks did genealogy. The reason for this is that, ultimately, I am interested in what *kinship ideas* may be found in the genealogical material to add and/or to compare to *kinship ideas* from other sources and evidence types in the conclusions of this work. In order to do so, however, Early Greek genealogical material must be studied in its own right, without the expectations or assumptions imported from other societies, including our own. I take this approach, in line with the broader methodology of this study, in order to understand kinship as indigenously as possible, and therefore not as universally based on blood and procreation.

⁷⁷ See R. Thomas 1989, 158; Fowler 1998.

Thus, in dealing with genealogy, I will focus on what and how the Early Greeks γενεαλογοῡσιν, i.e., do genealogy.

In this respect, most extended works that focus on ancient Greek genealogy are methodologically not about Greek genealogies at all. For example, Toepffer's *Attische Genealogie*, Broadbent's *Studies in Greek Genealogy*, J. K. Davies' *Athenian Propertied Families* are studies of modern genealogical methods applied to Greek material and not studies of actual Greek genealogies.⁷⁸ If we use Broadbent's methodology for illustration, we can see that there are two fundamental problems concerning context and the cross-cultural study of kinship in such an approach. The first is that the author compiles the genealogies herself from Greek materials with modern techniques. For example, Broadbent compiles the "genealogy of the local Epidaurian gentry" from forty separate inscriptions, rather than studying the inscriptions themselves as genealogies or representative of genealogical practice.⁷⁹ Broadbent's genealogies, therefore, are made through modern study and compilation, which produce elaborate family tree diagrams, results which we will see are quite foreign to the ancient Greek world. To claim that such diagrams are representative of Greek ideas of family, chronology, and history is to be led astray by over-confidence in the universality of biological and affinal kinship and modern methods of illustrating the world. For example, in her section on Hellanikos on the Queens of Troy, Broadbent compiles the genealogy of the Queens of Troy by piecing together what she believes to be Hellanikos' version of the genealogy. This is to look for our version of a genealogy in the fragments,

⁷⁸ Toepffer 1889; Broadbent 1968; J. K. Davies 1971.

⁷⁹ Broadbent 1968, 18-23. While such a practice may be useful or necessary for prosopographical studies (e.g., Toepffer 1889; J. K. Davies 1971), it is not as useful for understanding how Early Greeks thought about kinship and did genealogy.

rather than to read Greek genealogy out of the fragments. The problem is that Hellanikos' version would never have looked like a family tree diagram nor do the fragments of Hellanikos enable us to say that he thought of and presented this lineage altogether as a whole in a focused genealogy. We cannot reconstruct Hellanikos' work on the basis of what we want or think a genealogy ought to look like.

Broadbent says that her genealogies do not correspond with modern genealogies, but she does so only in regard to their level of completion.⁸⁰ She attributes the lack of completion to the limited survival of the evidence, and yet, that she expects that there was more evidence reveals an assumption that genealogy ought to include everything we want it to or need it to in order to make a complete diagram.⁸¹ Moreover, the very fact that Broadbent's genealogies can be so readily compared to modern genealogical diagrams as to reveal missing elements, shows the modernity of their composition.

The much-studied genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist (usually called the Philaid genealogy) in Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F2) is a prime example of the folly of applying modern genealogical thinking to ancient evidence and a good illustration of how reconstructed modern genealogies do not give us an accurate picture of what ancient Greeks thought about genealogy and the expression of kinship connections.⁸² The *genealogy* given by Pherekydes

⁸⁰ Broadbent 1968, 21.

⁸¹ I cannot help but wonder what an ancient Greek might have felt was missing in modern genealogies, maybe background information, story-telling, an oral quality, pizzazz.

⁸² The association of genealogies with aristocratic families and lengthy inherited genealogical traditions, has led to this genealogy's commonly being called the Philaid genealogy, named for the family, which allegedly would have preserved their early history and taken their name from their earliest ancestor. The name Philaidai, however, is not attested in the ancient evidence concerning this genealogy or the family of Miltiades the Oikist, but is merely what modern scholars have dubbed it (see Parker 1996, 316-17 on the nature and historicity of the Philaidai). Despite the change in scholarly opinion about the context of this genealogy, to be discussed below, the name has stuck. A descriptive name, even just as shorthand, seems to make the most sense, and I have thus

is vastly different from the *genealogical information* about the family of Miltiades the Oikist or Elder, Miltiades the Younger, and Kimon provided by Herodotus in his *Histories*. The discrepancy has caused many emendations to the very corrupt text of Pherekydes by editors attempting to bring the genealogy in line with the information in Herodotus 6.34-35. For example, Jacoby adds the name of the tyrant Kypselos in as the son of Hippokleides and the father of Miltiades the Oikist.⁸³ Wade-Gery likewise adds Kypselos, saying that his name “must have dropped out”, but sets him up as a brother of Teisander.⁸⁴ Wade-Gery also drops the first Miltiades (the one before the Oikist) as a meaningless duplication. Scholarship has now turned away from the desire to emend the text to correspond with Herodotus’ information toward explorations and explanations of the differences with an eye to ancient propaganda, the development of literary techniques, the existence of multiple traditions, or the pursuit of social recognition.⁸⁵ The original academic impulse, however, inspired by more modern Western genealogical thinking, was to reconstruct a precise and accurate family tree that was not initially present in the ancient material.

The second fundamental problem with Broadbent’s methodology is that she divides genealogies into four types based upon differences in their material. These types are genealogies that are historical, forged or made-up, mythic or fictitious, and historiographic

chosen to label it the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist, who comes at the end of the quotation of Pherekydes. It is not that the name Philaidai is inaccurate to describe the descendents of Philaios, it is just that in this study, I want to avoid any connotations of lengthy inherited family traditions and historical kinship groups associated with that name.

⁸³ See Jacoby’s edition *FGrHist* 3 F2 and his commentary, *FGrHist* commentary 1a, p. 388.

⁸⁴ For the details of Wade-Gery’s emendations see Wade-Gery 1952, 88-89, 93-94.

⁸⁵ E.g., Viviers 1987; R. Thomas 1989; Möller 1996; Duplouy 2006.

sociological.⁸⁶ To draw such divisions in the material is to assume that there was a difference between history and myth and reason and aetiology in the ancient world. It is also to assume that kinship is either true or false and that those creating genealogies recognized their work as one or the other. There was such a strong connection drawn between distant heroic ancestors and contemporary historical individuals in the ancient Greek world, as R. Thomas has shown, so as to make distinctions between history and myth moot.⁸⁷

Genealogy is an expression of kinship and of the past, whether that past is understood mythologically or historically. So the question of *type* belongs more to the way the past is understood, i.e., whether through mythology or history. Such categories, however, seem more fitting to the discussions of later Greek historians and modern scholars than to Early Greek poetry and even prose. The problem of when history was born or developed in the Greek world, however, is a tricky one here, especially since the scope of this project includes key writers in the development of historiography such as Hekataios, Hellanikos, and Herodotus. However, it is fair to say that the understanding of the past in each of these writers, although they may have worked with literate methods of historiography, contains elements which are sufficiently mythological so as to distance them from a modern understanding of the past. That Hekataios writes, in a much-quoted phrase, οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι (the stories of the Greeks are many and ridiculous) (*FGrHist* 1 F1), does not make him our colleague. While this statement may represent a profound development in critical historiography (being selective - maybe even snobbish? - with one's sources), Hekataios does not follow through with a rejection or a

⁸⁶ Broadbent 1968, 18.

⁸⁷ R. Thomas 1989, 157-58.

rationalization of myth. He only claims to write those things which seem to him to be true: *τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα* (*FGrHist* 1 F1). This does not imply the wholesale rejection of myth and myth-telling but rather a selection of material, a rejection of certain myths or parts of myths. And as we can see from the surviving fragments of his works, Hekataios' selection process was certainly not based upon a *truth* that is opposed to *myth*. The fragments reveal many mythical and fantastical stories. The story of the origins of wine, for example, from a vine root birthed by a dog (*FGrHist* 1 F15) should tell us that the author who selected this story has a very different idea of what is ridiculous or not than a modern historian.⁸⁸ Furthermore, Hekataios' effort to represent what he understands to be true is probably something to which epic poets and myth-tellers in general could and would also lay claim, the difference lies in how that truth is determined and not in truth-telling itself.⁸⁹ He did not have a monopoly on truth-telling. After all to tell those things that are true - ἀληθέα - is to tell those things that are ἀ-ληθέα: do not escape notice, are not obscured, are not unknown or forgotten.⁹⁰ Such things are definitely in the realm of Greek epic and praise poetry. The difference for poets, myth-tellers, and Hekataios is not between true and mythical, but rather between true and false. While for a modern historian mythical and false may amount to very much the same thing, for Hekataios and the makers of Early Greek genealogies they did not.

⁸⁸ See Dowden 1992, 42-44 for more examples of 'ridiculous' myths in Hekataios' works.

⁸⁹ On Hekataios and truth or rationalizations, see Fowler 1996, 71-72; 2001, 101; Marincola 2001, 15-16.

⁹⁰ The first meaning of ἀληθής given by the LSJ is "unconcealed" and from there we get "true" and "real" as opposed to "false" and "apparent". It is derived from the alpha privative plus λήθω = λαυθάνω meaning "to escape notice, be obscured, be unknown or be forgotten" (LSJ, s.v. "ἀληθής"; Chantraine, s.v. "λαυθάνω").

It is important to understand that mythological genealogies (i.e., genealogies based upon a mythological understanding of the past) are not necessarily made up or fictional. Such genealogies are what Malkin labels historicizing myths, i.e., myths that narrate the past and are told as history.⁹¹ They are also examples of what Gehrke similarly calls ‘intentional history’, the amalgamation of myth and history that comprised the social knowledge of the past.⁹² While genealogies may be based on convenient and deliberate invention or adaptation, those inventions or adaptations reflect, inform, and are informed by beliefs and traditions, especially those about how the world came to be as it is. As Luraghi argues, for mythico-historical traditions to be accepted, they could not be arbitrary, but rather had to be both functional as well as plausible.⁹³ The idea of plausibility that comes alongside the intentional aspect of these traditions is not plausibility that differentiates between what seems likely or not given reality (as opposed to fantasy), but what seems likely or not given the present state of affairs. It is a plausibility that is rooted in the way things are; the mythical past must make sense in and of the present. It is whether or not such beliefs or traditions are similar or dissimilar to our own that determines *for us* (not for Early Greeks) their character as mythological or historical in our eyes, and not whether or not they are fictional. Thus mythological genealogies may not be defined as those that are made up or fictional, but rather as those based on a mythological understanding of the past, which may represent actual belief and tradition as well as deliberate adaptation or invention.

⁹¹ On historicizing myths and the transformation of myth into history and history into myth, see Malkin 1994, 3-6.

⁹² On “intentional history” as social knowledge and the amalgamation of myth and history, see Gehrke 2001, passim, esp. 297-8. On mythico-historical tradition with reference to the *Atthis*, see Harding 2007, 183; 2008, 3.

⁹³ Luraghi 2008, 46-48.

In this work, I will refrain from dividing genealogies along the lines of mythological and historical, accepting that understanding the past in the Early Greek world involved no such firm distinction. But while I will not categorize ancient genealogies in this way, the historical/mythical distinction is nonetheless important in analysis, particularly in regard to the material and where context and use are at issue. If we are to understand the genealogies as ‘intentional history’ or ‘mythical history’, we need to know precisely who is involved and connected with whom. Therefore, I will use the terms ‘historical’ and ‘mythical’ to denote *things or people that we consider to be historical or mythical*, so as to not neglect or negate the ancient mythico-historical tradition.

If genealogies should not be divided along mythical and historical lines, may genealogies be divided in other ways, by different criteria? Hall, in his work *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, sees a marked difference between family genealogies and ethnic genealogies. “Family genealogies” were those which allowed “individuals to trace their lineage back to three-dimensional characters” (perhaps for the purpose of competition and co-operation among elite families); whereas “ethnic genealogies” were “the instrument by which whole social collectivities could situate themselves in space and time, reaffirming their identity through appeals to eponymous ancestors.”⁹⁴ Hall sees a difference in terms of material (known, established ancestors or largely unknown, eponymous ancestors) and purpose (for familial interests or ethnic interests). Such a division involving material and purpose, however, is something that must result from a thorough study of the material as a

⁹⁴ Hall 1997, 41. Hall does not appear to agree wholly with the premise, which he says is “normally assumed”, that family genealogies developed originally among elite families in an arena of competition and co-operation, only that he sees a difference in material and purpose between such genealogies, and those belonging to ethnicities. Therefore, I represent the statement about elite families in parentheses and qualified by ‘perhaps’.

whole prior to categorization. Just what information is contained in the genealogies? To whom and for whom were they being performed, written, read, or otherwise disseminated? For the initial purposes of methodology, I would prefer not to make pre-emptive categories of genealogies, but rather, to do so in concluding, to see if differences in information and structure present themselves in combination with audience and purpose to create typological divisions in the genealogical material.

This chapter, therefore, looks at all genealogical material regardless of its structure, audience, purpose, and material. The connecting thread throughout the material will be that it is genealogical. But what does that entail? Our first extant evidence of the combining of the Greek words γενεά (origin, birth, stock) and λόγος (tale, account) is the word γενεαλογέω, the ancient Greek verb that describes the action of doing genealogy. It first appears in our extant literature in Herodotus, where its contexts may suggest a complete reckoning of one's ancestry in a linear fashion, counting each generation.⁹⁵ Thus, the *LSJ* defines it as “to trace a pedigree.”⁹⁶ It is later used to describe the work of Hekataios, Akousilaos, and Pherekydes, writers largely contemporary to Herodotus, along with the words γενεαλογία (genealogy) and γενεαλόγος (genealogist).⁹⁷ Although it remains unknown just how early these words were applied to these authors and works, it is not, however, unreasonable, given the use of the related verb in Herodotus, to suggest that the writers of the age were aware of them.

⁹⁵ The verb appears seven times (Hdt. 2.91.22; 2.143.1, 4, and 11; 2.146.15; 3.75.6; 6.54.1) plus two more times with the prefix ἀντε- (Hdt 2.143.12, 14).

⁹⁶ *LSJ*, s.v. “γενεαλογέω.”

⁹⁷ See the discussion on the Early Greek prose genealogists below for examples, p. 54.

Although our first extant evidence for the word for doing genealogy thus appears in the fifth century BCE, Greek interest in recounting ancestry and descent extends for centuries in either direction, taking on various forms and characters, and thus making our definition based on Herodotus alone inadequate to encompass the full act of genealogy-making in the Greek world. The first problem with the *LSJ*'s definition is the word 'trace'. 'Trace' implies a studied and complete counting of each generation from descendant A to ancestor B, as we see in Herodotus. But 'trace' is inadequate to describe the reckoning of ancestry that occurs in all of the sources.⁹⁸ Our evidence simply does not support the notion of completeness, as if each stage were worked through and plotted. As R. Thomas has pointed out, we only have three extant full genealogies involving historical families (those whom we believe not to be mythical), that is, where the line is complete from contemporary subject to founding ancestor.⁹⁹ Other extant genealogies involving people we know to be historical (i.e., not mythological) are subject to what R. Thomas identifies as telescoping, wherein there is a substantial gap in the genealogy between the generations of the recent past and those of the distant past. The middle is left out. R. Thomas concludes that the interest in genealogy was not so much in linking all the descendents or ancestors in a long lineage, but to connect recent generations, that is, those close in time to the creation of the genealogy, to the distant heroic past.

The second problem with the *LSJ*'s definition is the word 'pedigree'. 'Pedigree' suggests a particular lineage of an individual or family, which again is not always the case.

⁹⁸ This is not to say that the word "trace" cannot be used to describe the movement in some genealogies (and it will be used in this study), but rather that "to do genealogy" is not necessarily "to trace".

⁹⁹ R. Thomas 1989, 159.

Hall, for example, studies “ethnic genealogies” which involve whole ethnic groups and ancestors who are eponymous to locations in various regions.¹⁰⁰ Many genealogies seem to be concerned not with individuals but with wider ethnic groups. Some genealogies also involve an ancestor and then branch out from there, not aiming at any particular individual or family.¹⁰¹ Moreover, the word ‘pedigree’ is a loaded term in modern English, antiquated, and even inappropriate to use in reference to human beings. It seems more appropriate to the class-conscious, elite Victorian milieu in which the lexicon was compiled.¹⁰² In the use of the word pedigree, the lexicon reveals its age.

It is preferable to approach the act of making genealogies more neutrally as “the recounting of ancestry and/or descent” -not necessarily complete nor linear nor focused on an individual lineage. This does not mean that genealogical material only contains ancestry and/or descent statements or information, but that ancestry and/or descent figure largely in the information being conveyed.¹⁰³ Such recounting may take on several different forms from rather bare lists of names and relationships to elaborate stories. Genealogy is always, however, more than a statement of relatedness, e.g., a patronymic. It is an extended narrative or presentation of relationships. It need not be long nor complete, but it must move beyond simply stating relatedness with one or more individuals.

¹⁰⁰ Hall 1997, 40-51.

¹⁰¹ Various structures and directions found in the genealogical material will be discussed at length below, p. 57-87.

¹⁰² In the second edition of the *LSJ*, dating to 1845, the entry for γενεαλογέω in Herodotus uses much the same language as the newest edition of the *LSJ*. It reads, “to trace ancestry, make a pedigree” (*LSJ*, 2nd ed., s.v. “γενεαλογέω”).

¹⁰³ What else may be considered part of genealogical material besides statements of ancestry or descent will be discussed further on.

Following this definition, I have chosen to include as early genealogical material all Early Greek works or passages for which we have evidence of the recounting of ancestry and/or descent beyond a statement of relatedness and for which we have sufficient reason to place its composition around or before the middle of the fifth century BCE. The scope of this study, therefore, starts with our earliest extant Greek literature, i.e., Homer and Hesiod, and goes beyond the mid-fifth century just to include Herodotus and his contemporaries, straddling the Archaic and Classical periods. I have chosen to extend the scope of this study down into the Classical period because of the intense intellectual changes in historiography from the sixth through fifth centuries and the important, perhaps related, changes in Greek genealogy-making. The mid-fifth century is not a firm cut-off point at a specific year, especially given that Herodotus' *Histories* were published after the middle of the century, but rather a loose range of years in which to draw the scope of the study to a reasonable close. Every study needs a limit to its scope; however, to be too rigid about dates here would be to lose important evidence about the development of genealogy and genealogical thinking. Any changes we may see in genealogy-making (e.g., in structure, production, purpose, and ideas) may inform us about changes in what kinship was and how it was conceived of at different times within our period of interest. Early Greek genealogical material is the product of a tradition of recounting ancestry and/or descent in different structures and styles and for various purposes.

Sources of Early Greek Genealogical Material

Homeric Poetry

There are eight passages in Homeric poetry that can be clearly described as genealogical.

These are the genealogies of Krethen and Orsilochos (*Il.* 5.541-49); Glaukos (*Il.* 6.144-211);

Idomeneus (*Il.* 13.445-54); Diomedes (*Il.* 14.109-27); Aineias (*Il.* 20.200-41); Achilles (*Il.* 21.182-91); Theoklymenos (*Od.* 15.223-57), and Telemachos (*Od.* 16.112-21). Each of these passages establishes identity and character, on or off the battlefield, through the recounting of ancestors. Upon encountering a stranger, Homeric characters often ask not only for a name, but a location and parentage, e.g., τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆες; (What man are you? From where? Where is your city? And your parents?) (*Od.* 15.264).¹⁰⁴ Or Homeric characters may respond automatically with such information, as in the exchange between Diomedes and Glaukos: Diomedes asks, τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε, καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; (Who among mortal men are you, dear friend?) (*Il.* 6. 123). And Glaukos answers, in an apparent formula (repeated by Aineias at *Il.* 20.213-14), εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι, ὄφρ' ἐϋ εἰδῆς / ἡμετέραν γενεήν, πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἴσασιν (If you wish to learn these things, so that you may know my lineage well; many men know it) (*Il.* 6.150-51). Glaukos then proceeds to give his full genealogy. Such is the context of Homeric genealogies: they appear, given either by the hero or the poet, in response to questions of identity or character.

Compared to the other sources of genealogical material, Homeric poetry presents a rare opportunity to study complete extant genealogies in context. However, this context must be handled with care. When it comes to Homer, we should not claim that Homeric examples represent some aspect of reality, transposing the amalgamated and literary world of epic poetry onto the real Early Greek world. For example, we cannot assume that historical men had pedigrees equivalent to their Homeric counterparts, as Lacey does when, following a

¹⁰⁴ References to and quotations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are from Monro and Allen 1920 and Allen 1917 respectively. Translations are my own.

discussion of Homeric genealogies, he writes “The assertion of a claim to status by pedigree is the likeliest explanation of the growth of catalogue poetry (in which genealogies played a large part), as hereditary leaders of the aristocratic age in Greece sought to establish their claims to rule by prerogative of descent from the ruling gods.”¹⁰⁵ The problem here is that Lacey takes Homeric society at face value as “the aristocratic age” of Greek history, assigning it a time period between the tenth and seventh centuries BCE, and therefore, can project Homeric genealogical practices onto historical ones, as if what happens in Homer is directly indicative of what was happening in reality.¹⁰⁶ We should not simply accept Homeric genealogies as directly representative of historical genealogical practices involving historical people in Early Greece, but rather as representative of genealogical thinking and an interest in descent. Homeric genealogies cannot be used as direct evidence that historical men had genealogies like those of the Homeric heroes.

We can, however, look at the genealogies in Homer within their own literary context. How were they told? What was their structure and form? What did they include, stress, or leave out? We can look at their use and purpose in the world of epic poetry. We can look at the myths they tell and the ideas of kinship they express. We can study them in their own right. A more nuanced understanding of their relationship to the realities of the Early Greek world can thus be developed on the basis of those investigations concerning structure, scope, purpose, myth, and kinship ideas. This approach must also hold true for other Early Greek genealogical material, as we are dealing with literary and mythical worlds that were not a-

¹⁰⁵ Lacey 1968, 37-38.

¹⁰⁶ Lacey 1968, 33-50, 51.

historical to their audiences, but which, as we will see, were rarely connected to worlds which we would consider historical.

Hesiod's *Theogony*

Hesiod's *Theogony* is arguably one large genealogy of the gods. In the prologue, the poet calls on the Muses, κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἔόντων (Make known the holy lineage of immortals who exist forever) (*Theog.* 102).¹⁰⁷ Then what follows, from line 116 on, is a recounting of the descent relationships of the gods alongside what West calls the "Succession Myth."¹⁰⁸ This myth is the story of the rulers of the gods, from Ouranos to Zeus, and answers Hesiod's second request of the Muses to tell how the powers and riches of the gods are divided and how they come to take hold of Mount Olympus (*Theog.* 112-13). These two requests are very closely connected. The myth of succession and the recounting of the descent of the gods are closely bound together and both are part of the same story: the story of how things came to be as they are. As West's comparative overview of world theogonic poetry shows, the genealogies of gods, heroes, and humans play a major role in peoples' stories of the creation of the world and their mythological explanations of how things come to be as they are.¹⁰⁹ The Greek Hesiodic *Theogony* shares this context of genealogy. Although West, Thalmann, and Hamilton each differ on the extent to which they

¹⁰⁷ References to and quotations from the *Theogony* are from Merkelbach and West 1970. Translations are my own.

¹⁰⁸ West 1966, 18-19.

¹⁰⁹ See West 1966, 1-16 on the theogonic literature of several civilizations, i.e. literature treating "the origin of the world and the gods, and the events which led to the establishment of the present order" (1966, 1). From West's overview, we can see that genealogies of gods, heroes, and humans feature prominently in the theogonic literature of many cultures, e.g., Hebrew, Persian, Indian, Germanic, Norse, Ancient English, and Japanese.

think the *Theogony* is genealogical and on genealogy's relationship to the succession myth, each sees genealogy as a major structuring element of the poem.¹¹⁰ In the discussion of the story-telling character of Early Greek genealogy below, I will argue that in both its structure and the information it presents, the *Theogony* is very similar to other Early Greek genealogical material and thus is well described as a genealogy.

Although the end of the *Theogony* as we have received it is spurious, following West's assessment of the final point of preservation of Hesiod's work at line 900, it is nonetheless a piece of Greek genealogical material.¹¹¹ If it is datable to before the mid-fifth century, as West has it, as a revised ending and connector to the *Catalogue of Women*, it belongs in a study of Early Greek genealogy.¹¹² So this study will include the end of the *Theogony* as genealogical material in its own right.

The Hesiodic Catalogues

The fragmentary *Catalogue of Women* is also a work of genealogical poetry and its status as such is not usually disputed, as is that of the *Theogony*. Also called the *Ehoiai* or

¹¹⁰ West 1966, 31-39; Thalmann 1984, 40; Hamilton 1989, 15. Hamilton, although he does not accept that the whole poem is genealogical, does recognize that genealogy is a large part of the 'program' of the *Theogony* as outlined in the poem.

¹¹¹ West 1966, 398. There is disagreement on this end point (see Hamilton 1989, 96-99 for an assessment of the major arguments); however, given that our earliest suspicion about the text occurs beginning at line 901, it may be safest to consider anything after line 900 to be in doubt. In any case, this project's focus on ideas and its inclusive methodology, looking at Early Greek genealogical material as a whole, allows for the study of multiple works despite unclear authorship. Therefore, we may include the information and be careful about authorship when discussing specific points of structure.

¹¹² West gives it and the *Catalogue of Women* a probable date in the sixth century on the basis of the editorial activity of the time seen in other examples of poetry composed as continuations of pre-existing poems (1966, 49).

shortened to the *Catalogue*, it was attributed falsely in the ancient world to Hesiod and, although it acts as a continuation of the *Theogony*, it belongs to a later period, probably the sixth century.¹¹³ Another catalogue called the *Megalai Ehoiai* or *Great Ehoiai* was also attributed to Hesiod; however, it survives in an even more fragmentary state than the *Catalogue of Women*.¹¹⁴ The fragmentary state of the Hesiodic catalogues, even that of the *Catalogue of Women* which is better preserved than its cousin through quotation and on papyrus, renders it difficult to be confident in their structure. Matters of structure and the order of the fragments will have to be treated with caution and careful attention will have to be paid to whether evidence is found in quotation, paraphrase, or on papyri fragments and how soundly it is attributed to the work in question. We can tell, however, from the content of the Hesiodic catalogues, that, despite their fragmentary state, they are works interested in descent and ancestry relationships involving gods and heroes, and thus are genealogical.

Other Early Greek Poetry

We have evidence that other poets in Early Greece wrote works of genealogy or at least works with passages of genealogical material. Eumelos of Corinth, paraphrased largely in Pausanias and the scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes, is attributed with genealogical poetry

¹¹³ For the *Catalogue*'s date and faulty attribution to Hesiod see West 1985, 131-136, 125-130. The name *Ehoiai* comes from the structuring of the poems around the recurring connecting formula: ἣ' οἴη... *like the one who...* Fragments associated with Hesiod (those of the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Great Ehoiai*) are quoted and referenced from Most's collection of Hesiodic fragments (2007) and are cited in the following manner: Hes. frag. 1 (Most). Translations are my own.

¹¹⁴ The *Great Ehoiai* is preserved largely through quotations in Pausanias and the scholia on Pindar and Apollonius of Rhodes (see Hes. frags. 185-201 (Most)). Hesiod is also associated with the *Melampodia*, a poem on seers, which may or may not have been genealogical in character and structure (see Huxley 1969, 54-9; West 1985, 3-4). Given the relatively few fragments (nine altogether see Hes. frags. 206-15 [Most]) and its unknown structure and genre, it cannot be considered among the genealogical material in this study.

which helped to situate Corinth and the Corinthians in the world of epic poetry and mythology.¹¹⁵ Although a few remaining lines of poetry survive, most of the material is found in prose in the scholia or Pausanias and this material is given the name *Korinthiaka*. Huxley dates the poetry of Eumelos to the late eighth century and treats the *Korinthiaka* as a version of the Eumelos' real poetry rendered into prose at a much later date, possibly the first part of the fourth century BCE.¹¹⁶ Thus he is unaffected in his analysis by the prose material's later date, treating the material as the body of work of one man in the eighth century. While this is an approach to a troublesome collection of fragments, paraphrases, and testimonia attributed to Eumelos that allows us to move forward, it is far from resting on solid ground. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, I will accept that there probably was a poet called Eumelos working in the late eighth century and that he may have written genealogical poetry or at least passages of genealogical material; however, I will refrain from placing too much emphasis or importance on the work on Eumelos alone in argumentation.

Kinaithon of Lakedaïmon and Asios of Samos were also credited in the ancient world with writing works of genealogical poetry.¹¹⁷ Pausanias, for example, cites the genealogies of both of these poets, along with the *Catalogue of Women* (the *Ehoiai*) and the *Naupaktia*, as

¹¹⁵ See Huxley 1969, 60-79. The collected testimonia and fragments of Eumelos are in Jacoby *FGrHist* 451; M. Davies *EGF*, 95-103; Bernabé *PEG*, 106-114; Fowler *EGM*, 105-109. In this study the testimonia and fragments of Eumelos are quoted and referenced from M. Davies' collection and are cited in the following manner: *EGF* Eumelos T1. The translations are my own.

¹¹⁶ Huxley 1969, 62-63. Huxley arrives at the date of Eumelos' poetry from a quotation of it in Pausanias (4.33.2), which he relates to the time of the first war between the Spartans and Messenians ca. 730 BCE. Bernabé also accepts this date (*PEG*, 108).

¹¹⁷ The collected testimonia and fragments of Kinaithon are in M. Davies *EGF*, 92-93 and Bernabé *PEG*, 115-117. Those of Asios are in M. Davies *EGF*, 88-91 and Bernabé *PEG*, 127-131. In this study the testimonia and fragments of Kinaithon and Asios are quoted and referenced from M. Davies and cited in the following manner: *EGF* Kinaithon F1 and *EGF* Asios F1. The translations are my own.

sources for his own genealogies (4.2.1).¹¹⁸ He also cites their works individually in connection with specific pieces of genealogical data.¹¹⁹ Modern scholars tentatively assign Kinaithon and Asios dates in the seventh to sixth centuries and the sixth century respectively.¹²⁰ While we have very few fragments of both of these authors, even fewer of which appear to be direct quotations, they do provide some evidence and examples of genealogy making in verse outside of the *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women*. As fragmentary material, the works of Kinaithon and Asios will be treated in the same manner as the those of the early mythographers to be discussed below.

The genealogical information about the Spartan royal lines embedded in the wider narrative of Pausanias (3.1.1-10.5) may also have its source in the genealogical poetry or at least tradition of the sixth century. Pausanias begins with the earliest eponymous royals followed by the return of the Herakleidai and continues recounting the sons and successions of the two Herakleidai royal lines after the twin sons of Aristodemos. Pausanias himself does not mention a particular poet or source for the Spartan royal genealogy, but rather attributes the genealogy to Lakedaimonian tradition: ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι... (As the Lakedaimonians themselves say...) (Paus. 3.1.1).¹²¹ As Hall points out, the late date of Pausanias' writing need not mean that the genealogical myth which he represents is likewise late.¹²² If we can accept the existence of the poets Eumelos, Kinaithon, and Asios, to whom

¹¹⁸ Paus. 4.2.1 = *EGF* Kinaithon F5 = *EGF* Asios F12.

¹¹⁹ See *EGF* Kinaithon F2 and 4; *EGF* Asios F1, 3-8, and 11.

¹²⁰ See Huxley 1969, 85-98.

¹²¹ References to and quotations from Pausanias are from Jones and Ormerod 1918-35. Translations are my own.

¹²² Hall 1997, 79.

Pausanias attributes his genealogical information for other cities or ethnic groups, can we not accept the existence of an earlier Lakedaimonian tradition? The problem is in dating it. Calame dates it internally from the mythological information, connecting the genealogy's representation of space with the "spatial situation" brought about by Sparta's expansion and consolidation of power in the Peloponnese in the late sixth to early fifth century.¹²³ Even if the genealogy of the early Spartan royal line appeared, became codified, or was solidified later than this date, if we can judge by Calame's observations about its spatial representation of Spartan power, it would probably still fall into the period of interest here, i.e., probably earlier than the mid-fifth century while Sparta was still at its most influential and powerful in the Peloponnese. Furthermore, the comparanda of Pausanias' other similarly paraphrased genealogies, those of Kinaithon and Asios in particular, may also suggest an early date for the genealogy. However, the dating of the 'Lakedaimonian tradition' is far from certain, the word 'tradition' meaning it could be difficult to nail all the pieces down to one particular time or origin. Therefore, because its dating is not entirely secure, I will apply the same approach to the Spartan genealogy in Pausanias as to the work of Eumelos and refrain from placing too much emphasis or importance on the genealogy alone. As with Eumelos, however, it may be added to the weight of other evidence with a note of caution.

The poetry of Pindar also contains some genealogical information, but whether such information can properly be called genealogical material is tricky.¹²⁴ There are statements of relatedness between contemporary figures and those of a distant, legendary past but no

¹²³ Calame 1988, 176-78.

¹²⁴ References to and quotations from Pindar are from Race 1997, vols. 1-2. Translations are my own. For discussion of genealogical themes in Pindar, see Suárez de la Torre 2006.

intervening links supplied and no extended descent or ancestry details.¹²⁵ It could, however, be argued that the information supplied about the distant, legendary figures is told as a genealogical story, recounting something about the descent and ancestry of those legendary figures in the story, something which we will see is a major element of Early Greek genealogy alongside descent and ancestry information. Thus, there are some passages in Pindar's poetry that should be considered at least to be related to genealogical material and part of genealogical thinking, if not genealogical material proper.

So-called genealogies of ethical concepts or abstractions also appear in Archaic Greek elegiac and lyric poetry, but such 'genealogies' do not usually extend beyond a simple statement of relatedness.¹²⁶ However, similar applications of genealogical metaphors or kinship metaphors to ethical concepts and abstractions can be seen in the *Theogony*, and so accordingly elegiac and lyric poetry will come up again in connection to genealogical metaphors.

Early Greek Prose Genealogists

The Early Greek mythographers wrote works of mythography, among which genealogy seems to have been a major interest if not a full-fledged genre. Those early mythographers who are credited with works of genealogy and who fall into the time frame presented (i.e., whose works date to approximately the mid-fifth century and earlier) are Hekataios of Miletus (*FGrHist* 1), Akousilaos of Argos (*FGrHist* 2), Pherekydes of Athens

¹²⁵ E.g., *Ol.* 2.35-48; *Ol.* 6.24-25 and 28-73; *Ol.* 7.20-38 and 92-94; *Pyth.* 4.247-62; *Nem.* 11.33-42; *Isthm.* 3.13-17b.

¹²⁶ See Abel 1943.

(*FGrHist* 3), Hellanikos of Lesbos (*FGrHist* 4), and Damastes of Sigeum (*FGrHist* 5).¹²⁷

These men are among the earliest prose writers in ancient Greece and the first authors for whom we have evidence of works of genealogy written in prose. Ancient testimonia and introductions to the quotations or paraphrases place these writers within a tradition of genealogical writing. They do so by writing about authors making genealogies, e.g., Herodotus on Hekataios (Hdt. 2.143 = *FGrHist* 1 T4); by referring to works as genealogies, e.g., Akousilaos (*FGrHist* 2 F3): Ἀκουσίλαος ἐν τρίτῳ Γενεαλογιῶν... (in the third book of his *Genealogies*...); by naming works after mythical families or dynasties, e.g., Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F5): Ἑλλάνικος δ' ἐν Φορωνίδι... (Hellanikos in the Phoronis...); or by calling authors genealogists, e.g., Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 T7): Φερεκύδην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, γενεαλόγων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον (Pherekydes the Athenian, second to none of the genealogists).

Judging from the fragments themselves, we can see that many deal very clearly with descent and/or ancestry, but many do not. Many appear to be concerned with myths and stories. So how do we decide what is genealogical material? As we will see myths and stories were a large part of what genealogy-making in Early Greece was all about,¹²⁸ and so we could go wrong by discounting the fragments that do not directly address ancestry and/or descent. That would be, in effect, to distil the information into a false purity not intended nor

¹²⁷ Fragments of their works are collected in Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1923-58) and more recently in Fowler's *Ancient Greek Mythography* (2000). In this study the testimonia and fragments of the prose genealogists are quoted from Fowler, unless absent from Fowler, in which case they are quoted from Jacoby. They are cited in the following manner: *FGrHist* 1 F1. Where Fowler's numbering is different, it is indicated in accompanying parentheses as per (*EGM* Hekataios F1). The translations of the fragments of the Early Greek mythographers are my own.

¹²⁸ The story-telling character of Early Greek genealogy will be discussed below, p. 75-87.

perhaps even imagined by its presenters. The methodology of this study steers the study of genealogy in the works of the mythographers towards reading genealogy out of the fragments rather than looking for and plucking out what may look like genealogy to us.¹²⁹ If we do so, we would run the risk of imposing on the material a pre-determined structure, type of information, and overall look and feel. In specific matters of structure, we should be careful to focus on those fragments which appear to contain actual quotations of the mythographers rather than pre-amble or paraphrases.

Damastes' floruit (ca. 440-30) may be a little late for this study's period of interest but I have chosen to include his work and that of Hellanikos, whose lifespan and therefore perhaps much of his career seem to encompass almost the whole fifth century. I have done so because the early prose genealogists seem to form a particular tradition that is deemed by many to hold a specific spot in the development of historiography, and it is important to consider as much of that tradition as possible without going too far beyond the scope of the study.

Herodotus' *Histories*

There are three clearly genealogical passages in Herodotus' *Histories*, which recount the genealogies of the Spartan kings Leonidas and Leotychidas (Hdt. 7.204 and 8.131) and that of Alexander of Macedon (Hdt. 8.139).¹³⁰ The genealogy of Pausanias (Hdt. 9.64), the Spartan commander at Plataia, is truncated after two generations and we are told by Herodotus that the rest of his lineage is recorded in the lineage of Leonidas (Hdt. 7.204) since

¹²⁹ As Broadbent does in her study of Hellanikos on the Queens of Troy (1968, 27-39).

¹³⁰ References to and quotations from Herodotus are from Hude 1927. Translations are my own.

they are the same. This sort of cross-referencing is unusual among the genealogical material and merits consideration and so the passage will be included in this study despite its apparent brevity. Another unusual thing about the genealogies in Herodotus is that they run like bare lists of paternal relationships, something which will have to be discussed in comparison with the rest of the genealogical material and especially with the work of Herodotus' contemporary prose genealogists.

Epigraphical Sources

Inscriptions from the ancient Greek world involving kinship are usually simple statements of relatedness that rarely go beyond one generation rather than extended presentations of ancestry and/or descent.¹³¹ A small group of genealogical inscriptions (those that recount ancestry and/or descent beyond two generations) do survive but they are usually much later than the period of interest in this study. The inscriptions used by Broadbent, for example, in reconstructing the genealogy of "Local Epidaurian Gentry" date from between the third century BCE and the second century CE.¹³² A few more genealogical inscriptions from Miletus, Crete, and Cyrene date to the Hellenistic and Imperial periods.¹³³ There is one

¹³¹ E.g., the inscriptions on epitaphs, stelae, vases, and monuments recording immediate family members (wives, husbands, sons, daughters) studied by Pomeroy, most of which date to the Classical period and after (1997, 126-40).

¹³² Broadbent 1968, 18-23.

¹³³ These are: the genealogy of Antigonos in a second century BCE inscription from Miletus (*Milet* no. 422 see Hermann 1987, 183-189; Chaniotis 1987); the genealogy of Eteanor in a second century BCE inscription from Crete (*Inscr. Cret.* III S.56 iii 8 see Chaniotis 1987, 42-43), the genealogy of Klearchos in an inscription from Cyrene (*SGDI* 4859; Masson 1974), the date of which is debatable. It is dated to the late third century BCE by Chaniotis following Letronne (Chaniotis 1987, 43) but also to the first or second century CE as suggested by Masson following Fraser (Masson 1974, 266n17).

inscription, *SGDI* 5656, that does involve extended descent relationships and that is thought to come from approximately the middle to late fifth century and thus lands within the scope of this study.¹³⁴ It is a grave *stèle* from Chios listing the ancestors of one Heropythos (figs. 3.1 and 3.2).¹³⁵ It is unique in its early date and, like the genealogies in Herodotus, it has a list-like structure that is unusual for Early Greek genealogical material. It may have more in common with the later epigraphic examples than with contemporary or earlier genealogical practices, something which requires further inquiry below.

Structure and Scope in Early Greek Genealogical Material

Early Greek genealogies take on various structures and have vastly different scopes, from highly detailed genealogies with several branches to linear genealogies with one clear descendant as subject and no branches. However, they have at least one structural feature in common: Greek genealogies do not express family trees. Although family trees are a familiar model of kinship and a useful visual aid for making sense of information, they are a model and an interpretative structure foreign to the Early Greek world. They do not tell us how Early Greeks thought of kinship and we can go wrong by distilling or distorting the information through interpretation.

¹³⁴ Wade-Gery and Chaniotis date it to ca. 450 (Wade-Gery 1952, 8-9; Chaniotis 1987, 43); Jeffery dates it uncertainly to ca. 475 (Jeffery 1990, 344).

¹³⁵ Wade-Gery 1952, 8-9, fig. 1. Modern commentators take Wade-Gery's transcription as correct over that of Corritz and Bechtel (*SGDI* 5656), which leaves out a generation (see Chaniotis 1987, 43; R. Thomas 1989, 156n1; Jeffery 1990, 344).

Genealogies and Family Trees

The family tree and the Greek genealogy are two very different ways of conceiving of and presenting supposedly the same information. It is not just a difference between visual and oral or textual information. The difference lies in what connections or relationships are drawn within the information presented. Greek genealogies connect individuals through kinship primarily vertically through time in a narrative focusing mainly on descent. They do not make connections both laterally and vertically to equal measure creating a web or tree, as family trees do.¹³⁶

To illustrate the significance of the difference, consider the following example involving two family trees (figs. 2.1 and 2.2) and an outline of the related genealogy from Homer (fig. 2.3). Figure 2.1 is a family tree of Aineias or the Trojan royal line adapted from the appendices of an edition of Apollodorus' Library.¹³⁷ It was compiled by the translator from the information in the Library. Figure 2.2 is a family tree of Aineias based on the information from the hero's genealogy in Book 20 of the *Iliad* (*Il.* 20.200-41). Notice that several details from the fuller family tree from the edition of Apollodorus are missing from that created from the information in Homer. Absent are the women apart from the divine Aphrodite, the other children of Priam, and several siblings, especially in the earlier generations. It is not that the poet knows less of the mythological family or details than the writer of the Library does. The poet has the rest of the information or at least knows more

¹³⁶ Duploux similarly writes "Une généalogie antique n'a rien d'un arbre généalogique" (2006, 60) [An ancient genealogy is not a family tree]. He makes the argument, however, from ancient genealogy's lack of precision as well as its different purpose. I make mine from the profoundly different ways ancient genealogy and modern genealogy present information.

¹³⁷ Hard 1997, 22.

details than are presented in the genealogy, as we can clearly tell from the rest of the epic. The poet of the *Iliad* knows, just as the writer of the Library does, that Paris and many others are among the children of Priam, but only Hektor is mentioned. The Homeric genealogy does not recount the whole or even most of the family tree, nor does it try to as we can see from the outline of the genealogy itself (fig. 2.3). The poet picks and chooses the information to be conveyed as part of his epic technique. In the genealogies, the poet expands at key places, but seldom includes siblings. His interest is generally much more linear.

Before the genealogy begins there is a small amount of preamble, which is largely heroic posturing, in which Aineias acknowledges his opponent, Achilleus, and his divine parentage. Then he boasts about his own semi-divine parentage from Anchises and Aphrodite. There is a bit more posturing and then the beginning of the genealogy proper is signalled by the apparent stock phrase: εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι, ὄφρ' εὖ εἰδῆς / ἡμετέραν γενεήν, πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἴσασιν (If you wish to learn these things, so that you may know my lineage well; many men know it) (*Il.* 20.213-14).¹³⁸

Aineias starts by going back to the beginning of his lineage, back to Zeus, and from there he moves forward through time recounting sons and sometimes giving the story of their deeds, accomplishments, or adventures, e.g., the story of Erichthonios and his horses takes up several lines of poetry. At the generation of the sons of Tros he begins to recount the descendents of two branches: that of Ilos down to Hektor and that of Assarakos down to himself. Genealogical passages in Homer follow this general outline: they start with the subject, followed sometimes with a statement about his father, then they jump back in time to

¹³⁸ The exact phrase also signals the start of Glaukos' genealogy (*Il.* 6.150-51).

the earliest ancestor (divine or human) and from there move forward in time toward the present and the subject.¹³⁹

Aineias' genealogy, like the other seven Homeric genealogies, also focuses on one line of descent, that of the subject, and does so paternally, linking generations only by the relationship from father to son. The mother's lineage is never traced beyond the occasional reference to her father. There is very little branching off of the main line of descent in order to fully describe more familial connections. Very rarely do the genealogies branch off to include the descendents of the siblings in a given generation. Although the siblings of a generation are usually listed and their stories sometimes elaborated upon, their descendents and their stories generally are not. There are only three places in all of the generations reckoned in the Homeric genealogies where branching does occur.¹⁴⁰ One of which we have seen in the genealogy of Aineias.

The genealogy of Aineias diverges at the point where Aineias' lineage and that of Hektor diverge, at the sons of Tros: Ilos, Assarakos, and Ganymedes (*Il.* 20.231-40) (see fig. 2.3). After a short story about Ganymedes' fate as the wine-pourer of Zeus, the genealogy follows the descendents of Ilos: Laomedon and his sons including Priam. Then the genealogy follows the descendents of Assarakos: Kapys, his son Anchises, and his son Aineias. At this point Aineias, the speaker, connects himself with Hektor son of Priam:

αὐτὰρ ἔμ' Ἀγχίσης, Πριάμος δὲ τέχ' Ἑκτορα δῖον. / ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ

¹³⁹ This is true for *all* of the genealogies in Homer, except the short genealogy of Achilles (*Il.* 21.182-91), which jumps in time from the subject to the god as earliest ancestor and then returns to the subject and moves back in time generation by generation from the subject to the god. This is discussed below.

¹⁴⁰ The other instances of branching occur in the genealogies of Glaukos and Theoklymenos are discussed below.

αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι. (And Anchises bore me, and Priam bore brilliant Hektor. / I claim to be from this generation and blood) (*Il.* 20.240-41). Although the genealogy branches to connect contemporary figures in a statement of kinship, it only connects two figures. The genealogy does not include other contemporary relatives, like Paris and Cassandra and the other children of Priam, nor does it include the children of Priam's siblings.¹⁴¹ Aineias' genealogy branches only as much as is needed to establish his relationship in blood with Hektor the brilliant and so enhance Aineias' reputation.¹⁴² Therefore, the branching is limited to two narrow lineages and does not represent a broader family tree nor link contemporary kin as a group.

The genealogy of Glaukos branches briefly from the main line of descent after the generation of Bellerophon's children (*Il.* 6.198-99), relaying the information that Bellerophon's daughter, Laodameia, bore the hero Sarpedon to Zeus. The genealogy then resumes the story of Bellerophon before moving on along Glaukos' line of descent. It is very limited branching, lasting only one generation and taking up only two lines of poetry in the

¹⁴¹ This is unlike the genealogical material in the *Theogony* or the *Catalogue of Women*, which do include many if not all offspring in each generation.

¹⁴² It has been argued by several scholars that the prominence of Aineias in Book 20 of the *Iliad*, including the telling of his genealogy, may be a result of the influence of an historical family, the Aineidai of the Troad, looking to connect themselves with their eponymous (so they would have claimed) heroic ancestor (e.g., Jacoby, Wilamovitz, Malten; see P. M. Smith 1981 for an outline of the support, largely German, for this idea). P. M. Smith's reassessment of the independent evidence into the existence of such a family leaves the theory wanting. He concludes that there is no reason to suggest from the independent evidence that the role of Aineias, his *aristeia* and genealogy, in *Iliad* 20 is related to the patronage of a family or a civic tradition (P. M. Smith 1981, 58). Lenz, furthermore, regardless of his belief or not in the actual existence of a family called the Aineidai, argues for the integrity of the genealogy and *aristeia* of Aineias in *Iliad* 20 and therefore sees no need to explain the role of Aineias through patronage. I would add the following question to the criticism of the theory: Would we even be doubting the heroics of Aineias if it were not for the special status of the hero resulting from the later Roman claim to and exploitation of Aineias? There is no need to look at this genealogy differently from the rest.

long and central telling of Bellerophon's story. But it ends with a famous heroic figure, to whom Glaukos is now connected through ancestry. The third instance of branching in Homeric genealogies occurs in the genealogy of Theoklymenos. The lineage branches at Mantios and Antiphates, the sons of Melampous the founding ancestor (*Od.* 15.242-49). First the genealogy relates the descendents of Antiphates down two generations to Amphiaraos, whose story is elaborated upon briefly, and down one further generation to his sons. Next the genealogy picks back up with Mantios and his descendents down to Theoklymenos, the subject of the genealogy. Again the branching is very limited, stopping after only three generations. It is not clear whether the third generation is contemporary with that of Theoklymenos, but that lack of clarity, in and of itself, tells us that making contemporary connections is not what is important here. What is important is the story of Amphiaraos, a past hero, a great warrior, beloved by the gods, who is related in some way by blood to the subject of the genealogy. In all three cases of branching in Homeric genealogies, the branch ends in a famous heroic individual to whom and to whose reputation the subject would wish to be connected through blood.

With very limited branching that only occurs to connect two individuals at most and no expression of maternal descent relationships, Homeric genealogies do not resemble nor represent family trees, neither in structure nor in the scope of their material. They encompass neither the entire nor even a large part of the family and the breadth of familial connections.¹⁴³ Therefore they do not connect multiple individuals laterally by generation or

¹⁴³ Cf. the branching structures of the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Theogony* discussed next.

vertically through time in kinship groups.¹⁴⁴ The genealogies neither contain enough information nor present the information they do contain in such a fashion as to make expressing kinship groups their aim. The closest we come to expressions of lateral kinship are like that of Aineias about Hektor, which connects only two heroes for a very specific purpose and not a whole family.

Branching and Grouping

In other genealogical material, however, there is more significant branching and more information about siblings as well as expressions of maternal descent relationships than in Homeric genealogies, but still not a family tree nor a connecting of contemporary individuals in a group. In recounting the family of the gods, the *Theogony* branches significantly, presumably lists all children and siblings, and presents descent largely maternally, i.e., it mostly organizes the information by the mother and not by the father, although this is not always the case and the father is usually mentioned. This makes the genealogy what I would describe as largely maternally organized but not matriarchal nor matrilinear, as West asserts.¹⁴⁵ Maternal organization (of the genealogical material) is a more neutral term involving only the structuring of information, whereas matriarchal and matrilinear are cultural and/or socio-political terms involving the organization of kinship and society. Such concepts require evidence beyond that of the *Theogony* and even poetry, requiring investigation into the wider socio-political climate of Early Greece. It is, however,

¹⁴⁴ Donlan also has noted that there is a marked absence of kinship groups beyond the *oikos* in Homeric poetry (2007). He considers this absence to be somewhat problematic, however, since, as he writes, “Certainly Homer’s and Hesiod’s contemporaries belonged to *phratriai* and *phulai*” (2007, 32).

¹⁴⁵ West 1966, 34-35, 39.

interesting that both the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women* are structured largely maternally and the possible significance of this with respect to kinship and society will be addressed below. But for now, I would prefer to use the term maternally organized to distance the organization of material from socio-political organization.

Besides the largely maternal structure, West discerns six other principles regarding the arrangement and presentation of the genealogical information in the *Theogony*: the order of the genealogies is basically chronological and progresses collaterally detailing each generation before moving on to the next; if a branch is close to its end, it is often traced to that end without waiting until the next generation; related sections are made adjacent where possible creating a chiasmus; other families (sets of offspring) appear in the same order as the parents were listed, with the exception of the Titans; the last god listed is sometimes the youngest; and at the end of the *Theogony*, there are various combinations of mortals and gods in families and descent is no longer matrilinear. Hamilton rejects these principles, citing examples where they break down.¹⁴⁶ It is not necessary, however, to interpret the structure of the *Theogony*, or other genealogical material, as following a rigid set of principles or consistent rules. Why can a poet not change his method or structure as suits his need, desire, or artistic inclination? We should probably take West's principles not as strict and proscriptive (as if Hesiod followed a set of pre-determined rules to the letter) but as loose and generally descriptive.

As West's first principle states, the general overall progression of the genealogical information is chronological, moving forward in time, and generational, in that it focuses largely on one generation at a time. This means at every stage that there is significant

¹⁴⁶ Hamilton 1989, 7-8.

reckoning of children and jumping from one branch of the family of the gods to another. This is largely done, as West observes, in the order that the siblings were first listed and by connecting the branches with a device like ῆ δέ or a goddess' name plus δέ. The poem, therefore, does not seek to connect these individuals, gods or otherwise, in broader statements of kinship, i.e., the broader, non-immediate descent relationships are not dwelt upon, e.g., cousin-ships, uncle-ships, and even sibling-ships. What is important is where each individual comes from and the links in the chain, not the lateral relationships.

There are several places in the poetry, however, where a lineage is traced beyond the current generation, seemingly deviating from the overall structure of the genealogy by generation.¹⁴⁷ West attributes this to unmanageability, in that the poem's genealogical information would become unwieldy if the generational structure were followed too strictly.¹⁴⁸ While this is true, there is more to it. It might not just become unmanageable but also unpleasant and overly mechanical. We may be better off interpreting the structure of the genealogies through the stories the poet wishes to tell.¹⁴⁹ These relatively small sections that

¹⁴⁷ For West's description of the examples, see West 1966, 38. The branch from Medusa to Geryon (*Theog.* 278-94) involves the stories of Pegasus, Chrysaor and his son Geryon and how he was killed by Herakles and the context of his death in Herakles' labours. The branch with Echidna and her children and grandchildren (*Theog.* 295-336) runs as the story of the births and deaths of Echidna's monstrous children and their children. The branch reckoning the descendents of Krieos and Eurybie (*Hes. Theog.* 375-403) culminates with the duties, loyalty to Zeus, and subsequent honours of Kratos and Bios and their mother (not a member of the direct lineage) Styx. Finally the branch from Asteria to her daughter Hekate (*Theog.* 409-452) culminates in a relatively long exposition on Hekate's duties and honours. The one branch that does not also tell a story is that of the children of Night and Erebus (incidentally also her father) (*Theog.* 124-25).

¹⁴⁸ West 1966, 38.

¹⁴⁹ For a similar approach to the relationship between stories and organization in which the stories come before chronological scheme, see Harding 2008, 3-4 on the *Atthis*. The key to interpretation seems to lie not so much in the organization of the material by chronological scheme, but in the material itself, the stories the Athidographers intended to tell gathered from traditional tales, communal memory, physical remains, and documentary evidence.

follow branches down outside of the overall generational structure may have more to do with story-telling than pure mechanical necessity. Four out of the five examples of such branches that West gives either culminate in or involve extended stories about members of the lineage and the one that does not involve an extended story branches so unobtrusively that all but the keenest listener or reader would allow it to pass by without noticing the supposed deviation from the overall generational structure of the poem. Most listeners too, one would assume, would also let it go by without comment or objection. That such stories occur seemingly not in line with the overall progression of the genealogy should not be terribly troubling. These offshoots are Hesiod telling a story. They are part of the narrative structure and character of Early Greek genealogies. They are after all narratives and are neither so formulaic, nor mechanical, nor dogmatic in structure that they could not adapt to suit information, stories, purpose, and even cultural aesthetics.

The structure of the *Catalogue of Women* is similar in some ways to that of the *Theogony*. It also seems to have been maternally organized and attempts to recount all family members in the genealogy. However, while the *Theogony* recounts one whole related family (that of the gods) with two common ancestors (Gaia and Ouranos) largely generation by generation, the *Catalogue of Women* recounts several different mythological families seemingly unrelated at their origins or else only loosely connected laterally and not necessarily through any expression of kinship. West identifies these ‘great genealogies’ in the surviving fragments as those of the descendents of Deukalion, Io (branching into the Belidai and Agenoridai), Pelasgos, Arkas, Atlas, and Pelops.¹⁵⁰ There were probably others, such as the descendents of Erechtheus from the Athenian autochthony myth, but, given the

¹⁵⁰ West 1985, 43-44.

fragmentary state of the material, the other families of the Catalogue are difficult to discern as clearly as those mentioned above. As West's study of the papyri shows, from their internal structure, namely the transitions and progressions within the fragments, and from their mythological 'spread', i.e., their sustained interest in the same story, location, or family line, the poet of the Catalogue proceeded systematically genealogy by genealogy. Given the poem's stated purpose in the proem to recount those mortal women who lay with immortal gods and begot the children, these largely independent genealogies may have been linked, as West suggests, through the ἡ' οἴη... (like the one who...) formula.¹⁵¹ If this is the case, the great genealogies were connected through similarity and not through kinship. It is important to note, however, that the ἡ' οἴη formula only appears among the surviving remains of the Catalogue within the genealogies themselves, introducing or re-introducing branches within the great genealogies.¹⁵² Given that we have no papyrus fragments or quotations showing the transitions between the great genealogies, this fact is not as troubling as it may seem. Moreover, the number of instances of the formula is relatively small, just twelve (three of which are just possible reconstructions of the text), we have a limited number of quotations and papyrus fragments, and capturing the formula involves a lucky convergence of a quotation or papyrus fragment and the right place in the text. All this may suggest that we have a very small sample of the actual number of instances of the ἡ' οἴη formula. But even if the great genealogies were not connected through this device, there is still no indication

¹⁵¹ See West's suggested reconstructions of the transitions between the great genealogies, in which he insists on the use of the formula for introducing each great genealogy (West 1985, 56, 76, 92-93, 94, 100-1, 104, 109).

¹⁵² Hes. frags. 19.3; 23.5; possibly 47.1; 60.7: 69.2, 94; 124; possibly 136.9; 138.8; 158; 164 (Most). And possibly frag. 94.2 (West). It also appears, just once, among the fragments of the *Great Ehoiai*: Hes. frag. 191a (Most).

that they were connected through any statement of kinship. They are quite separate entities in that regard.

That being said, however, although the great genealogies of the catalogue are separate blocks, they do sometimes overlap in material mentioning the same individual in two genealogies. This is to be somewhat expected given the mythological stories that accompany these names; they are stories of intermarriage, battles, rapes, which occur between members of different families. These great genealogies are also quite large encompassing many generations and branches within them. Their internal structure seems to be largely based on the branches, following each down for several generations and then returning (jumping back many generations) to cover another branch often connecting it to the narrative with the ἦ' οἴη device.¹⁵³ This means that even the branches of the same genealogy are often connected by the same statements of similarity that may connect the great genealogies and not by statements of kinship.¹⁵⁴ Where the formula is not used to connect branches, other forms of transitions are used which also do not express lateral kinship connections. For example, Hes. fragment 35.16-17 (Most), a papyrus fragment, shows the transition between the descendents of Neleus and the descendents of his brother Pelias:

αὕτη μὲν γενεὴ Νηλεΐδος [
αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' αὐτοῦ μίμνεν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Ἰαωλικῶι
σκηπτρον ἔχων [Πελίδης

¹⁵³ For specific examples, see note 152 above.

¹⁵⁴ West suggests that the origins of the ἦ' οἴη formula lie in a tradition of simple catalogue making (perhaps from north-western Greece and the western Peloponnese) with a “radically different system of arrangement” than we see in the *Theogony* and that the poet of the *Catalogue of Women* combined that system with that of the *Theogony* (1985, 167). Whatever its origins, however, the fact remains that the formula is based upon connecting people through similarity in story or situation, and we may see from its use a lack of interest on the part of the poet in drawing lateral kinship connections.

(This is the lineage of Neleus [
But he [remained] there [in broad Iolcus
Pelias,] having the sceptre [))

The transition does not draw an explicit connection between Neleus and Pelias as brothers, although we learn that they are the sons of Tyro by Poseidon and settle in different cities from another papyrus fragment (Hes. frag. 31 (Most)), which we know from the evidence of the papyri comes before fragment 35.¹⁵⁵ There is no attempt by the poet to connect either Neleus and Pelias nor their respective descendents in a statement of kinship. The point to be drawn from this, from the junctures of the Catalogue both between great genealogies and between branches within the genealogies, is that the genealogical information is not expressed in such a way as to emphasize lateral or web-like kinship connections between lineages, branches, and individuals. There appears to be no interest on the part of the poet in making or reinforcing kinship groups.

Within the branches themselves the progress tends to be somewhat generational, listing the children of a couple (divine or otherwise) and then following the lineage down. The result is quite a complex structure, which West characterizes as a ‘middle’ course, a combination of the horizontal approach, going generation by generation, and the vertical approach, following each lineage straight down before beginning the next.¹⁵⁶ It is important to note that the connections between the branches are again usually made through an expression of similarity (the ἴ’ οἴη formula) and not through kinship. Nor, like the *Theogony*, are connections of kinship beyond descent (e.g., sibling-ship or cousin-ship) drawn between individuals to make them a group.

¹⁵⁵ See West 1985, 37.

¹⁵⁶ West 1985, 46.

The maternal organization of the material in the *Catalogue* is striking, although it is also present in the *Theogony*, as already discussed. But maternal organization does not necessarily mean that we are dealing with a matriarchal society or matrilinear descent to the exclusion or even detriment of patrilinear descent. It is merely the way the information is organized not the necessarily the society. To get from maternal organization of information to matriarchy requires more steps. That maternal organization is present, however, is important, just as the lack of expressions of kinship connections between multiple individuals is important. It is what is expressed or not that is the key. That wider kinship connections are not expressed reveals only that they appear to not be of interest to genealogy-making, whether the presence of wider kinship connections in genealogies or the lack thereof has any bearing on the existence in reality of kinship groups based upon them is a matter for further argument.¹⁵⁷ That descent data are organized maternally shows only that maternal descent relationships are understood to carry some significance in terms of kinship and that paternal descent is not the only form of descent, as one might believe from looking at the Homeric heroic genealogies which generally exclude maternal descent information.

That the *Catalogue of Women* is structured around women does not suggest that matriliney occurred in Early Greece. As in the *Theogony*, fathers are usually supplied, often in the context of the sexual act that brought about the offspring or in the context of the birth itself.¹⁵⁸ Males appear so often in these contexts, that it is difficult to deny that they play a very important part indeed in descent ideas. Moreover, the women presented with the ἡ' οἴη formula, as West himself argues, appear at the ruptures between the great genealogies and

¹⁵⁷ This notion is investigated below, p.124.

¹⁵⁸ E.g., Hes. frags. 7, 10.6-7, 10.20-24, 10.31-34 (Most), etc...

also between the branches within the great genealogies. Fowler, thus, argues that the structure of the Catalogue presents women as the glue between the men, who are the building blocks.¹⁵⁹ While it is clear that some of the women, that is those specific women of *Catalogue of Women* referenced by the ἡ' οἴη formula, are the glue that binds the blocks, it is not clear that *all* of the women in the catalogue are glue and that the blocks are necessarily male. The ἡ' οἴη women are the glue that binds the genealogical blocks and branches consisting of both male and female members.

When it comes to other sources of Early Greek genealogical material, structure is not so readily analysed because of the fragmentary state of much of the material. We know that there were other works of genealogical poetry (e.g., those of Eumelos, Kinaiton, and Asios and the almost entirely lost *Great Ehoiai*), but because there is so little of them extant, we can know very little about their internal structure. Among the works of the prose genealogists, however, there are more surviving fragments, enough to be able to make some claims about structure with varying degrees of caution. Since fragments of these prose genealogists survive mostly through quotations and paraphrases by later authors, the material has been selected and plucked out of context and it is up to modern editors to put them back into context as best they can. Luckily not all of the fragments are entirely devoid of their original context. Some fragments come with references to book numbers, and, although these cannot all be assumed to be accurate, there are enough of them to group together and from that grouping give clues about structure. By matching the material associated with these book numbers with the material of other fragments involving the same individuals, the members of the same families, or the same myths, editors like Jacoby and Fowler have been

¹⁵⁹ Fowler 1998, 5-6.

able to tentatively suggest some order for the fragments. For example, by comparing the material in those fragments of Hekataios said to have come from Book 1 of his *Genealogies* (sometimes called *Histories*) (*FGrHist* 1 F1-F5), Fowler suggests that fragments containing information about the Deukalionidai (*FGrHist* 1 F13-F16) and the myth of the Argonauts (*FGrHist* 1 F17-F18 and *EGM* Hekataios F18A) also come from Book 1.¹⁶⁰ Such schemes both support and rely upon the supposition that the genealogies were structured very much in the same way as the *Catalogue of Women*, by great genealogies. In constructing such schemes, fragments with no attested book numbers must first be grouped by their material thematically into either families or myths known from the mythical tradition surviving in other sources (genealogical or otherwise). This apparently circularity need not deter us, however, for a few reasons: 1) the scheme suits the evidence well in that the framework provided by those fragments with numbers, albeit loose, allows for and in some cases hints at such a scheme and the other fragments slot in well, 2) a similar structure is well attested in the *Catalogue of Women* and so there is at least one genealogical precedent and maybe even a tradition,¹⁶¹ 3) the titles given to the works of Hellanikos suggest that his genealogies were written or at least disseminated as separate works, one for each mythical family or local tradition, and so his works at least appear to have been divided along the lines of great genealogies.¹⁶² Unlike Hellanikos and Damastes, however, Hekataios, Pherekydes, and

¹⁶⁰ *EGM*, pp. 128, 129. See also Fowler 2006, 33, for genealogy as structure in Hekataios' mythographical works.

¹⁶¹ It has also been suggested that the *Library of Greek Mythology* may have been modelled upon the works of Akousilaos and Pherekydes (West 1985, 45-46), and thus it may also present some clues as to the structure of the works of the prose genealogists.

¹⁶² E.g., the *Asopidai*, the *Phoronidai*, the *Deukalioneia*, and the *Atlantika* of Hellanikos.

Akousilaos each appear to have written their genealogies as a large singular work, collecting and presenting the traditions of several areas of the Greek world through a number of great genealogies, much as the *Catalogue of Women* does. Akousilaos, in fact, is accused in later antiquity of merely putting Hesiod's works into prose and publishing it as his own, further adding to the case that the prose genealogists structured their works in a similar fashion.¹⁶³

If we can accept that the Greek prose genealogists structured their works in great genealogies, and I believe we should, two major questions remain about structure. Question one: how were those great genealogies related to one another and brought together into one larger work? The fragments of any given prose genealogist give us only a spotty picture of how the material in the different great genealogies was related.¹⁶⁴ The fragments do not abut one another directly nor do they overlap in such a way as to reveal transitions. Moreover, given the extremely limited papyrus fragments of the works of the prose genealogists, work such as that done by West on transitions in the *Catalogue of Women* is impossible here.¹⁶⁵ Thus how exactly Hekataios, Akousilaos, and Pherekydes transitioned between the great genealogies and so connected their material remains unknown. What we can tell from the

¹⁶³ This charge is leveled against both Eumelos and Akousilaos by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6.26.8 = *FGrHist* 2 T5). How fair an assessment it is, however, is questionable, given both Clement's negative attitude (vitriol?) towards plagiarism among Greek writers in general and the statement from Josephus that Akousilaos amended the works of Hesiod (*Joseph. Ap.* 1.16 = *FGrHist* 2 T6).

¹⁶⁴ The related question of just how much the prose genealogists tried to synthesize the material of various traditions to create cohesion between the great genealogies is debatable and difficult to determine given the spottiness of the evidence.

¹⁶⁵ The actual works of Hekataios, Akousilaos, Pherekydes, Hellanikos, and Damastes have not survived independently in papyri even in fragmentary form. The best evidence of the actual works (i.e. not paraphrases) from papyri consists of two direct quotations: *FGrHist* 2 F22 is a fragment from a papyrus with what appears to be a relatively long (approximately 27 lines) direct quote from Akousilaos and *FGrHist* 4 F19b appears to be a quotation from Hellanikos in the margin of papyrus.

fragments is that the great genealogies in Hekataios, Akousilaos, and Pherekydes, like those in the *Catalogue of Women*, do not seem to coincide with the books in a work, i.e., the great genealogies seem to have overlapped books.

Question two: how were the great genealogies structured internally? The structure and approach to the material in the great genealogies in the works of the prose genealogists appear to be very similar to the structure and approach in the *Catalogue of Women*. We must judge the internal structure of each great genealogy in the works of Hekataios, Pherekydes, and Akousilaos and of each independent genealogy of Hellanikos and Damastes, again from the grouping of fragments by book number and related mythological and genealogical information. The informational spread of the genealogies, which includes members of different branches of the same family and their stories, suggests that there was probably significant branching within the great genealogies. For example, the fragments concerning the Agenoridai in Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F85-F97) involve the sons of Agenor (e.g., Kilix and Phoinix) and well as Kadmos and the whole Theban saga. It is likely that the prose genealogists took up a middle approach to dealing with genealogical information, much like the poet of the *Catalogue of Women*, i.e., they combined a horizontal approach, going generation by generation, and a vertical approach, following each lineage or branch straight down before beginning the next.

Greek genealogies are not family trees, nor is it very useful to construct family tree diagrams from genealogical materials in order to understand the kinship relationships expressed in them. That practice gives us a false reading on what kinship connections were important in genealogies and how they were expressed. Studying the genealogies as a whole package yields better results about the expression of kinship. In Homeric poetry, the genealogies are geared towards the subject, an individual descendent. They branch very

little. When they do so, a story or important ancestor is involved, the branch lasts for a very limited number of generations, and there is always a return to the main line of descent leading down to the subject. Other examples of Early Greek genealogical material are structured around great genealogies. These recount the ancestry/descent relationships of mythical families. They are ancestor-focused in that, unlike Homeric genealogies, they are not geared toward an individual subject, but start with a common ancestor and then branch out and down, with seemingly no one particular descendent in sight. Even though they are thus organized by family, these genealogies do not show an interest in drawing lateral or web-like connections between members to form a cohesive group. In the final chapter of part 2, I will put forward some explanations for these differences in structure and contextualize them alongside reasons for genealogy-making in the Early Greek world. Before that, however, a look into the important style and story-telling elements of both sets of genealogies is required.¹⁶⁶

Narrative Style and Story-Telling

Early Greek genealogies are not family trees, but neither do they usually assume the form of a straightforward list of ancestors or descendents generation by generation (father to son or otherwise). For example, they do not follow the bare formulaic pattern: *x, son of y, son of z*; or the pattern: *x, from whom y was born, from whom z was born*. Instead, ancestry and descent relationships are usually associated with and given alongside myths and stories.

¹⁶⁶ Another set of Early Greek genealogical sources that are fully extant and their structures able to be studied are the genealogies in Herodotus (Hdt. 7.204, 8.131, 8.139, and 9.64) and the genealogy of Heropythos on the grave *stèle* from Chios (*SGDI* 5656). Their unusually barren, list-like structure will be studied further below, because first I must establish, in the following section, why their structure is so unusual among Early Greek genealogical material.

The result is genealogies that appear to be series of stories pertaining to important ancestors with sections featuring descent information in between, which can be list-like. Thus, in a given genealogy, in the course of spelling out several generations, the level of detail swells at key generations making the genealogy a collection of stories and ancestors or descendents and not simply a list of ancestors and descendents connected formulaically.

We can see this combination of descent information and story-telling in the genealogy of Aineias. In figure 2.3, the outline of the genealogy of Aineias, the sections of story-telling are rendered in italics. In forty-two lines of poetry altogether, fifteen lines are preamble and positioning before the genealogy proper begins (although in them we do learn of Aineias' parentage) and sixteen are given over to story-telling.¹⁶⁷ This leaves just eleven lines dedicated to recounting descent relationships in Aineias' genealogy. These eleven lines are divided among four sections, none of which looks excessively formulaic. Two (*Il.* 20.215 and 219) consist of one line of poetry each and give just one piece of descent information each and do not appear list-like. The other sections of descent information consist of three and six lines (*Il.* 20.230-32 and 236-241), but also do not appear to be excessively list-like. They lack a strict formulaic or repetitive structure and language. The father-son descent relationships are expressed by the same term - τίκτω - but with different syntax. We also see the addition of epithets and short asides, e.g., ἀμύμονα Λαομέδοντα (blameless Laomedon) (*Il.* 20.236) or Ἴκετάονά τ', ὄζον Ἄρηος (Hiketaon, scion of Ares) (*Il.* 20.238). This results in a repetitive character with respect to some terminology and content (father begets son) but not with respect to structure and style. Aineias' genealogy is a

¹⁶⁷ Three lines each are given to the stories of Dardanos and Ganymedes and ten to that of Erichthonios.

combination of story-telling with the telling of descent relationships that have some very limited characteristics of a list.

The element of story-telling in Homeric (and Hesiodic) genealogies has also been observed by R. Thomas and by Graf. R. Thomas treats the stories as something separate from or added onto the genealogies, seeing them as elaborations upon the bare-bones of genealogy.¹⁶⁸ This division between the recounting of ancestry and/or descent and the stories seems artificial, given that such stories, as we will see, are present in nearly all of our Early Greek genealogical material. The recounting of descent and ancestry relationships seems very rarely to come without embellishment and elaboration in the Early Greek world. Thus, to separate the two is to separate mistakenly into two practices what is only one. Story-telling is a part of the Early Greek recounting of ancestry and/or descent. As Graf writes, “Genealogy may appear to have been just a chain of names and not a form of mythical narration. Yet nearly every name entails a story.”¹⁶⁹ Graf treats the stories and descent relationships as more closely connected, seeing in their combination the chronological systemization of myth and mythical data. Whether or not a genealogical scheme was imposed upon mythical material and the result was this combined structure of stories and descent/ancestry relationships, whatever its origins, considering the two elements together seems essential to understanding the Early Greek genealogical tradition as it was.

That nearly every name entails a story, as Graf writes, is, however, not quite accurate. Not every name gets a story, not even most names, only a select few. Some names appear only as connectors and are often simple eponyms drawn in to link generations or to explain

¹⁶⁸ R. Thomas 1989, 174.

¹⁶⁹ Graf 1993, 127.

topographical names, for example, as Graf points out, the names of Ilos or Tros in the genealogy of Aineias (*Il.* 20.230 and 232).¹⁷⁰ Some names, however, get special treatment with sometimes very elaborate stories of their wealth, adventures, deeds etc... like that of Erichthonios and his wealth and famous horses (*Il.* 20.219-29). In Homeric poetry, such genealogical stories celebrate key figures, putting the spotlight on the most famous and accomplished of the hero's descendents, connecting the hero, not only with his ancestors, but with his greatest and most renowned ancestors and their deeds and greatness. The genealogy of Glaukos, for example, encompasses 68 lines of poetry, 47 of which are dedicated to the story of Bellerophon, from his rise to great success, his entrapment by a scorned woman, to his battle with the Chimaira, to his falling out with the gods (*Il.* 6.156-202). The story is central to the genealogy, as Erichthonios' is to that of Aineias, Tydeus' is to that of Diomedes (*Il.* 14.119-25), and Melampous' is to that of Theoklymenos (*Od.* 15.226-42). Sometimes the story is shorter, taking up only two to four lines, for example, the story of Dardanos, who founded Dardania before Troy existed, in the genealogy of Aineias (*Il.* 20.216-18) or that of Kleitos, whom Dawn carried away to live among the immortals, in the genealogy of Theoklymenos (*Od.* 15.250-51). The genealogies also often relate the stories of earlier relatives that are not in the direct line of descent, the stories of siblings of those in the lineage, for example Ganymedes in the genealogy of Aineias, Kleitos in the genealogy of Theoklymenos, or Amphiaraios also in the genealogy of Theoklymenos, whose story occurs in one of the rare instances of branching discussed above. Although the shorter genealogies (those of Krethon and Orsilochos, Idomeneus, Achilleus, and Telemachos, each less than 10 lines long) do not contain extended stories, they do not read like lists. The short genealogy of

¹⁷⁰ Graf 1993, 126.

Achilleus culminates in a celebration of Zeus' strength (*Il.* 21.192-199), and so the genealogical material seems to build up to an elaboration on a very important ancestor. Moreover, the shorter genealogies are littered, as are the longer ones, with the small details appropriate to epic poetry and a narrative style, i.e., epithets, set phrases, short descriptions, and not so orderly recounting of information. Both the stories and this narrative style lend Homeric genealogy a story-telling character.

This kind of story-telling combined with recounting descent relationships that we see in Homeric genealogies is characteristic of most of Early Greek genealogy. It is evident throughout the *Catalogue of Women* and our remaining examples of genealogical poetry and prose, even in their fragmentary state. At first glance, however, it may seem that the authors of poetic and prose genealogies were mostly concerned with ancestry and descent information, since many of the fragments deal solely with descent and ancestry relationships. But this is an illusion. Most of those fragments dealing with just ancestry or descent are selections of material paraphrased or summarized by the citing author, and so may not be indicative of the style, structure, and entire scope of the original. Therefore, how much the genealogists used a narrative style and told stories and how much they plainly listed descent and/or ancestry is something to be considered by careful examination of their fragments according to type. Thus in order to sort out the nature of the material and the balance between story-telling and listing descent and/ancestry, I will look at the fragments of the *Catalogue of Women* and the prose and poetic genealogies by the following types: papyrus fragments, direct quotations by citing authors, and paraphrases by citing authors.

Papyrus fragments are very useful for determining the balance between the telling of stories and descent/ancestry relationships in the fragmentary genealogies. They generally preserve larger amounts of text than quotations and their material has not been selected and

plucked out of context by an author for a particular reason or purpose. Unfortunately all of the examples of papyrus fragments preserving Early Greek genealogical material belong to the *Catalogue of Women*. Therefore the range of evidence is limited in scope; nevertheless we may add it to the overall picture.

The papyrus fragments of the *Catalogue of Women* contain mythological stories and short sections listing descent relationships. In many cases we see both together in one fragment. For example, Hesiod fragment 31 (Most), preserved primarily on three Oxyrhynchus papyri with a little help from a scholium on Apollonius of Rhodes, has thirty-six lines of extant text. It begins with the brothers Neleus and Pelias, and then recounts the children of Neleus, the last of whom to be listed is Periklymenos, upon whose adventures the poet then elaborates. We are told of the gift of shape-shifting he received from Poseidon, of his prowess in defending his city Pylos, his shape-shifting as he fought, and of his final defeat by Herakles at the will of Athene. This example contains lists of descendents and descent relationships culminating in the extended story of Periklymenos. Another example, this time of fragments of a single papyrus, showing both story-telling and descent relationships combined are the fragments from *POxy* 1359: Hesiod fragments 117, 120, and 121 (Most). Hesiod fragment 117 (Most) captures a portion of the recounting of the descendents of Arkas, coming in at Auge, daughter of Aleus (grandson of Arkas) and her son by Herakles, Telephus, who is specifically referred to as a descendent of Arkas: Ἀρκασίδην (Hes. frag. 117.8 (Most)). Then the story of Telephus is told, during which the papyrus becomes too fragmentary to read. Two more fragments of the same papyrus are found in Hesiod frags. 120 and 121 (Most), whose material are closely connected, both belonging to the recounting of the descendents of Atlas. In Hesiod fragment 120 we get the descent relationships from Amyklas down to Hyakinthos, who was killed accidentally by Apollo's

discus, after or during which story the fragment ends. Hesiod fragment 121 picks up at the sons of Elektra by Zeus, one of whom, Eetion, we are told, once slept with Demeter and was killed by Zeus, and continues down to Elektra’s grandsons, Erichthonios and Ilos, whereupon the fragment ends. In each of these examples, we see not only both stories and descent relationships, but a combining of the two elements to create a genealogical narrative, in which the recounting of descent and ancestry involves both stories and relationships.

It is more difficult to see such direct evidence of story-telling in passages of genealogical material quoted by later authors. This is because they usually represent a very small segment of the original text (generally one to three lines) and they are selected to make very specific points for various purposes, which run from illustrating the ancestry of a particular figure to comparing mythical information in different authors to exemplifying grammatical or semantic practice. For example, Herodian quotes Hekataios to illustrate the placement of accents in disyllabic words ending in -κος (*FGrHist* 1 F16); whereas, *EGF* Asios F1 contains a quotation of Asios’ poetry by Pausanias, who compares its information with that in Homer:

καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεποίηκεν Ἄσιος ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου·
 “Ἀντιόπη δ’ ἔτεκε Ζῆθον †καὶ Ἀμφίονα δῖον†
 Ἄσωποῦ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος
 Ζηνί τε κυσαμένη καὶ Ἐπωπέι ποιμένι λαῶν.”

(Concerning this, Asios son of Amphiptolemos says in his poem: “Antiope, daughter of Asopos, the swift-eddying river, bore Zethon †and god-like Amphion†, impregnated by Zeus and by Epepeos, shepherd of peoples.”)

Both of these quotations, although chosen by the quoting authors for different reasons and despite their relatively small size, reveal a style of prose and poetry that is not particularly list-like. Thus, from such quotations we can see that the genealogists in question (Hekataios

and Asios) use a narrative style, with epithets and small descriptions, and do not put their information in any particular prescribed order, such as in a formulaic list.

Other direct quotations, of the prose genealogists in particular, however, do appear either to be quite list-like or contain list-like sections preceding or following stories.

Consider, for example, Hellenikos fragment 4 (*FGrHist* 4 F4), quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in a discussion on the origins of the Tyrrhenian race, which contains a very list-like section followed by a story.¹⁷¹ The list-like section outlines formulaically, in a line from father to son, the descendents of Phrastor, son of Pelasgos and Menippe, down three generations to Nanas: τοῦ Πελασγοῦ [τοῦ Βασιλέως αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Πελασγῶν)] καὶ Μενίππης τῆς Πηνειοῦ ἐγένετο Φράστωρ, τοῦ δὲ Ἀμύντωρ, τοῦ δὲ Τευταμίδης, τοῦ δὲ Νανᾶς (Phrastor was born of Pelasgos, [their (sc. the Pelasgians') king], and Menippe, the daughter of Peneios, from him Amyntor, from him Teutamides, from him Nanas) (*FGrHist* 4 F4.1-3). The quoted fragment continues with the story of how, during Nanas' reign, the Pelasgians were driven out by the Greeks and eventually settled Tyrrhenia. Other fragments with quoted material reveal similar movements from lists to stories or vice versa. Pherekydes fragments 20 and 66 (*FGrHist* 3 F20, F66) move from more narrative sections into short list-like sections. Akousilaos fragments 3 and 44 (*FGrHist* 2 F3, F44) consist of very short sections of list-like material. Given the comparanda in other prose genealogists, Homer, and the *Catalogue of Women*, and the story-telling elements and character in other fragments of Akousilaos, it is reasonable to argue that Akousilaos followed the seemingly customary genealogical practice of combining descent information with story-telling and that what is quoted in these two fragments are list-like sections such as we see

¹⁷¹ *FGrHist* 4 F4 = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.28.3

before or after stories in other genealogical material.¹⁷² Direct quotations that contain both list-like sections and story-telling, show that the genealogists were not in fact creating straightforward lists of descendents or ancestors, but rather telling stories of descent or ancestry, following descent information with stories and stories with descent information.

Pherekydes fragment 2 (*FGrHist* 3 F2; app. 1) presents an interesting challenge. It tells the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist of the Chersonese and the Elder, (sometimes called the Philaid genealogy) in a lengthy and very formulaic list of descendents from Philaios, son of the Salaminian Aias, to Miltiades the Oikist. Near the end of the genealogy, it begins to impart more information about a few figures, who are believed to be historical. The genealogy is thus not entirely list-like, but because of its formularity and length it does seem to have a much more list-like character than other fragments of the prose genealogists, Pherekydes' other fragments included. This genealogy, moreover, is unique for its completeness and historicism, i.e., its complete reckoning from mythical figures down to historical figures, and has been much discussed in scholarship for these features as well as for its discrepancies with the information in Herodotus about the family of Miltiades the Oikist. Given its uniqueness and the complexities of the issues, one of which is its transmission and the very corrupt state of the text, and scholarship surrounding it, this genealogy and the fragment to which it belongs will be discussed in much greater detail below alongside other unusual list-like genealogies. It is important for now, however, to acknowledge that in

¹⁷² There is always, however, the possibility that some things could have been lost in transmission and that any one of these quotations, especially those of Akousilaos with no stories, could in fact be a list-like paraphrase of information and not direct quotation. That the authenticity of all of the quotations must be doubted, however, seems unlikely and perhaps excessively pessimistic. Moreover, there is precedent for small somewhat list-like sections in Homeric genealogies and the *Catalogue of Women*. Nevertheless, this idea will be revisited below in the discussion of Pherekydes' genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist (*FGrHist* 3 F2), in which we are dealing with not only a quotation, but a quotation of a quotation.

Pherekydes fragment 2 we appear to have a lengthy list-like genealogy or, at least, a lengthy list-like portion of a genealogy, but that it is highly unusual among the fragments of the early prose genealogists and may perhaps be better understood through other comparanda.

From direct quotations, like that of Asios in Pausanias discussed above, we can also see that later authors drew upon the early genealogists for mythological details, which suggests that stories containing mythical information beyond descent and ancestry were a part of genealogy-making. However, when it comes to citing works, for their mythological information especially, later authors more often paraphrase or summarize their sources than quote them directly. They select the information they need for their particular point or purpose. For example, we can compare the papyrus fragments containing the lineage of Nereus and its culmination in the story of Periklymenos and his death (Hes. frags. 31 and 33 (Most)) with a paraphrase of the same material by a scholiast on the *Iliad* (Hes. frag. 32 (Most)). From approximately twenty-five lines of narrative in the papyrus, the scholiast condenses the story down to one concise sentence: καὶ δὴ γενόμενον αὐτὸν μέλισσαν καὶ σπάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἄρματος Ἀθηνᾶ δείξασα Ἡρακλεῖ ἐποίησεν ἀναιρεθῆναι... ἱστορεῖ Ἡσίοδος ἐν Καταλόγοις (And when he [sc. Periklymenos] became a bee and stood upon the chariot of Herakles, Athene, having revealed him to Herakles, caused him to be killed... Hesiod tells the story in the *Catalogues*) (Hes. frag. 32 (Most)). The scholiast picks and relates only the information he needs to make his point. Among the fragments of genealogical material, descent or ancestry information alone can be plucked out and summarized as necessary, as in Pherekydes fragment 53: Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς (Pherekydes says that he (sc. Triptolemos) was born from Okeanos and Gaia) (*FGrHist* 3 F53); or Akousilaos fragment 42: Ἀκουσίλαος Φόρκυος καὶ Ἐκάτης τὴν Σκύλλαν λέγει (Akousilaos says that Skylla was born from Phorkys and

Hekate) (*FGrHist* 2 F42). Such distilling, paraphrasing, and summarizing could mislead us into thinking that Early Greek genealogies were sparse affairs, recounting only descent and ancestry, when the picture actually appears to be quite the opposite. Information other than strictly descent or ancestry information is also paraphrased. For example, Pausanias writes, οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν Καταλόγῳ Γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐκάτην εἶναι (I know that Hesiod in the *Catalogue of Women* said that Iphigenia did not die, but is Hekate by the will of Artemis) (Hes. frag. 20a (Most)). From such examples we can see that details beyond ancestry and descent are part of Early Greek genealogies.

A particular way of citing mythological material in the scholia further suggests that story-telling was a major part of the work of the prose genealogists. The scholia often use the formula ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ... (the story according to...) to cite the paraphrasing of mythical stories from other sources. Among Early Greek genealogical material, the works of the prose genealogists especially receive this treatment. For example, in a scholiast presents the story according to Akousilaos of Aphrodite and Anchises, their love, and Aphrodite's planning of the Trojan War to benefit their children (*FGrHist* 2 F39). Likewise another scholiast presents the story according to Pherekydes of Sisyphus, his transgression, and his infamous punishment (*FGrHist* 3 F119). That the scholiasts went to the prose genealogists and cited them as sources for stories about certain figures or events, shows that there were not only many stories in their genealogies for the scholiasts to draw from, but also that they were considered sources of information beyond descent and ancestry. Stories must have formed a significant part of the works referred to, just as we see in the papyrus fragments in the *Catalogue of Women* and in Homeric genealogies.

Extended stories about figures in a given genealogy also feature prominently in the *Theogony*. In terms of structure and branching, the *Theogony* is composed very much in the same vein as other Early Greek genealogical material. The same is true in terms of narrative style and also story-telling. In two prominent analyses of the structure of the *Theogony* (those of West and Hamilton), the stories are called and treated as digressions.¹⁷³ They are seen as something separate from, but closely accompanying genealogy which is considered to be only the recounting of the descent relationships of the gods. For example, West writes, “If the Succession Myth is the backbone of the *Theogony*, the genealogies are its flesh and blood.”¹⁷⁴ Consider also West’s synopsis of the *Theogony* in which he places the ‘Genealogies’ in one column and the ‘Myths and Digressions’ in another.¹⁷⁵ This approach of separating the elements of the *Theogony*, while visually appealing, may lead us to think that stories and myths are something quite different from recounting descent and/or ancestry in the Early Greek world. This is not so. I hesitate to call the stories in the *Theogony* digressions. They are no mere offshoots of tangential or trivial material; they are as much a part of genealogy-making as recounting sons and daughters. That stories are interwoven with the recounting of descent relationships in the *Theogony*, or elsewhere, is not an issue or problem and the threads need not be unwoven nor should they be. By taking descent and ancestry apart from story-telling we unravel the fabric to look only at the threads and fail to see the fabric. In doing so, we impose upon the genealogical material foreign notions of

¹⁷³ West 1966; Hamilton 1989.

¹⁷⁴ West 1966, 31.

¹⁷⁵ West 1966, 16-18.

genealogy-making, and miss the way of doing it in the Early Greek world. To make genealogies was to tell stories.

Stories and a narrative style run throughout almost all of extant Early Greek genealogical material, defining and determining nature and structure.¹⁷⁶ In the final chapter of part 1, we will see that story-telling and narrative style are intimately connected to the purpose and context of genealogy in the Early Greek world. First, however, we must deal with a few exceptional genealogies, those, few in number, which exhibit neither a narrative style nor story-telling.

¹⁷⁶ The stories most probably come before the genealogies and the genealogical ordering of information. Why else would genealogies with heroes and divinities be told, except if the figures were somehow already significant? The stories, relatively short compared to epic story-telling, are drawn or linked from what is obviously a wider body of mythical material. Similarly, see Harding 2007, 181-82; 2008, 2-4, on the stories of the *Atthis* coming before the chronological scheme.

Figure 2.1. The family tree of the Trojan royal family constructed from the information in the *Library of Greek Mythology* (adapted from Hard 1997, 22)

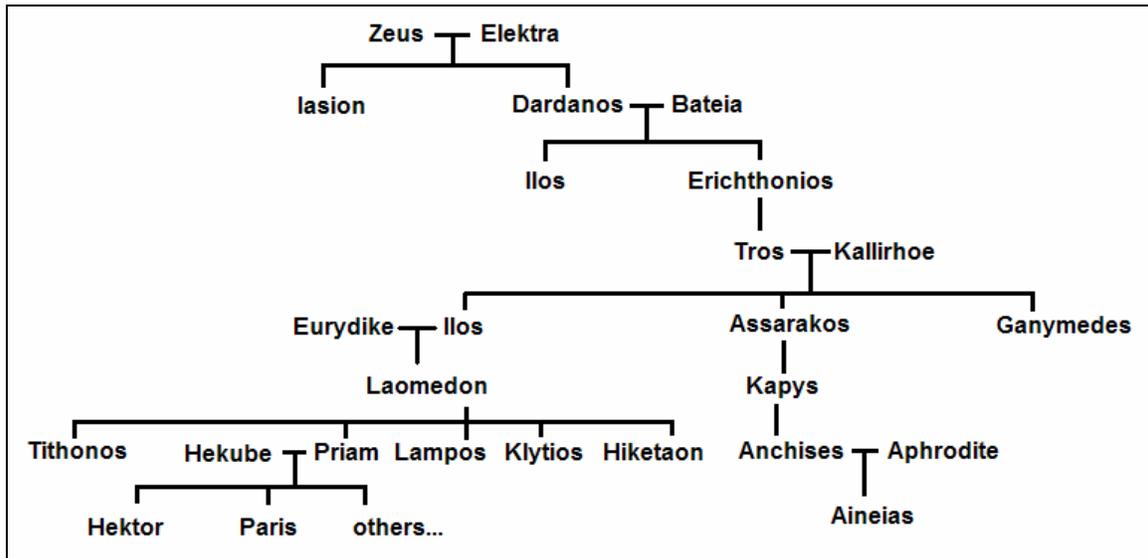


Figure 2.2. The family tree of Aineias constructed from the information in *Il.* 20.200-41

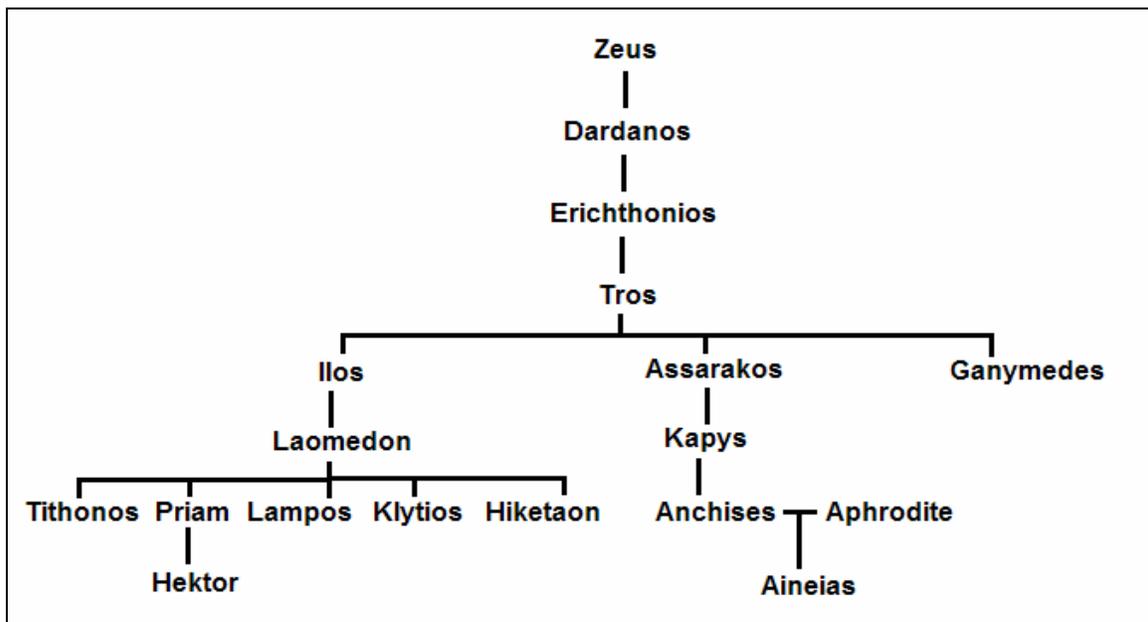
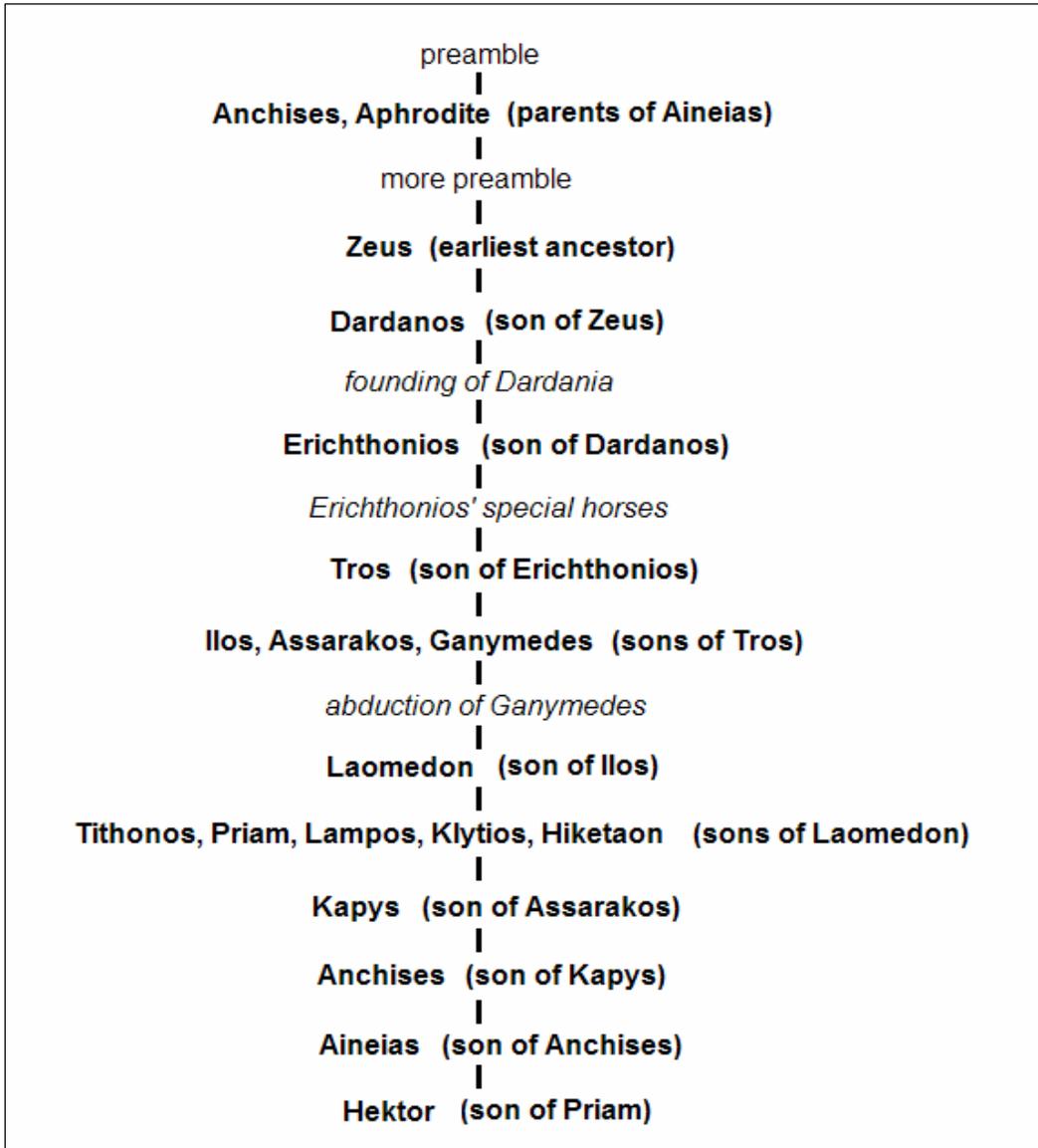


Figure 2.3. The outline of the genealogy of Aineias from *Il.* 20.200-41

(Segments of story-telling are rendered in italics. Segments of descent information are rendered in bold).



Chapter 3: List-Like Genealogies and Historiography

The combination of stories with the recounting of descent and/or ancestry characterizes Early Greek genealogy with very few late exceptions, where the genealogical material is presented as a long list with little to no information other than descent relationships given.¹⁷⁷ These are: the genealogies of the Spartan kings Leonidas and Leotychidas in Herodotus (Hdt. 7.204 and 8.131), the genealogy of Alexander of Macedon also in Herodotus (Hdt. 8.139), the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist (often called the Philaid genealogy) given by Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F2; app. 1), and the genealogy of Heropythos from an inscription on a tombstone from Chios (*SGDI* 5656) (figs. 3.1 and 3.2). All can be dated approximately to the mid-fifth century, late in the period of interest for this study. Since all extant instances of list-like genealogies appear in this later period, they may represent a change in the practice or climate of genealogy-making in the fifth century.

In belonging to the mid-fifth century, these genealogies also belong to a period that saw the beginnings of Greek historiography, defined by Bertelli as: “the definition of a standard of analysis for the transmitted material; source criticism and the search for ‘rational’ explanation; and ... a chronological backbone to order the events.”¹⁷⁸ Whether or not all of the above criteria of historiographical practice apply (and shortly I argue that they do not all apply) to works of the early genealogists, the critical (as defined by cultural and political

¹⁷⁷ As discussed above, other list-like sections appear in the fragments of the prose genealogists, but these are usually either paraphrases and not direct quotations or small sections of list-like material, and so they cannot be taken as indicative of the structure of the actual genealogical material.

¹⁷⁸ Bertelli 2001, 94. Although I adopt Bertelli’s definition of Greek historiography, I do not agree with his conclusion that Hekataios meets all three requirements. As discussed below, I do not accept that Hekataios’ genealogy as reported by Herodotus is evidence of the creation of chronological genealogy and the application of a “chronological backbone to order events” in Hekataios’ works.

environments and ideologies) collection, manipulation, and presentation of information from sources occurred in the creation of genealogies, whether from traditional myths, local memories, or even documents. This is not to say that all genealogy-making in this period was subject to such methods; the point is rather that such methods could be used in genealogy-making and were being applied to source material in other genres by this time. It remains, therefore, to be investigated, whether these list-like genealogies may owe their unusual or perhaps novel structure and style to application of the techniques of distillation and compilation to the creation of genealogies in the fifth century.

We have seen how later authors paraphrase earlier genealogical works, selecting the details they require for their purposes, and in doing so distil the information into something that little resembles the structure and character of the original. When authors select for the purpose of illustrating descent or ancestry relationships, the result is a fragment with only that information intact. The same process of selection and compilation from more detailed sources, which could also have been genealogical, likely took place in the construction of the list-like genealogies of the mid-fifth century.

The corollary of this argument is that genealogy did not necessarily play the role in historiographical development that scholars have more traditionally assigned it, that of chronological impetus, example, or tool, organizing information by generation and therefore time.¹⁷⁹ Instead of affecting history-writing by its methods, genealogy-making seems rather to have been affected by the literary techniques of history-writing. As Mitchel writes,

¹⁷⁹ The development of chronology from genealogy and the association with a chronological genealogical system of Hekataios, see e.g., Meyer 1892, 153-88; Jacoby 1949, 199; Grant 1970, 18-20; Fornara 1983, 4-7; Luce 1997, 10-12. For various challenges to this view and a variety of conclusions see: Pearson 1939, 96-106, esp. 105-6; Mitchel 1956, 49-52; R. Thomas 1989; Möller 1996; Bertelli 2001.

“chronology is patently an outgrowth not of genealogy but of historiography”¹⁸⁰ and, as such, may have had an influence on the development of genealogy rather than vice versa. And so, I will begin with the genealogy supposedly made by Hekataios of his own descent, about which Herodotus writes in Book 2 and which lies at the heart of the historiographical connection drawn by some scholars between genealogy and chronology. Then I will consider each of the list-like genealogies of the fifth century in turn, since each is different from the others in transmission and context. Although they share approximately the same time-frame and list-like character, their structures and their relationships to other genealogies and historiographical developments are different and must be explained in different ways.

Genealogy, Chronology, and Hekataios

According to Herodotus, Hekataios made his own genealogy, going back sixteen generations to god (Hdt. 2.143). The genealogy does not exist for us and we have no evidence of it in the fragments of Hekataios. That it ever did exist is a matter on which we must trust Herodotus or sources. This genealogy sits at the root of the theory that genealogical thinking imposed chronological thinking on the study of and writing about the past. This theory, however, lies on the implicit assumptions about Early Greek genealogies that it was fundamentally chronological and counted generations in a linear fashion and that it *only* involved descent or ancestry relationships, and the resulting idea that the genealogy

¹⁸⁰ Mitchel 1956, 49.

supposedly composed by Hekataios was linear, list-like, and only involved descent or ancestry relationships.¹⁸¹

We have little to no evidence to suggest that genealogy in the Early Greek world was inherently chronological. Indeed our evidence suggests that Early Greek genealogy was not and could not have been overly concerned with chronology or chronological thinking about the past. First, as R. Thomas has pointed out, there are only three extant ‘complete’ genealogies, i.e., genealogies which completely recount descent, generation by generation, from an earlier mythic period to the contemporary present. All of these complete genealogies date to around the mid-fifth century, very late in the sample of genealogical material we have been looking at and are a departure in genealogy making from earlier and even contemporary genealogical material. The date of our extant complete genealogies involving historical figures comes too late to have played a role in a development of chronology from earlier genealogies.¹⁸² It may be that earlier ‘complete’ oral genealogies provided a model for chronology, but there is, of course, no evidence of such genealogies so it is difficult to say for certain. It does, however, seem a stretch to argue, in the absence of evidence, that the impetus behind the oral material would have been so very different than that behind the preserved written material as to produce such a different product. The stories associated with

¹⁸¹ For the assumption that Hekataios’ genealogy was complete, list-like, and appeared in his *Genealogies*, see Bertelli 2001, 91-92, where it is supposed that the genealogy looked like those of Heropythos and the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist in Pherekydes.

¹⁸² R. Thomas 1989, 159. These are the aforementioned rather list-like genealogies of Miltiades the Oikist by Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F2) and Heropythos from Chios (*SGDI* 5656), and the genealogy of Hippokrates by Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F59), although whether this last genealogy extended all the way down to Hippokrates is uncertain (*FGrHist* commentary 1a, 409-10; R. Thomas 1989, 159n6) and it only survives as a description in Soranus’ *Life of Hippokrates* (*Vit. Hippoc.* 1). The list-like genealogies in Herodotus could also be considered in this list. It depends, however, on one’s interpretation of them as king-lists or as genealogies. Their relationship to historiography and chronology will be discussed in detail below.

the genealogical figures were, after all, of the utmost importance to genealogical thinking. The impetus was to connect the distant past and its illustrious or divine figures with the present.

In other surviving ‘genealogies’ in which historical figures claim divine or legendary ancestry, there is a substantial gap between the recent and the distant past as contemporary and recent figures are connected only with a distant legendary ancestor and the middle links in the chain are left out. This is what R. Thomas calls telescoping, the connection of the present with the distant past while ignoring, not caring about, or simply not knowing what comes in between.¹⁸³ The resulting gap in genealogical information not only makes it impossible to reckon time by generations, but perhaps more importantly indicates a non-chronological mindset about and purpose for genealogy in Early Greece.¹⁸⁴ Early Greek genealogical thinking involving roughly contemporary figures (historical to us) privileged the latest descendent and earliest ancestor and largely disregarded the intervening links so as to produce most often *telescoping* connections between the distant past and the present and not exact and thorough genealogical charters accounting for all family members.¹⁸⁵ Genealogies of that type certainly would have been useful chronologically and could have provided an impetus to chronological thinking through genealogy, but we do not have evidence of such genealogical thinking. Even our complete genealogies involving historical figures do not

¹⁸³ R. Thomas 1989, 158.

¹⁸⁴ Similarly, R. Thomas 1989, 157-59; Möller 1996, 19-20. Cf. Jacob 1994, 170-71.

¹⁸⁵ Recent studies have drawn attention to the lack of completeness, exactitude, consistency, and a charter-like character in Greek genealogies: e.g., R. Thomas 1989, 157-59; Möller 1996, 21; Fowler 1998, 4; Duplouy 2006, 60. Jacob, however, sees this lack as characteristic only of poetic genealogies, but not of prose genealogies, which (he argues) sought to fix those ‘problems’ and could through literate methods (1994, 182-84).

conform to such a standard of exactitude, clarity, and breadth. What we do have most often involving historical individuals and mythical figures are statements of relationships between distant ancestor and contemporary descendent, which are not very useful as chronological tools.

Genealogies wholly involving mythical or legendary figures also do not provide evidence of chronological thinking in Early Greek genealogy-making. Although they are 'complete', in that they usually outline all generations between two given points (whether it be between the heroic subject of a genealogy and his distant, usually divine, ancestor or between the earliest ancestor in great genealogy and any given end point among its branches), such genealogies do not usually connect with the present. The point is not that genealogies involving mythical figures were necessarily conceived of differently from those involving historical figures or that they did not involve events that were considered to be true or historical, e.g., the Trojan War. The point is that Early Greek genealogies involved figures of the distant past (mythical to us) and were not usually extended out of the distant past, beyond the age of heroes, into contemporary time (historical to us). The first evidence we have for such a genealogical practice comes in the mid-fifth century with the three complete genealogies identified by R. Thomas and the genealogies in Herodotus. As Tosetti has shown, the end points of genealogies of legendary figures are connected to current interests and propaganda; however, they are not brought down out of mythical time, out of the age of heroes to connect with people contemporary to the genealogy.¹⁸⁶ Consider, for example, the end of the *Catalogue of Women*. It ends with Zeus' plan for destruction, namely the Trojan

¹⁸⁶ Tosetti 2006, 113-30.

War, at the close of the age of heroes. We do not hear of the generations following those heroes.

Möller's assessment of the fundamental concern of Greek genealogies with the distant legendary past is important and compelling: "Alle Genealogen konzentrierten sich im wesentlichen auf die Vergangenheit, die wir mythisch nennen, indem sie z. B. die Familien der Aiakiden, der Herakliden oder der Deukaloniden beschrieben, weshalb sie auch Mythographen genannt werden."¹⁸⁷ Even those few genealogies that do involve historical figures draw heavily upon the mythical period. We are not dealing with a genealogical tradition that is overly concerned with genealogies *of* the contemporary period, but with genealogies *in* the contemporary period, as aetiologies, propaganda, or the basis of social or political claims.¹⁸⁸

Early Greek genealogies, with their fundamental interest in the distant and legendary past, show no sense of an overall generational or temporal framework operating within the genealogies by which the information has been organized or which could act as a paradigm of chronological order.¹⁸⁹ Chronological ordering is not inherent to genealogy-making. While genealogy-making may have set information from myth into a *kinship order*, an extended framework of parents and offspring, it does not follow that such a framework is necessarily chronological or arithmetical. Similarly, Möller in arguing against the direct

¹⁸⁷ Möller 1996, 19. "All genealogies concentrated fundamentally on the past, which we call mythical, in that they write about, e.g., the families of the Aiakidai, the Herakleidai, or the Deukalionidai, wherefore they are also called mythographies."

¹⁸⁸ The contexts and uses of genealogies will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

¹⁸⁹ The argument (see, e.g., Jacob 1994; Carrière 1998) that the prose genealogists cleaned up inconsistent mythical poetic genealogies or traditions and set them in temporal order is difficult to prove and has yet to be clearly shown in the evidence of the fragmentary historians.

shaping of annalistic models of history from genealogical writing, notes that genealogies only give rough generations and not precise years or arithmetical schemes. She adds that annalistic models divide events from names and reorganize them with the possibility of adding more events, unlike genealogies that connect names and events in the story of a family.¹⁹⁰

Neither the structure nor the character of Early Greek genealogies suggest that a generational or temporal framework, let alone an arithmetical framework, is at play or that chronological thinking is part and parcel of genealogical thinking. As argued in the preceding chapter, Early Greek genealogies are not strictly linear and they have a narrative style and story-telling character. They generally fall into two structural types. The first type, exemplified by Homeric genealogies, is rather linear, progressing from the earliest ancestor toward an individual descendent, the subject of the genealogy. This type has limited branching and when it does branch, it returns to the main line of descent, which leads down to the subject. The second type is ancestor-focused in that it is not geared toward an individual subject, but starts with a common ancestor and then branches out and down, with no one particular descendent in sight. Neither type is list-like. Instead, both types are full of stories and are generally narrative in style and language. The stories are an integral part of the practice of genealogy-making in the Early Greek world. The presence of these stories, sometimes very elaborate and comprising of more than half of a genealogy, does not

¹⁹⁰ Möller 2001, 251. Even if later chronographers, such as Kastor of Rhodes and Eusebius, looked to the structure of mythographers, it does not mean that chronology grew from genealogy, but rather that works of chronology could use genealogical information. For further reservations about the development of chronography from genealogy, see Mosshammer 1979, 101-5.

particularly evoke chronology and the chronological ordering of information about the past. Instead, it seems to indicate a narrative and story-telling character.

What we have, up until the mid-fifth century, are genealogies made up of stories and the recounting of descent/ancestry relationships of the legendary distant past that are unbound by the dictates of chronological structuring and historical time-keeping. The interest, fundamental focus, structure, and character of Early Greek genealogical material does not suggest that chronological order was inspired by Early Greek genealogy. It seems, instead, that literary methods of historiography, including chronological ordering, had an effect on Greek genealogy. Consider the late date of all of our list-like genealogies: they are all mid-fifth century, roughly contemporary to Herodotus. This is clearly after literary historical methods have begun to be applied to thinking and writing about the past. Indeed, it is not until Herodotus, our ‘father of history’, that we see strictly list-like genealogies, which could have been used chronologically or carried an inherent notion of chronology. However, the first evidence we have of a clearly chronological scheme comes with Hellanikos and his priestesses of Hera at Argos and victors at the Karneia.¹⁹¹

Any idea that Early Greek genealogies were essentially list-like, chronological, complete, and could be connected to historical events plays into an assumption that the genealogy of Hekataios was linear and list-like and therefore did not branch, have a narrative style, and tell stories. If this was so, it would have been unlike any other genealogy that we have extant until the middle of the fifth century.¹⁹² The fact is that if Hekataios did write his

¹⁹¹ See Pearson 1939, 105-6, 209-33; Jacoby 1949, 199-200; Mitchel 1956, 69; Möller 1996, 26-27; Marincola 2001, 17-18.

¹⁹² In Herodotus’ story, it is the Egyptians who impose a linear counting system upon Hekataios’ genealogy, but even in doing so they must prove to Herodotus through explanation that their system of reckoning is correct and unbroken, that in each generation son succeeded father.

own genealogy, Herodotus does not tell us what it was like beyond that a divinity was involved and that it went back sixteen generations. That it went back a certain number of generations does not necessarily mean that that is all it did. How was it structured? Did it branch at key generations? In what style was it written? Did it tell stories? Would a storyteller or mythographer, such as Hekataios, leave out interesting or heroic details about his own ancestors? We do not know what kind of genealogy Hekataios made. If Hekataios made it along the lines of the great genealogies in his work called *Genealogies*, for which we have fragments surviving as evidence, a linear list-like genealogy would not have been likely at all. It would have been ancestor-focused, contained branches, and involved story-telling. Or he may have composed his genealogy like one of the personal heroic genealogies in Homer, more linear, with story-telling and maybe a little branching, but moving toward an individual subject, himself. Both of these options, for which Hekataios had ample precedents, seem more likely than a bare-bones, list-like, chronologically-minded genealogy, for which he would have no precedents of which we are aware.¹⁹³ Either Hekataios is the first and makes a novel list-like genealogy unlike anything previously seen or he composed something in the vein of Early Greek genealogy. I suspect the latter. List-like genealogies were probably not the brain child of Hekataios nor a sudden unprovoked development in genealogical writing. Nor were they the impetus to impose chronology on writing about the past. They were probably the result of the development of literary techniques of history-writing, which brings us to Herodotus.

¹⁹³ All instances of list-like genealogies appear in the mid-fifth century, and we know that if Hekataios wrote a genealogy, he would have done it before Herodotus wrote his histories.

Herodotus' List-Like Genealogies

The list-like genealogies in Herodotus (those of the Spartan kings and of Alexander of Macedon) represent a development in the fifth century in genealogy-making, as the products of the application of literary historiographical techniques of compilation and distillation in the creation of genealogies. Therefore, they cannot be taken as evidence that list-like genealogies influenced literary techniques through an innate sense of chronology, but rather that the use of literary techniques created something better suited to chronological organization.

Any discussion of these genealogies, however, must inevitably tackle the problem of whether they are genealogies or if they are king-lists. There is disagreement in the scholarship on this question. Henige argues that the lists are genealogical, because Herodotus never purports that they are king-lists.¹⁹⁴ Further arguments supporting this position, as pointed out by Cartledge, include that a number of known rulers are absent from the lists and that Herodotus cross-references the *προγόνους* (ancestors) of Pausanias, who was only a Spartan regent, with the earlier list belonging to Leonidas, thus indicating that Herodotus was concerned with kinship and a figure who was not a king.¹⁹⁵ Cartledge, however, in arguing against the position that the lists are genealogical, gives reasons why certain rulers are missing from the lists and gives evidence from fragments of Early Greek poetry on papyri that some of the names from Herodotus' list, who were previously unknown as rulers, were indeed called kings in Sparta.¹⁹⁶ Cartledge concludes, "on balance" that

¹⁹⁴ Henige 1974, 208.

¹⁹⁵ Cartledge 2002, 294.

¹⁹⁶ Cartledge 2002, 294-95.

“Herodotus did indeed mean the lists for king-lists” and eventually concludes that in Herodotus’ lists “we have access to king-lists.”¹⁹⁷ That we may have access to information on kings of Sparta, however, does not mean that Herodotus intended his lists to be king-lists. There is an important distinction to be made here between king-lists (lists of kings in succession) and lists *with* kings. I agree with Henige’s assessment, that Herodotus was first and foremost creating genealogies. There is simply no getting around the fact that Herodotus connects the names through a formula of descent relationships: x, son of y, son of z, etc.... The lists, whether they contain the kings of Sparta or not, are expressed as a genealogy recounting ancestry.

A further indicator that Herodotus’ lists were genealogies is his statement after the list associated with Leotychidas: οὔτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης (All of the others were kings of Sparta, except the first seven recorded after Leotychidas) (Hdt. 8.131.3).

Prakken writes that this statement would “suggest that Herodotus considered his table a king-list, with certain exceptions, as well as a genealogical chart.”¹⁹⁸ Cartledge also interprets the statement as implying that Herodotus thought he was making king-lists.¹⁹⁹ I think that it suggests something quite different, that Herodotus produced a genealogy that involved kings and the sons of kings and that precisely *because* what he produced was not meant to be a king-list, he had to include the connection between kinship and kingship after the fact. This, added to the cross-referencing between the προγόνους (ancestors) of Leonidas and Pausanias,

¹⁹⁷ Cartledge 2002, 294-95.

¹⁹⁸ Prakken 1940, 462.

¹⁹⁹ Cartledge 2002, 294.

who moreover was not a king, and the overall form of the lists which clearly recount ancestry relationships, suggests that we are very much in the realm of kinship and not kingship.²⁰⁰

Kingship does, however, come into the picture, but only by nature of the men whose ancestries are being recounted, men who are important, have illustrious ancestries able to be traced back to a demi-god (Herakles) and available to Herodotus. A genealogy of kings, even a mythical one, is not necessarily a king-list. They may overlap, especially where there is hereditary succession or the desire to create the impression of hereditary succession. However, instances of broken or collateral succession (brothers succeeding brothers) can throw a king-list out of alignment with genealogy, even when trying to maintain the impression of unbroken succession. Because the genealogies in Herodotus, including that of Alexander of Macedon, involve kings and the sons of kings does not make them king-lists, even besides the fact they do not exclusively involve kings. Moreover, many Early Greek genealogies involve members of royal families who were never kings, e.g., the genealogy of Aineias at *Il.* 20.200-41. Should we call the genealogy of Aineias a king-list because many of his ancestors were kings of Troy? Probably not.

The important question seems not to be about Herodotus' intentions as much as it is about the nature of his sources. Were they king-lists, genealogies, or something else? Did he use multiple sources? Were they as list-like as Herodotus' product? The sources of Herodotus are difficult to assess and the trick here is to advance far enough to help make sense of the scope, style, and structure of the genealogies in Herodotus without falling into the bottomless vortex that *Quellenforschung*, if taken too far, could create. Prakken's assertion, following Meyer, and supported by Jacoby and Wade-Gery, that the king-lists

²⁰⁰ Similarly, Möller 2001, 252-53.

compiled by Hekataios were Herodotus' source for the Spartan lists, is tenuous at best and searching for the closest figure in the dark at worst.²⁰¹

The connection with Hekataios seems only to be based on two tenuous and circuitous sets of calculations.²⁰² The first set concerns the date of Herakles in Herodotus (placed at 1330 BCE), the number of generations recorded in the Spartan lists (21), and the supposedly resulting use of forty-year generations, which are supposedly used by Hekataios but not usually by Herodotus (who says that there are three generations every hundred years, but only says so once [Hdt. 2.142]). The first calculation rests on the assumption that Herodotus was concerned about keeping the number of generations in the genealogy consistent with a date for Herakles and that he had himself done the math. That he does the math for the Egyptian chronology, where he makes his statement that there are three generations in every hundred years, is not as relevant here as it might seem. There Herodotus is dealing with a list clearly associated with time-keeping and is working out a particular puzzle. The Spartan lists in Herodotus, however, are genealogies not chronological lists and there is no indication that Herodotus treated them as time-keepers or felt that they had to match up with any particular date for Herakles or follow any particular generational scheme.

The second set of calculations, relying on the argument that Herodotus adapted king-lists to make his genealogies by replacing certain contemporary names, places the compilation of the 'original' king-lists during the reign of Demaratos, ca. 510-491 BCE, and

²⁰¹ Meyer 1892, 170-71; Prakken 1940, *passim*; Wade-Gery 1952, 76n28, 90-91. For scepticism on this theory see Pearson 1939, 105-6; Mitchel 1956, 64-66; Möller 1996, 26.

²⁰² For an outline and critique of Meyer's long-standing argument that Hekataios developed a chronological scheme based on forty-year generations, see Mitchel 1956, 64-66. See also Möller 2001, 251-53, for a critique of the place of Herodotus' Spartan genealogies in the beginnings of chronology.

this is then compared to the dates of Hekataios' career and his *Genealogies*, which are only tentatively placed within that time.²⁰³ Linking up these two sets of calculations, the argument goes that Hekataios' work informed Herodotus' because of forty-year generations and because Hekataios may have worked during the period in which they may have been compiled. Even besides that fact that we have no evidence of such a list or generational chronology in the fragments of Hekataios, the argument is very shaky. The calculations and argument on the whole seem to be ripe with circularities and hopeful speculation, especially the attribution to Hekataios on the basis of the time in which he lived and worked. This approach does not seem particularly helpful in determining the nature of Herodotus' sources. Better results may be achieved by looking at the genealogies in Herodotus and any clues he may give us about his method and by considering other genealogical material as comparanda.

The other part of Prakken's argument about the sources of Herodotus is that they were king-lists.²⁰⁴ This argument is tenable. That each man who gets his genealogy told in Herodotus is a member of a royal family (our three Spartans and the Macedonian Alexander), suggests that the sources may have indeed been king-lists. Herodotus' statement at 8.131.3, that all but two of the ancestors of Leotyichidas were kings, suggests that his sources contained more information than he relates in his genealogy. Herodotus shares after the genealogy some further information that may have been present in his sources. Such information about kings could have been derived from a source that presents information on kings, i.e., from a king-list, but not necessarily. It is also possible that Herodotus, like the later authors who quote and paraphrase the mythographers, derived his descent and ancestry

²⁰³ See Prakken 1940 for specific details of the argument.

²⁰⁴ Prakken 1940, 466.

information as well as information about kinships from genealogical material.²⁰⁵ Take the example of Aineias' genealogy again (*Il.* 20.200-41). We learn from this genealogy that his ancestors were kings of Dardania and Troy and this type of information is important to the genealogical narrative. Ultimately, however, as is often the case, the author's sources remain elusive and the matter ambiguous. Thus Prakken's statement that "there can be no doubt that in the form in which he found them they were king-lists" is far from reflecting the reality of the situation.²⁰⁶ It certainly seems likely, but not free from doubt.

So what did Herodotus do with those sources, whatever they were? While I am sceptical about Prakken's identification of Hekataios as Herodotus' source, I can agree with Prakken that Herodotus applied techniques of selection and compilation in creating his genealogical lists. If Herodotus' sources were indeed king-lists, then the process of selection and compilation is certainly at work here. He would have had to select and adapt the information to create a genealogy from a king-list. If his sources were genealogies with information on kings, he would have had to distil the information to create his terse genealogies. We can also see something of Herodotus' process of genealogy-making, in the cross-referencing of the genealogy of Leonidas with the *προγόνοι* (ancestors) of Pausanias at 9.64. Herodotus does not give the genealogy of Pausanias, because he writes that he has already recounted the names in the genealogy of Leonidas, τῶν δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· ὅυτοι γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες (The names of his ancestors have been mentioned above in relation to Leonidas, for they

²⁰⁵ Furthermore, if Herodotus' source was indeed Hekataios and the Spartan information would probably belong to the *Genealogies*, as Prakken himself argues (1940, 467-68) and therefore be a genealogy. But I still think the connection is tenuous at best and this argument therefore rather irrelevant.

²⁰⁶ Prakken 1940, 466.

happen to be the same) (Hdt. 9.64). Herodotus recognizes that the genealogies of the men overlap. His means of coming to this conclusion is unknowable to us, but we can speculate on a few options. He may have compared separate sources containing genealogical information for the two men, which would mean that both Pausanias and Leonidas had their own separate source. It seems improbable that there were two distinct sources out there for each man, when they share the same lineage. Moreover, it seems unlikely that Pausanias as a regent and an unexpected leader would have had his own genealogical source. Another option is that knowing Pausanias' immediate ancestry, his father and grandfather but not having a separate genealogical source for Pausanias, he linked his descent with that of Leonidas. This seems more probable, given Pausanias' status as regent. While we cannot know from which sources exactly Herodotus compiled the genealogies of Pausanias and Leonidas and by what methods he connected them, it is apparent that he synthesized the genealogical information from his sources. Herodotus correlated the two genealogies, recording only one from beginning to end, he then distilled the information into a simple statement to stand in for the genealogy of Pausanias. In this cross-referencing, we see Herodotus' method of compiling, synthesizing, and distilling information at work in the creation of genealogies.

Herodotus thus appears to have used literary techniques to construct his list-like genealogies, working from more detailed sources, king-lists or genealogies. His genealogies are the product of distillation and compilation. Therefore, list-like genealogies, such as may be useful in inspiring chronological organization and thinking, actually do not seem to appear before the influence of literary techniques on genealogy making.

The Genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist

The genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist or the Philaid genealogy, as it is more commonly called in the scholarship, is probably the most studied genealogy from ancient Greece. It appears in discussions on the development of historiography, on elite self-promotion, on political propaganda and positioning in fifth century Athens, on aetiological genealogies, and on aristocratic families and family tradition.²⁰⁷ A problem with all of this attention being paid to this genealogy, however, is that it is highly unusual and does not accurately represent the evidence of Early Greek genealogies and genealogical thinking. It is not the norm, but the exception. Compared with other fragments of the prose and poetic genealogists, Pherekydes included, the genealogy stands out for its length, its treatment of figures we know to be historical, its ‘completeness’ in full generations from an early legendary ancestor to an historical figure, its very limited element of story-telling, and its preservation of a list-like style through several generations and through what small segments there are of story-telling. Unlike most other genealogical material, it would be well-suited to inspire chronological thinking. It has the appearance of a highly ordered genealogy. But this is not the norm for Early Greek genealogies or even those of the fifth century. This has implications for arguments made with the genealogy as evidence. For example, the idea that there was a tradition of genealogies stretching from the present into the distant legendary past, inherited and preserved by aristocratic families, cannot be supported by this one unusual fragment.²⁰⁸ It is unlike most other genealogical material and therefore cannot alone

²⁰⁷ E.g., Meyer 1892; Jacoby 1947; Wade-Gery 1951, 1952; Huxley 1973; Viviers 1987; R. Thomas 1989; Jacob 1994; Möller 1996; Higbie 1997; Duploux 2006.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Momigliano 1971, 24.

represent standard genealogical practice in the mid-fifth century, neither in arguments about the structure, style, and scope of Early Greek genealogies in general, nor in arguments about their context, purpose, and use.

So what, then, can we establish about the structure, style, and scope of this particular genealogy so that we may situate it among the other evidence and be able to use it while discussing the context, purpose, and use of genealogies in the Early Greek world in the following chapter? In the following paragraphs, I will outline a few possible explanations for the unusual character of the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist, comparing and contrasting the genealogy with other fragments and genealogical materials in order to situate it among what seems to be more standard Greek genealogical practice in the fifth century.

One possible explanation for the unusual ‘completeness’ and length of the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist lies in its construction from contemporary information and the use of literary methods to extend that information into a ‘complete’ genealogy. R. Thomas argues that the genealogy is the product of literary methods applied by Pherekydes to oral family tradition. The argument goes that Pherekydes, working from a family tradition which was subject to telescoping (the common phenomenon of connecting only ancient ancestors with contemporary figures and leaving out the middle links), used literary methods to stretch out names known from family tradition in a linear fashion in order to create a genealogy that was unbroken from ancient legendary ancestor to contemporary subject.²⁰⁹ Thus the source of Pherekydes’ genealogy would be family tradition and the literary method used on that source would be largely the chronological manipulation of information. The unusually list-like structure of this one genealogy in Pherekydes, then, extrapolating from R. Thomas’

²⁰⁹ For the full argument, see R. Thomas 1989, 161-73.

argument, would result from the simple adoption of names from family tradition. This is a likely possibility for Pherekydes' method of compiling and composing. However, while R. Thomas' arguments suggest what may have been Pherekydes' sources and method, we still cannot explain why the end product is so exceptional in its style.

A challenge in dealing with this genealogy is that because it is unusual, it is tempting to distance this one fragment from the rest of the fragments of the prose genealogists and discuss it alone. We should consider, however, that its exceptionality may be better understood through its commonalities with other material. Although the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist is unusual and therefore cannot stand alone as evidence of standard Greek genealogical practice, it is not entirely dissimilar to other Greek genealogical material and, therefore, is probably best understood within that context.

Two points of comparison are particularly enlightening toward understanding the list-like style of the fragment. First, the genealogy is not *absolutely* list-like, in that, like other genealogical material, it has an element of story-telling, providing information beyond that of descent or ancestry. Alongside descent relationships, the genealogy records: that Philaios settled in Athens; that during Teisander's archonship something happened (exactly what we do not know because of a lacuna in the text); that during Hippokleides' archonship the Panathenaic festival was established; and that the last Miltiades in the list settled the Chersonese. These pieces of information consist of only a few words and do not quite seem to measure up to the elaborate stories we see in most Early Greek genealogies, but they do look like remarks made in other Early Greek genealogical material, in which only an epithet or a small amount of information is provided. The common formula ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος (in the archonship of) is nicely suited to such a remark, being easy to insert and follow with the rest of the genealogy. In Early Greek genealogical material short stories and remarks are

often contained in relative clauses (e.g., *Il.* 20.233-35; *FGrHist* 1 F15; *FGrHist* 3 F39, F101). Such insertions, at the very least, indicate that the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist by Pherekydes did not just contain descent information, despite its highly list-like character.

The second point of comparison is that a list-like style similar to that in the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist appears, albeit in very short stretches, in other fragments of the prose genealogists held to be direct quotations (*FGrHist* 2 F3, F44; *FGrHist* 3 F20, F66; *FGrHist* 4 F4).²¹⁰ All of these examples have already been introduced above in connection with story-telling and the combination of descent information and stories in Early Greek genealogies, because they depict the movement between descent information in a list-like style and the telling of stories. The fragment of Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F4) illustrates this movement particularly well, proceeding from list into story. We also see movement from story into list (*FGrHist* 3 F20, F66). What we see illustrated here, captured by these fragments, are genealogies as they progress back and forth between list-like sections involving descent information and sections of story-telling or elaboration on an individual figure in the genealogy. It could be then, that what we have in this fragment of Pherekydes is a piece of a list-like section between stories like we see in other Early Greek genealogical material, the fragments of Pherekydes among them (*FGrHist* 3 F20, F66).

It is important to recognize here that what we have in *FGrHist* 3 F2 is only a fragment of the original, a portion selected by later authors. Whether or not Miltiades the Oikist was actually the final figure in the genealogy depends on whether or not we have the full genealogy preserved in our source, quoted in its entirety by both Didymus and Marcellinus.

²¹⁰ Thanks are owed here to Robert Fowler for drawing my attention to some of the fragments of the mythographers which also employ list-like styles.

Although Marcellinus' intentions were supposedly to connect the genealogy to Thucydides and therefore likely would have continued the genealogy down as far as he possibly could, we cannot assume that we have the full genealogy as far as it went. We do not have Didymus' intentions for citing Pherekydes on this matter and therefore cannot surmise the length of *his* quotation. Moreover, given that we do not have the context out of which the quotation was selected and it seems doubtful that this small piece of prose (despite its length in generations, it is not a wordy genealogy taking up only a few lines of text) was published or produced on its own, it is safe to say that we probably do not have the complete genealogy. There could have been further generations in the genealogy. But more likely, judging from the pattern of other genealogical materials, including that of Pherekydes, is that there were other branches, leading down from Aias or the other sons of Aias. We know that Pherekydes wrote great genealogies collected in a large single work along the lines of the *Catalogue of Women* and the works of Hekataios and Akousilaos. The genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist belonged to one of these great genealogies of Pherekydes. It is one branch among many in a great genealogy, likely of the Aiakidai, the descendents of Aias, or the Asopidai, the descendents of Asopos, including Aias and Achilleus.²¹¹ Marcellinus relates that the quotation comes from the first book of Pherekydes' *Histories* (*FGrHist* 3 F2.3) and that Hellanikos covers the information among the Asopidai (*FGrHist* 4 F22). The rather list-like genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist that has come down to us is a portion of a larger genealogy, perhaps a list-like section in between sections of story-telling, belonging to

²¹¹ Following this argument, the genealogy should probably be called a branch of the Aiakidai or Asopidai genealogies, but since it survives for us as a fragment and we thus need a separate name as shorthand, I think the 'genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist' is the most descriptive of the information in the genealogy.

a branch of a non-linear, ancestor-focused genealogy, such as we see in the *Catalogue of Women* and the works of prose and poetic genealogists, Pherekydes among them.

The genealogy in Pherekydes fragment 2 is not extraordinary for its employment of a list-list style, but it is extraordinary for the length and preservation of its list-like style through so many generations and during segments of non-descent information. A comparison with the other two fragments of Pherekydes that employ a list-like style illustrates the similarities and this important difference nicely. All three of the fragments begin with details about an ancestor. In both fragments 2 and 20, the information offered is about where that ancestor lived or settled. Toward the end of the list-like section, fragments 2 and 66 begin to add information beyond descent.²¹² Once fragment 66 expands into a story, it abandons its list-like syntax and shortly thereafter the quotation ends. Fragment 2, however, begins to add short remarks several generations before the end of the fragment, incorporating them so formulaically that it never loses its list-like style, adding remarks only at certain generations. This strict adherence to a list-like style is unusual. It is also unusual for its length. The genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist lasts for eight generations of purely descent information straight and for four more after other information begins to be added, maintaining its list-like character for twelve generations. The other fragments have list-like sections that are either much shorter or truncated. The genealogy is, therefore, similar to other fragments with list-like sections, but different in two key ways. So if the fragment represents a list-like section between stories, how can we explain the lengthy and pervasive list-like style?

²¹² This does not happen in fragment 20, as the quotation appears to be truncated after Echebolos as the scholiast who quotes it appears only to be interested in his descent (Schol. (T) II. 23.296c).

A consideration of the fragment's transmission may be helpful here. The genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist is presented as a direct quotation in critical editions of Pherekydes' fragments and of Marcellinus, in whose work it is quoted by Didymus.²¹³ The genealogy is a quotation of a quotation and it is possible that it is not a direct quotation. The question is: was it Pherekydes or a later writer who gave the information its list-like structure and style? It is possible that the information in the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist could have been distilled by a later quoting author, either Didymus or Marcellinus and that the style and structure of the genealogical material of Miltiades the Oikist in Pherekydes' work may have been much more detailed, along the lines of his other fragments. Marcellinus would have had ample reason to do so, being that his purpose in using Pherekydes was ostensibly only to show that Thucydides was descended from Aias. Marcellinus' syntax and word choice, however, suggest that he believed it to be a quotation: καὶ τούτοις Δίδυμος μαρτυρεῖ, Φερεκύδην ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν φάσκων οὕτω λέγειν ... (And Didymus gives evidence of these things, saying that Pherekydes wrote thus in the first book of his Histories: ...) (Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.* 3; *FGrHist* 3 F2).

It is also possible that Didymus could have paraphrased and not quoted Pherekydes on the genealogy and the result could have been a list-like paraphrase such as we see done by other later writers. This paraphrase then could have been taken up as a quotation and mistakenly cited as such by Marcellinus. This is not a suggestion of sloppiness in Didymus' scholarship, in the vein of ancient and modern criticism of his scholarly abilities.²¹⁴ There

²¹³ See critical editions by Jacoby (*FGrHist* 3 F2), Fowler (*EGM* Pherekydes F2), and Piccirilli 1985 (Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.* 2-5).

²¹⁴ On Didymus' ancient and modern reputation as a scholar and in defence of Didymus, see Gibson 2002, 54-62; Harding 2006, 31-39.

was lack of accepted ancient principles for quoting or citing the ideas of other writers, and so the interests, agenda, and purpose of the quoting author largely determine how ideas were excerpted and represented.²¹⁵ Didymus' style and technique of excerption from other writers, however, as far as can be seen from *P. Berol. 9780* (Didymus on Demosthenes), lean heavily toward detailed citations and large verbatim quotations.²¹⁶ And so quotations seem to have fared quite well in Didymus' hands, especially if, as Gibson suggests, the fragments of the papyrus were excerpted by another scholar from a larger commentary.²¹⁷ His interest seems to be in recording verbatim the opinions of other scholars, rather than in selecting and condensing particular pieces of information to present in paraphrase. It seems less likely then that Didymus himself would have paraphrased the genealogy quoted by Marcellinus from a more detailed source.

I have presented three possible explanations for the unusual list-like character of the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist preserved in Pherekydes fragment 2. The first, argued by R. Thomas, is that Pherekydes used contemporary information from family tradition to 'complete' the genealogy generation by generation from legendary ancestor to recent historical figure. While this may have been Pherekydes method, it does not fully explain why the end product appears to be so different from other genealogical material. Comparison with other Early Greek genealogical material gives us a better idea of the genealogy's context and suggests some other explanations for its unusual-looking character. The second explanation is that the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist may be a paraphrase of a more

²¹⁵ On ancient methods of excerption from sources, see Gibson 2002, 6-7.

²¹⁶ Harding 2006, 20, 31, 34.

²¹⁷ Gibson 2002, 66-69. Cf. Harding 2006, 13-20, on the nature of the work transmitted by *P. Berol. 9780*.

detailed work of genealogy or a list-like section in between stories, a piece of a branch in a great genealogy. The third explanation for the genealogy's unusual character lies in a combination of these two possibilities: it is a section of a branch of a great genealogy with a long list-like section, whose list-like style may have been furthered by paraphrasing. This would explain its not absolutely list-like character, unlike the strictly list-like genealogies in Herodotus or genealogy of Heropythos, and its relationship to other Early Greek genealogical material. These explanations are all possibilities and have been presented tentatively. I suspect that the answer may lie in the second possibility, that it is a branch of a larger great genealogy; however, its transmission is tricky and the influence of members claiming the lineage should not be entirely dismissed. Whatever the case may be, the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist is best understood, for all its distinctiveness, alongside other fragments of Early Greek genealogy and ought not to stand alone out of context as a norm of prose genealogy and Greek genealogy in general.

The Genealogy of Heropythos

The genealogy of Heropythos on the tombstone from Chios is equally, if not more troublesome to interpret than the other list-like genealogies of the mid-fifth century (figs. 3.1 and 3.2). It cannot be placed within a developing tradition of historical writing, in that we know nothing of its author and it has no context within a work of history. Moreover, it is not only unusual for its list-like structure, but unique among extant Early Greek genealogical material for being an inscription and among surviving genealogical inscriptions for its early date.

We can, however, compare it to later inscriptions, as Chaniotis does, but this does not get us far.²¹⁸ Seeing a tradition of genealogical epigraphy, Chaniotis discusses the genealogy of Heropythos in combination with three other genealogical inscriptions: two from the second century BCE from Miletus and Crete (*Milet* no. 422 and *Inscr. Cret.* III S.56 iii 8) and one from Cyrene (*SGDI* 4859), dated to the third century BCE by Chaniotis, but equally plausibly to the first to second centuries CE by Masson.²¹⁹ These four examples, however, are too few and too disparate, coming from different areas and time periods, to represent a single tradition. In addition, as a whole, the examples of genealogical inscriptions from the ancient Greek world do not seem to have a lot in common beyond relating descent and/or ancestry and being inscriptions. The genealogy of Heropythos is similar in structure, style, and scope only to the inscription from Cyrene, in that both are list-like and deal only with descent from father to son. The other inscriptions encompass more family members, including women, and are not nearly as list-like.

The genealogy of Heropythos, as an inscription, may belong to a different visual tradition of genealogy or a visual development in the same tradition. Or it may be that the genealogy's epigraphical medium determined the structure and information presented in the genealogy. Although the medium of inscription does not necessarily impose brevity on the material being inscribed, it could have been a factor for the creator or inscriber of this genealogy. While this is a possibility, I present it warily. Any conclusion based on this unique piece of evidence can only be tentatively stated. Thus, an understanding of the list-like structure of the genealogy remains somewhat elusive. Given its date in the fifth century

²¹⁸ Chaniotis 1987, 43-44.

²¹⁹ Chaniotis 1987, 43; Masson 1974, 266n17.

and its apparent uniqueness, however, it seems unlikely that the genealogy of Heropythos represents a long or widespread tradition of list-like genealogies in the Early Greek world, but rather a unique or local development in the fifth century.

The list-like genealogies that appear in the fifth century are more likely the product of the use of literary techniques on sources containing genealogical information (whether the sources are genealogical or otherwise), than they are chronological tools or indicators. Herodotus applies literary methods to compile and create his genealogies, perhaps from king-lists. Pherekydes' genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist could owe its list-like structure and style, as R. Thomas argues, to a process of elongation inspired and accomplished by literary techniques. Since it belonged to a larger great genealogy, the quotation in Marcellinus may also represent a list-like section in between stories. The possibility also remains that it could have been paraphrased by Didymus into a distillation of the original. The structure and style of the genealogy of Heropythos is difficult to interpret because of its uniqueness. It seems to belong to a different tradition of genealogy-making that is not literary and not for recitation, but may simply just be concerned with descent information. If these list-like genealogies came about in the mid-fifth century under the influence of literary and historiographical techniques of writing and thinking about the past, it indicates that the original Early Greek genealogical impulse was not to create lists of descendents or ancestors at all, but to tell stories of ancestors or descendents largely of the distant past. The purpose and context of which genealogical stories is the subject of the following chapter.

Figure 3.1. The Genealogy of Heropythos, Grave Stele from Chios, ca. 450 (SGDI 5656) following Wade-Gery's transcription (1952, 8: fig. 8)

Ηροπυθο	Heropythos
το Φιλαιο	son of Philaios
το Μικκυλο	son of Mikkulos
το Μανδρακ(λ)εος	son of Mandrokles
το Ερασιω	son of Erasies
το Ιπποτιωνος	son of Hippotion
το Εκαιδεω	son of Hekaides
το Ιπποσθενος	son of Hipposthenes
το Ορσικλεος	son of Orsikles
το Ιπποτιωνος	son of Hippotion
το Εκαιο	son of Hekaos
το Ελδιο	son of Eldios
το Κυπριο	son of Kyprios

**Figure 3.2. The Genealogy of Heropythos, Grave Stele from Chios, ca. 450 (*SGDI* 5656)
(Wade-Gery 1952, 8: fig. 8)**

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The information removed is a photograph of the Genealogy of Heropythos, Grave Stele from Chios, ca. 450 (*SGDI* 5656) (Wade-Gery 1952, 8: fig. 8)

Chapter 4: The Types and Uses of Early Greek Genealogies

There are a few ways in which scholars have attempted to categorize Greek genealogies and genealogical material. Broadbent, as discussed in *Chapter 2*, is concerned with the mythical versus the historical, separates genealogies into the historical, the forged or made-up, the mythic or fictitious, and the historiographic sociological.²²⁰ This interest in the true and the false is not terribly useful, here, in studying a culture in which the categories of true and false do not necessarily coincide with the equation of true with historical and false with mythical. Also concerned with myth and history, but in a different way, Mitchel divides Greek genealogies between poetry and prose, seeing poetic genealogies as mytho-poetic, artistic creations and prose genealogies as scholarly and non-literary works of synthesis.²²¹ Treating prose and poetic genealogies as separate entities in this way, however, fails to see the whole tradition of genealogy-making in the Early Greek world. Such divisions in the genealogical material seem to be partly a result of theories of historiographical development, which hold that prose genealogies were a development in historiography putting order to mythical material and partly a result of modern ideas of history and myth, which require dividing the false from the true. Either premise is faulty.

A quick consideration of Early Greek genealogical material shows approaches dividing the true from the false and the poetic from the prose to be flawed. The structure of the prose material, as far as we can surmise, does not seem to be all that different from what we see in the *Catalogue of Women*. Indeed, the major structural difference between genealogies, as discerned above, cuts across poetic genealogy. More linear, single-

²²⁰ Broadbent 1968, 18.

²²¹ Mitchel 1956, 49-50.

descendent-focused genealogies appear in Homeric poetry, whereas tendrilled ancestor-focused genealogies that branch out and down are found in the Hesiodic poetry. Moreover, poetic and prose genealogy deal largely with the same mythical material. The only difference between prose and poetry as far as genealogical material is concerned is that poetic genealogies lack figures considered by us to be historical. However, given the extremely few mentions at all of historical figures in the genealogical material and the very tiny amount of material surviving from poetic genealogists such as Kinaithon and Asios, who seem to have been very much interested in the myths of their respective *poleis* and may have thus included historical figures relevant to their *poleis'* past, I am extremely hesitant to put too much stock in such an absence. It must also be noted that among extant Early Greek genealogical material there is only one genealogy that may be considered to be wholly made up of historical figures, the genealogy of Alexander of Macedon in Herodotus (8.139), and even that genealogy is associated with a mythical legend of how the ancestor Perdiccas claimed the kingdom of Macedon (8.137-38). Figures considered by us to be historical appear among figures considered by us to be non-historical or mythical, e.g., the genealogy of Hippokrates connecting the father of medicine to Herakles and Asklepios (*FGrHist* 3 F59) or the genealogies of the Spartan kings in Herodotus going back to Herakles (6.204 and 8.131). The same sort of connection between myth and history appears in the genealogical stories associated with historical figures in the praise poetry of Pindar.²²² Although the historical figures are not linked completely generation by generation through these stories to the mythical family in question, this does not represent a mythical-historical divide, but as R.

²²² E.g., *Ol.* 2.35-48; *Ol.* 6.24-25 and 28-73; *Ol.* 7.20-38 and 92-94; *Pyth.* 4.247-62; *Nem.* 11.33-37; *Isthm.* 3.13-17b.

Thomas argues, a telescoping that brings the distant past up close to the present. This association between the storied past and its figures and the contemporary world seems to be the whole point of expressing kinship here. Thus, to separate the mythical from the historical is to ignore the very connection that lies at the heart of Early Greek genealogy.

Classifications of Greek genealogies, then, may more appropriately be based upon the types of connections drawn between the distant or early past and the contemporary world. How did Greek genealogies link the present and the distant past? How could genealogies solely of the legendary past relate to the present? Who and what did they link? Are the genealogies associated, directly or indirectly, with historical individuals, families, peoples, or *poleis*? In what context, to what end, and in whose interest were genealogies created in the Early Greek world?

Many scholars see Greek genealogy as primarily associated with aristocratic families and focus on their role in establishing and securing the power and prestige of those families.²²³ Momigliano, for example, writes, “Greek aristocracy shared the passion for genealogical trees which characterizes any aristocracy.”²²⁴ The problem is, however, that he is only able to cite the genealogy of Heropythos and the difficult genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist in Pherekydes, which he calls, as is appropriate to his argument, the Philaidai genealogy, as evidence that “quite a few families” produced lengthy genealogies. The argument is thus not based on an assessment of the overwhelming majority of Greek

²²³ Wade-Gery 1952, 92; Van Groningen 1953, 47-61 *passim*; Momigliano 1971, 24; Finley 1975, 27, 48; Dowden 1992, 10-11; Gras 1995; Nicolai 2007, 17. R. Thomas, although appropriately critical of the concept of lengthy inherited familial genealogies, sets genealogies squarely in the realm of family and family tradition (1989, 157).

²²⁴ Momigliano 1971, 24.

genealogical material, but on two exceptional and difficult to interpret genealogies. It has, however, remained a profoundly influential assessment and represents the standard view of Greek genealogy among Greek historians in general. For example, Gras cites the same quotation from Momigliano above to explain the use and context of Greek genealogy in his textbook on the Archaic Mediterranean.²²⁵ Nicolai, similarly, in touching briefly on the topic of Greek genealogy in his article “The Place of History in the Ancient World” in the recently published *Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, writes that genealogies “continued and interpreted the epos and had the aim of consolidating and organizing the memories of aristocratic clans (*genē*).”²²⁶ As we will see in the course of this chapter, however, this understanding of Greek genealogy as primarily familial breaks down under the weight of the evidence of Early Greek genealogical material as a whole.

Some scholars, however, recognizing more of the tradition of Greek genealogy, see different types of Greek genealogical material, namely, familial genealogies and civic or ethnic genealogies. Van Groningen, interpreting genealogy within a tribal model of Early Greek society, associates Greek genealogies with groups, namely clans and ‘larger’ groups, concluding that the solidarity of the group in the past was important to the solidarity of the present.²²⁷ Hall sets the genealogies he studies into the category of ethnic, and others as familial, although he appears to approach the second category more hesitantly.²²⁸ This hesitancy is justified. The overall association of genealogies with groups, group solidarity,

²²⁵ Gras 1995, 65.

²²⁶ Nicolai 2007, 17.

²²⁷ Van Groningen 1953, 61.

²²⁸ Hall 1997, 41.

and group interests, requires reconsideration in light of the complex body of extant genealogical material. Möller, recognizing more dimensions in the genealogical material and that more than just group interests are involved, sees three purposes to genealogy in the ancient Greek world.²²⁹ (1) Genealogies explained or expressed conceptual relationships. (2) They explained or expressed alliances or relationships between groups within the *polis* (e.g., *phylai* and *genē*) and between *poleis*, through mythical kinship connections. (3) Genealogies served as expressions or claims to status and prestige for families and individuals. While Möller admirably expands upon the purpose of genealogies in the Greek world, there is still a focus on groups and familial groups in her work that requires refinement. The problem still lies with the association of genealogies with kinship groups within the *polis*. The evidence of Early Greek genealogy as a whole does not suggest a strong connection between genealogy making and kinship groups, such as clans or tribes.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, neither the structure nor the information conveyed support elaborate elite family genealogies resulting from family tradition in Dark Age and Archaic Greece. Early Greek genealogies are not concerned with drawing connections between contemporary individuals and depicting large family groups. Even when they involve large families, such as in the great genealogies in the *Catalogue of Women*, they are much more vertical in character and structure, tending to link generations vertically through time and not horizontally across branches drawing contemporaneous connections. Moreover, Greek genealogies are primarily patrilinear, and, although women are sometimes included (more so in the *Catalogue of Women* than in other examples of genealogical information), they may be left out, because it is ultimately male ancestry or

²²⁹ Möller 1996, 19-20.

descent that is being recounted. Such genealogies with a very limited scope of information and web of relationships do not depict kinship groups as groups, nor relationships within kinship groups nor the connections between all members of a kinship group as a group with earlier legendary ancestors. Were membership within a group, contemporary connections within the group, or mythical connections of the whole group to an ancestor of high priority, one might expect a more thorough recounting of kinship connections than what we see in Early Greek genealogical material.

Early Greek genealogies also do not commonly include historical individuals, although they are often associated with historical individuals. The instances of historical figures being placed within a genealogy are very few. Instead we tend to see them in telescoping situations as in Pindar's praise poetry, where the historical figure is said to be related to distant ancestors, but the individual is not placed within a genealogy connecting him to those ancestors. The few instances where historical individuals do feature in descent or ancestry information and are not just associated with the genealogy do not express kinship groups and their interests.²³⁰ Some of the instances come from fragments which do not contain direct quotations.²³¹ Others we have already discussed as unusually list-like genealogies.²³² We might also include the genealogy supposedly written by Hekataios

²³⁰ Some historical events can also be found among the fragments of the prose genealogists, especially those of Hellanikos and Damastes. Such fragments are not easily identified as genealogical material, but they could represent elements of the story-telling in genealogical material. They will be discussed below in connection to the relationship between the prose genealogists and their contemporary world.

²³¹ E.g., Hippokrates in Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 59); Andocides in Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 323a F24a, b, c = *FGrHist* 4 F170a, b, c); and Miltiades the Oikist in Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F 22).

²³² These are: the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist in Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F2); the genealogies in Herodotus (Hdt. 7.204, 8.131, 8.139, and 9.64); and the genealogy of Heropythos of Chios (*SGDI* 5656).

tracing his own ancestry, but, as already discussed, we know next to nothing about this genealogy and anything one might say about its form, structure, and completeness is based on speculation at best or assumption at worst. As we will see shortly, none of these genealogies involving historical figures expresses the relatedness of contemporary individuals or entire families, but connect only one contemporary individual at a time back to an ancestor.

The genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist in Pherekydes fragment 2 is the genealogy that is most often cited as evidence of lengthy traditions preserved and produced by aristocratic families going back into the Archaic period and beyond.²³³ However, as R. Thomas has pointed out, it is one of only three extant ‘complete’ genealogies that connect historical figures with a legendary ancestor with a complete set of links given between ancestor and historical descendent.²³⁴ It thus makes for poor evidence of such a tradition, given the number of such aristocratic families there could have been. Moreover, as many scholars have pointed out, Greek genealogy had more to do with contemporary needs and circumstances than it did with preserving accurate or inherited familial information.²³⁵ Even R. Thomas, who argues that Pherekydes adapted family tradition to create the genealogy, does not see the genealogy as representative of a lengthy, well-preserved, family history, but as a stretching-out of contemporary and recent family information to create a complete genealogy between the son of Aias and Miltiades the Oikist. Thus we have little evidence on which to base the theory that there were elaborate family genealogies in Early Greece which

²³³ E.g., Momigliano 1971, 24; Van Groningen 1953, 52.

²³⁴ R. Thomas 1989, 157-58.

²³⁵ E.g., Möller 1996, 20; Fowler 1998, 9; Duplouy 2006, 60.

depicted the relationships of a particular family and promoted the interests of specific kinship groups.

Earlier studies seem to have approached Greek genealogy in this way under the influence of models of a tribal or clan-based society in Early Greece, e.g., those of Momigliano, Van Groningen, Wade-Gery, and Nilsson.²³⁶ In more recent studies, however, the connection between genealogy and kinship group seems to originate in the perception that genealogies are primarily about family and therefore must have been created for family interests. Genealogies, as expressions of kinship, have thus been thought to be made primarily in the interests of the family and kin, whose connections are being expressed. It is an idea which may be derived from more modern and Western notions of genealogy and its form, extent, and purpose. It is important to recognize here that expressions of kinship and the promotion of kinship connections do not necessarily have anything to do with the family as a whole. That genealogies express kinship connections does not mean that they are created for the benefit of kin or kinship groups. Finley, considering both the individual and the state or nation, aptly recognizes the importance of kinship symbolism as a notion binding a society to its past. He writes, “In a variety of groups, bonds within the group are reinforced by the sense of continuity that comes from a shared knowledge (or pretended knowledge) of key figures and incidents in its past.”²³⁷ The information and promotion of kinship can occur for the benefit of groups, individuals, and institutions. Thus it is not necessary to say that, because genealogy is about kinship, Early Greek genealogies were developed, elaborated upon, and disseminated by elite families in Early Greece to enhance their prestige, nor is it

²³⁶ Van Groningen 1953; Momigliano 1971; Wade-Gery 1952; Nilsson 1972.

²³⁷ Finley 1975, 49.

appropriate automatically to treat Early Greek genealogy as a form of family tradition or propaganda.

It should also be said, here, that the word *genos* in Early Greek genealogical material does not seem to denote a kinship group with living acting members, but rather a series of dead individuals culminating in only one contemporary figure. While a genealogy may be called a *genea* or *genos* or said to present a *genea* or *genos*, as Donlan writes, “*Genos* looks backwards to ancestors, it does not look to the side at collateral kin or forward to future offspring.”²³⁸ A *genos* or *genea* in Early Greek genealogy is not an active familial group, but, to quote Donlan again, “The Homeric *genos* or *genea*, unlike the kin members of the *oikos*, is essentially a group of dead men.”²³⁹ As can be seen by Bourriot’s work, *genos* in Homer and Hesiod only has the sense of birth or origin, or has a meaning derived from birth or origin, i.e., generation (as in generation from), descent, lineage.²⁴⁰ *Genea* and *genos* do indicate kinship through blood and biology, but not contemporary social grouping or division based upon that kinship.²⁴¹

Duploux, in writing about genealogies as a tool of social recognition, focuses on individuals and social prestige, rather than on the family as a whole. Hall and Fowler both treat genealogies as ethnically driven or interested. The evidence we have of Early Greek

²³⁸ Donlan 2007, 39.

²³⁹ Donlan 2007, 36.

²⁴⁰ Bourriot 1976, 240-69. See also Patterson 1998, 1-2 and 48-49. For a similar critique on the interpretation of *phylon* and *phylē* in Early Greek writing as ‘tribe’, see Roussel 1976, 161-64.

²⁴¹ See my comments and references on the *genos* and *phylon* in the introduction and concluding synthesis, pp.7, 313-17. The histories of the *genē* (the civic divisions of Classical and Hellenistic Athens) are themselves historicizing myths of the fourth and fifth centuries. On the Classical and Hellenistic *genē* see Parker 1996, 56-66, 284-327.

genealogies suggests genealogies tend to fall into these two realms of interest: the individual and the state or ethnic group.²⁴² This division coincides nicely, but not precisely, with the two forms which Early Greek genealogies generally take. The more linear, descendent-focused type of genealogy is well suited to individual interests, as it follows only one lineage down culminating in one particular descendent. Tendrilled, ancestor-focused genealogies, however, as they branch out and down from a particular legendary ancestor towards no specific final figure, seem more suited to ethnic or state interests. This does not mean, however, that there is a strict correlation between more linear genealogies and individual interests and between tendrilled genealogies and state or ethnic interests. The flexibility and non-regimented nature of the exploitation of mythical and genealogical information and the overlapping of interests means that any type of genealogy could have benefited the state, ethnic group, individual, or individuals. The prime example, we will see, of this sort of overlapping of interests in one genealogical type is the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist from Pherekydes, although there are others. Thus the divide between tendrilled and linear genealogies is not necessarily that which determines who derives benefit from the genealogical information presented. Thus, although Early Greek genealogies can be loosely categorized into linear descendent-focused genealogies and tendrilled ancestor-focused genealogies, both structural types could have benefited either individuals, states, or ethnic groups, but the evidence does not suggest that either was associated with corporate kinship groups or created in the interests of kinship groups.

²⁴² Similarly, Finley 1975, 48-49, on kinship symbolism and the individual and the state or nation.

Genealogy and the Individual

An Early Greek genealogy, particularly of the type that is more linear and descendent focused, could serve an individual by promoting his political or social interests. Not only do the general structure and scope of genealogies suggest this, as discussed above, but also the material selected for inclusion and expanded on in the story-telling. Details are expanded at key generations and stories told of certain ancestors. Particular names or figures are chosen or highlighted as appropriate to contemporary circumstances. Through these things Early Greek genealogy's social and political importance can be seen not as official proof of membership or citizenship, but rather as unofficial proof of character and worth and as a reputation builder, enhancer, or even saver. As Duploux argues, the lack of precision and breadth in the genealogies is the result of the desire to accumulate the renown of a large number of individuals and the prestige of their exploits.²⁴³ I will begin first with the world of Homeric poetry, in which genealogy's role in identifying and establishing character and worth is quite pronounced. Then I will consider a few genealogies which feature figures we know to be historical, to see how and to what end personages of the contemporary or those of the recent past are incorporated alongside mythical figures of the distant past. There are many parallels with the use, but not necessary the context, of Homeric genealogies. Finally, I will consider how genealogies that do not specifically feature contemporary or historical individuals, could still be of contemporary interest to individuals.

We begin with Homer. Genealogy is an unofficial and individual way in which Homeric heroes lay claim to an identity and through it boast, intimidate, discover specific relationships, garner respect, confirm their worthiness, and generally bolster their personal

²⁴³ Duploux 2006, 60.

reputation. In six of the eight genealogical passages in Homer, a Homeric hero recounts his ancestry and the deeds of his family to establish his personal identity and character, especially in regard to his battle prowess and worthiness of mind. The genealogies of Glaukos, Idomeneus, Aineias, and Achilles are each spoken by the hero to his enemy in battle to identify himself and intimidate or triumph over his opponent. Diomedes gives his genealogy as evidence that he is worthy to speak and be listened to by his fellow heroes (*Il.* 14.110-14). The genealogy of Telemachos is slightly unusual in that he cites it as a reason for *not* taking heroic action and defending his inaction, but he does so by explaining the character of his family: ὧδε γὰρ ἡμετέτην γενεὴν μούνωσε Κρονίων (For thus the son of Kronos made our lineage singular) (*Od.* 16.117). The genealogy is meant to show the lack of siblings in each generation of his family and the monadic nature of his lineage, and thus defend his and his family's reputation.

Two of the eight Homeric genealogies are not expressed by the hero himself through direct speech, but by the poet as narrator: the genealogies of the brothers Krethon and Orsilochos (*Il.* 5.541-49) and Theoklymenos (*Od.* 15.223-57). These passages work in much the same way as those spoken by the hero himself; they declare and establish identity and character of the hero in question. The genealogy of Krethon and Orsilochos, given by the poet after they have been killed by Aineias, and the similes that follow it (*Il.* 5.554-60) establish their greatness, skill, and strength and explain why their deaths move Menelaos to fury against Aineias in the coming lines. The genealogy of Theoklymenos, as told by the poet, describes the nature and character of his family to establish who the fugitive outlander is and what his nature and character are: he is a seer from a family of seers, made so by gift of the gods. Thus his identity is confirmed and his nature known. Therefore, although Homeric genealogies are concerned with identity, character, and, by extension, worthiness,

Homeric genealogies are never used to verify or prove one's heritage in order to belong to a group or participate in particular activities. Since they are thus not used to define, separate, or connect groups or classes in a social system, they do not guarantee socio-political or socio-economic status, but rather, as Ulf points out, give individuals important advantages in the competition for *timē*.²⁴⁴

Homeric genealogy, as we have seen above, is a series of stories of heroes, deeds, and divinities connected by short passages recounting paternal relationships. Homeric genealogies connect the hero, not only with his ancestors, but with his greatest and most renowned ancestors and their deeds and greatness. This can have a pragmatic effect. For example, a genealogy identifies Glaukos to his adversary Diomedes in general, but it is the presence of Bellerophon and the story of his deeds in the genealogy that allows the two adversaries to uncover their status as guest-friends (*Il.* 6.144-231).

Less tangibly, however, Homeric heroes derive a large part of their character and worthiness from their lineage. Nobility of spirit, strength, and prowess in war are seen to be inherited by birth, as are cowardice, weakness, and baseness. As Diomedes says, having spoken his genealogy and thereby justifying his worthiness to speak and be heard: τὰ δὲ μέλλετ' ἀκουέμεν, εἰ ἔτεόν περ. / τῷ οὐκ ἄν με γένος γε κακόν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φάντες / μῦθον ἀτιμήσαιτε πεφασμένον, ὄν κ' ἐῷ εἶπω. (No doubt you know, if it is true. Therefore you could not, saying I am base and unwarlike by birth, treat with contempt a word that has been spoken, if I speak it well) (*Il.* 14.125-27). The character of the hero's greatest ancestors determines the hero's own character, and the stories in Homeric genealogies illustrate that character. And the stories are not unknown to the hero's audience

²⁴⁴ Ulf 2009b, 89.

and thus not untrue. As Diomedes says above, “No doubt you know, if it is true.” Similarly Glaukos and Aineias, before giving their respective genealogies, both state in an apparent formula that their information is well known and not to be doubted: εἰ δ’ ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι, ὄφρ’ εὖ εἰδῆς / ἡμετέρεην γενεήν, πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἴσασιν (If you wish to learn these things, so that you may know my lineage well; many men know it) (*Il.* 6.150-51 and *Il.* 20.213-14). Genealogies in the Homeric world deliver the well-known and true stories of great ancestors and, in their telling, establish the heroic character and identity of the man in question.

This is the context and the use of genealogies in the literary and amalgamated world of Homeric poetry. While the context and use of genealogies in such a world should not be directly imported into the Early Greek world, Homeric genealogies are examples of genealogies made by poets in the Early Greek world (just as the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Theogony*). From their example, we can judge what was important to express about kinship through genealogy, at least in the mythical realm. So what happens when we move outside of that realm to one which we recognize as historical, to genealogies that deal with historical figures? Do genealogies seem to operate for historical personages in the way genealogies do for characters in the Homeric world? Although the context of the battlefield and the boasting contest between heroes appears far from the context of the genealogies in the fifth century, there are some parallels in the use of genealogies to establish individual character and worth through heroic ancestors.

Although we have very few examples of historical figures relative to mythical figures mentioned in the genealogical material, from the evidence we have, we can see that historical individuals, like the heroes in Homeric poetry, are associated through genealogies with important, illustrious ancestors that could have established their character and promoted their

worth politically and socially. Of the fragments of Early Greek genealogy, those of Hellanikos and Damastes contain the most historical information. The question, however, is whether all of this historical information in Hellanikos and Damastes belongs to works of genealogy or if some belongs to other types of works, like local histories. A case in point, is the set of fragments about the orator Andokides from Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F170a, b, c = *FGrHist* 323a F24a, b, c). Jacoby, unable to firmly decide the context of the fragment, includes it twice, once among the genealogies and once among the local histories of Attica.²⁴⁵ His perplexity is understandable since the fragment contains both genealogical information about the orator and details of Attic history. Given Greek genealogy's story-telling and narrative character, moreover, what properly belongs to the genealogies of Hellanikos or not cannot be decided by the inclusion of descent or ancestry information or not. However, while we may not be able to pick *every* fragment that is genealogical out of the fragments of Hellanikos, we can pick out *some* that definitely are, using this study's loose initial definition of genealogical material as that which recounts ancestry or descent beyond a simple statement of relatedness.²⁴⁶ Fragments falling into this definition, therefore, may be considered to be genealogical material on the basis of their information, regardless of their specific origin in a work of genealogy or not. The Homeric epics, for example, are not genealogical works but nevertheless contain genealogical material. We may on these grounds, then, consider the genealogical information about Andokides the Athenian orator to be genealogical material, regardless of its context.

²⁴⁵ See *FGrHist* 3b Supplement, 8n86.

²⁴⁶ This of course leaves out fragments that may belong to the important story-telling element of genealogical material and therefore it must be remembered that we are not getting the whole picture of genealogical information. It is, however, the only course of action that allows us to proceed.

A problem, however, arises with the nature of the information given. The three fragments, compiled by Jacoby, come from three sources, which cite Hellanikos but do not quote him directly. The first (F170a: Vitae X Or. 834 B) says that Andokides, son of Leogoros, was father of a man (Andokides, as edited in by Jacoby), whom Hellanikos said was related to Hermes. The second (F170b: Plutarch Alkib. 21) says that Andokides was an orator, whom Hellanikos traced back to the descendants of Odysseus. The third (F170c: *Suid.* s.v. Andokides) says that Andokides was the son of Leogoros and descendent of Telemachos, son of Odysseus and Nausikaa, according to Hellanikos. The ancestry information between the first and the second and third fragments is inconsistent and the fragment from the *Suda* looks suspiciously like a combination of information from the first two fragments, so we may be looking at corruptions or mistakes in transmission or we may not even be dealing with the same Andokides in the first two fragments.²⁴⁷ This creates a challenging but not hopeless situation, at least for our purposes here. No matter which way the problems are approached (if they are resolved by seeing corruptions or mistakes in transmission or by postulating different individuals, or if they are allowed to stand perhaps as indicative of different traditions), the nature of the genealogical information and the way it is presented does not change. In each source, the nature of the genealogical material is telescopic, in that the genealogical information only states that Andokides, son of Leogoros, was an descendant of Telemachos or Odysseus, or Hermes in the case of the first fragment and does not provide the intervening details. Whether this telescoping is a result of paraphrasing by later authors or if this is all there was originally in Hellanikos, we are unable

²⁴⁷ See Jacoby's commentary on *FGrHist* 323a F24 (*FGrHist* 3b Supplement, 65-68) for an attempt at reconciling the sources.

to tell. The one thing that is clear, however, regardless of how the information was originally presented or what else it may have once contained, is that the information attributed to Hellanikos connects an historical individual to a famous, legendary, even divine, distant ancestor or ancestors.

The genealogy of Hippokrates in Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F59) does a similar thing, connecting Hippokrates to Herakles and Asklepios. The fragment says that Hippokrates was from Kos, was the son of Herakleidas and Phainarete, and descended from Herakles by twenty steps and Asklepios by nineteen. The author of the source of the fragment, Soranus in his *Life of Hippokrates* (*Vit. Hippok.* 1), attributes the information and the genealogy itself to four authors, one of whom is Pherekydes. Whether this means, however, that Pherekydes and the other authors wrote the genealogy out in full is debatable. It is possible, but not certain. What is certain, however, is that Hippokrates is connected to illustrious distant ancestors, and one particularly appropriate one in the figure of Asklepios for the father of medicine. This kind of appropriate association is part of Greek genealogy's ability to express character, skill, excellence, honour, etc... as inheritance. That like produces like is well-recognized in Greek genealogical thinking.²⁴⁸ This is what we see in the kinship connections drawn between ethical concepts and abstractions in the poetry of Solon, Theognis, and Pindar expressing cause and outcome, and the genealogical placement in the *Theogony* of figures such as Conflict, child of Night and mother of several offshoots (read: offspring) of Conflict such as Labour, Hunger, Pain, Lies, and Ruin (*Theog.* 216-22).²⁴⁹ It is a metaphor

²⁴⁸ E.g., Van Groningen 1953, 47-61; Frankel 1973, 102-4; R. Thomas 1989, 175ff; Möller 1996, 19.

²⁴⁹ See Abel 1943; Frankel 1973, 96ff on genealogies of ethical concepts in Archaic poetry.

connecting closely related things as if they are closely related biologically and a way of organizing, understanding, and synthesizing material and concepts.²⁵⁰

The idea that like begets like extends beyond ethical concepts and abstractions, however, to heroes and humans and the inheritance of character and attributes (strength, power, honour, heroism, skilfulness, etc...). Consider, for example, the genealogy of Achilles (*Il.* 21.182-91), whose direction is opposite to that of the other Homeric genealogies, in that it moves backwards through time from subject to ancestor rather than forwards from ancestor to subject. This exception can be understood by the purpose that the genealogy is meant to fulfil for Achilles: to compare his strength to that of his opponent by comparing their divine ancestries. The backward order of the genealogy, which culminates in a celebration of Zeus' strength and power (*Il.* 21.192-99), emphasizes Achilles' descent from Zeus and the equation of power that associates Achilles' strength with that of Zeus. Achilles asserts that he is stronger than his opponent, who is only the descendent of a river, by *genos* (or generation), as if their respective ancestors' power and strength are part of their respective ancestral inheritance: τῶ κρείσσων μὲν Ζεὺς ποταμῶν ἀλιμυρηέντων, / κρείσσων αὖτε Διὸς γενεῇ ποταμοῖο τέτυκται (Accordingly, as Zeus is stronger than rivers that run to the sea, so too has the generation of Zeus been made stronger than that of a river) (*Il.* 21.190-91). A river is no match for Zeus; therefore, neither is the offspring of a river a match for the offspring of Zeus.

We also see this idea of inheritance of character at play in the praise poetry of Pindar, where the historical individuals whom the poem seeks to celebrate, are said to have divine or

²⁵⁰ This kinship metaphor expressing closeness and even causality seems to pervade our own cultural vocabulary, since, as I write, I am struck by the relative ineffectiveness of other words to express closeness compared to those that express closeness through kinship, e.g., *related to*, *relationship*, *akin to*, *offspring*, etc....

legendary ancestors but the intervening connections are not spelled out. Isthmian 3 demonstrates it particularly well. The ode praises Melissos of Thebes, winner of the chariot race, and in doing so connects Melissos' prowess with his ἀρετάν σύμφυτον (inborn prowess) (*Isthm.* 3.13-17b). His ancestors on both sides, namely Kleonymos and, on his mother's side, the Labdakidai, we are reminded by the poet, were renowned for their chariots. Similarly, in Nemean 11, Aristagoras' excellence is understood through the blood of ancient Peisandros from Sparta, a companion of Orestes, on his father's side and that of Melanippos on his mother's side (*Nem.* 11.33-37).²⁵¹ An interesting comment by Pindar follows this genealogical reference: ἀρχαῖαι δ' ἀρεταί / ἀμφέροντ' ἀλλασσόμεναι γενεαῖς ἀνδρῶν σθένος (Ancient talents recover their strength in lineages of men in turns) (*Nem.* 11.37-38). This notion is similar to that which emphasizes key generations in genealogical material, some ancestors were more important than others in establishing and inheriting greatness. It nonetheless holds true, despite some generations that may be lacking, that great individuals of the contemporary world had great ancestors in the distant past, especially ones that were great in the same way. We see this with Homeric heroes: Diomedes is worthy to speak because of the worthiness of his ancestors (*Il.* 14.126-27) and Theoklymenos is a worthy seer and can interpret an omen (*Od.* 15.529-534), because he comes from a family of seers, as established through his genealogy (*Od.* 15.222-55). Greatness was associated with previous greatness, merit or talent with previous merit or talent. It is the genealogical metaphor at work again, although in a much more direct application between people instead of abstract concepts.

²⁵¹ Similarly, *Ol.* 2.35-48; *Ol.* 6.24-25, 28-73; *Ol.* 7.20-38, 92-94; *Pyth.* 4.247-62.

The few ‘complete’ genealogies we have that link historical descendents with distant ancestors share this interest in connecting individuals to storied figures from the distant past, gathering prestige and honour, and presenting character, worth, and greatness as matters of inheritance. The context of the genealogy of Alexander of Macedon in Herodotus hints at the use of the genealogy to explain a character. It situates Alexander’s smooth and wily character as a product of his descent from Perdiccas, who gained the throne of Macedon through his own smooth and wily character. The descent connection between Alexander and Perdiccas is first stated at the beginning of 8.137, but is not spelled out. Only the number of generations separating them is given (seven). The story of how Perdiccas and his brothers came to rule in Macedonia follows (8.137-38). Then, at 8.139, Herodotus spells out the line of descent generation by generation between the two figures. This juxtaposition of the story of Perdiccas with the genealogy of Alexander followed by the latter’s appeal to the Athenians to side with the Persians, not only establishes Alexander’s identity, but also his wily inherited character.

Like Homeric examples, the genealogies in Herodotus are linear, focusing on the individuals at the end of each line of descent. How and Wells are onto this individual focus with their comments on the Spartan genealogies in Herodotus. They write, in reference to the genealogy of Leonidas, “The full genealogy is given as a mark of the honour [of being called the most impressive man]” and, in reference to that of Pausanias, “The genealogical remarks serve to show and enhance the importance of the Greek leader.”²⁵² There is more to it, however, than just marking honour. The genealogy is as much an explanation of excellence and proof of worthiness to command, as a mark of honour. The three Spartans were

²⁵² How and Wells 1928, 223, 314.

commanders of combined Greek forces against the Persians at momentous battles: Leonidas at Thermopylae; Leotychidas after Salamis and at Mycale; and Pausanias at Plataia, which was celebrated by Herodotus as *νίκην ... καλλίστην ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν* *the most glorious victory of any of which we know* (Hdt. 9.64). The genealogies are given by Herodotus in conjunction with his statements that they were in command. This should not be overlooked. Their talents as commanders and their worthiness to command seems to be thus directly connected to their illustrious descent from Herakles, and, as we learn in a note following the genealogy of Leotychidas, also from former kings of Sparta. The genealogy gathers the renown of the figures from the lists, all of whom were kings except a few, we are told, and that of Herakles the divine ancestor and focuses that on the one descendent whose genealogy it is. Herodotus, then, can not only establish their worthiness, but also understand their greatness through genealogical metaphor and thinking: greatness comes from greatness, just as the greatness of Pindar's Melissos and Aristagoras can be understood through familial greatness in the distant legendary past.

Such a connection between those Spartan commanders and the greatness of the distant past, however, was probably not the invention of Herodotus, but the tradition of the Spartan rulers and/or the Spartan state. As argued above, Herodotus probably compiled and distilled his genealogies, meaning them to be genealogies but possibly using king-lists as his source material. Thus the genealogy was probably, in its original context, something which served the interests of the individuals at the head of the Spartan state.

The genealogy of Heropythos of Chios (*SGDI* 5656) is a genealogy benefiting an individual that is not filtered through an historian nor presented within the context of a larger work or a great genealogy, as the works of the prose genealogists appear to be. In this regard, it stands on its own, unlike, for example, the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist or the

genealogy of Hippokrates. Because it is independent in this way, it may provide unique insight into just what people were up to when they created genealogies with historical figures.

The genealogy is recorded on a grave *stèle*, that was probably erected in the fifth century. Judging from its script, most scholars date the inscription it to the mid-fifth century, ca. 450, although Jeffery tentatively dates it a little earlier to ca. 475.²⁵³ Another clue to its context comes from a similarly dated inscription from Chios (*SGDI 5657*), mentioned above. This inscription in marble contains the name Mikkylos son of Heropythos in a list of several names, presumably of reasonably important local men. Duploux presents the possibility that this Mikkylos could be the son of the same Heropythos from the genealogy (*SGDI 5656*), suggesting that the son set up the *stèle* with the genealogy to eulogize his father, using the opportunity to advertise his lineage.²⁵⁴ If this is the case, which seems reasonable, for what purpose or to what advantage would Mikkylos have done so and for whose benefit?

A genealogical inscription of this type is unusual as a grave marker. We know this from the very limited number of genealogical inscriptions from the ancient Greek world. It also lacks the personal sentiment of Attic grave *stelai* of the fifth and fourth centuries containing expressions of kinship. As far as we can tell, this genealogy is odd as a funerary monument or tribute and so seems less likely to have been erected simply for the benefit of the deceased, to honour Heropythos and his memory, although it may have played some factor.

²⁵³ Jeffery 1990, 338, 344 no. 47, pl. 65 no. 47.

²⁵⁴ Duploux 2006, 60.

So if the *stèle* with the genealogy probably did not benefit the deceased, at least not alone, in whose interests among the survivors could it have been erected? To answer this, consider what we do or do not learn from the genealogy of Heropythos of Chios. From this genealogy, we learn nothing about Heropythos' family other than his father and his father's father and so on. To leave it to the reader of the *stèle* to supply details about the broader family and who is related to whom is asking quite a mental feat of a reader (especially one coming along a century or more later) and seemingly negates the purpose of disseminating kinship information in genealogical form. If the broader familial connections are important, why are they not given or even alluded to? What seems important in this genealogy, instead, are the connections drawn back in time individual by individual from Heropythos to Kyprios.

It may be that the figures themselves are important. Indeed, what may not have been such a mental feat for the audience is to recall the famous figures and stories behind the names, which may have been associated with grand heroic figures and stories. This after all is the sort of thing we see modelled in Homeric poetry, lines traced between the subject of the genealogy and his famous ancestors and their stories for the purpose of establishing individual identity and worthiness. But who are these figures in the genealogy and what benefit could they have carried for contemporary individuals? Wade-Gery, not recognizing any of the names in the genealogy as famously heroic or divine, comes to the conclusion that the figures mentioned are authentically human.²⁵⁵ Duplouy, however, accurately points out that we know very little about ancient Chiot tradition, and therefore our lack of recognition of divinities and heroes does not necessarily indicate a lack of divinities or heroes in the

²⁵⁵ Wade-Gery 1952, 8.

genealogy.²⁵⁶ Moreover, a name like Kyprios, which stands at the end point of the genealogy as the ultimate ancestor, could very well be toponymic. We just do not know the Chiot tradition well enough to make definitive statements. It does, however, seem more likely, given the length of the genealogy (14 generations) and the presence of mythical figures in all other Early Greek genealogical material, that the genealogy includes names of figures at least legendary, if not divine, to the people of ancient Chios. What we could have are important figures out of the local past (e.g., magistrates or law-makers, champions, state or public benefactors, etc...), who may have attained more or less legendary status through time, or more mythical figures like local heroes or deities. This seems to be a more plausible premise than Wade-Gery's, which is that the figures are all historical and authentically human and that their names were preserved accurately through family tradition from the time of the 'Hellenic Conquest'.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, R. Thomas makes a good point that even if we do not know Kyprios or Eldios, the penultimate figure in the genealogy, to be divine or heroic, Kyprios cannot simply be an ordinary person by virtue of being the original ancestor.²⁵⁸ By the very right of his being the first, he has a certain legendary status.

It may also be that the sheer length of the genealogy of Heropythos is the important thing, or some combination of length and important figures. The physical layout of the inscription does in fact suggest that visible length may have been important (figs. 3.1 and

²⁵⁶ Duplouy 2006, 60. From what little we know about the society of Archaic and Classical Chios, it seems to have been an appropriate setting for use of genealogy and myth for personal gain; there was a political situation of oligarchic assemblies and magistracies, wealth from maritime trade and tolls, and an elite made up of supposedly landowning families involved in trade (see Barron 1986; Roebuck 1986; Sarikakis 1986). Unfortunately what local Chiot myths there were that could have been exploited, we do not know.

²⁵⁷ Wade-Gery 1952, 8-9.

²⁵⁸ R. Thomas 1989, 159n9.

3.2). In inscribing the genealogy, no effort was made to economize on space; each name along with its patronymic was given one line of text, regardless of how long or short the name and patronymic were and large spaces were left to the right of each entry. The result is very visibly a list, whose length is easy to ascertain at a quick glance to even the illiterate.²⁵⁹ Such a genealogy, visibly lengthy, list-like, and complete, which is extremely rare among genealogies of historical figures, could very well have benefited an individual by its length alone, establishing Heropythos' lineage as a very ancient one, and perhaps a particularly Chiot one as well, although our dearth of knowledge of Chiot tradition prevents us from knowing for sure. We can, however, surmise some things about the purpose of this genealogy, from its structure and what little we know about its context. It was probably not created to connect members of a kinship group nor to benefit any kinship group. Its linear structure suggests, instead, that individual connections back through time were important. Mikkylos, son of Heropythos, is a likely candidate to have gained benefit from the publication of the genealogy, as an individual coming after a long line of individuals. From the other inscription from Chios (*SGDI* 5657), we know him to have been active in fifth century Chiot society and quite possibly politics. It could have been that having a spot following a lengthy genealogy (possibly involving important local figures) or having a connection to Kyprios, may have played particularly well for someone in the social or political climate of fifth century Chios.

Most of the genealogies we have looked at so far in this section on genealogy and the individual, those in Homeric poetry and those involving figures we know to be historical,

²⁵⁹ The other inscription from Chios we have been discussing (*SGDI* 5657) also takes the form of a list. Among the other genealogical inscriptions, two take the form of lists, while three do not (see Chaniotis 1987).

ultimately celebrate the individual at the end of the line. This is not always the case, however, in genealogies which benefit historical people. The genealogy of Heropythos, if our suggestion that it benefited Mikkylos son of Heropythos can be accepted, provides a case where an Early Greek genealogy does not include the individual whom it benefited. Early Greek genealogies, then, could have benefited individuals contemporary to their creation, but who were not necessarily featured in them. We can see this also in the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist in Pherekydes. In it we have a genealogy that is probably a branch of a larger great genealogy, but looks rather linear like the genealogies in Homer. Also like the genealogies in Homer, it seems to have benefited individuals, despite probably being part of a great genealogy of the Aiakidai or Asopidai. Whom exactly it benefited is a matter of debate among those who have studied this much-covered genealogy, and remains largely unresolved, perhaps irresolvable.

Cases can be made that the genealogy benefited Miltiades the Younger, the victorious *strategos* at Marathon and Kimon, his son. For either of these politically competitive and important men, a political climate existed in Athens that may have made the figures claimed in the genealogy desirable ancestors.²⁶⁰ In his handling of the genealogy, Duplouy shows how the various ancestors in the genealogy contribute to the social recognition and prestige of contemporary individuals.²⁶¹ He shows the possible significance the names given in the genealogy and the benefit they may have carried for Miltiades the Younger and his son

²⁶⁰ See Parker 1996, 316-17, on members of the *oikos* of the Philaidai exercising political power (as opposed to a *genos* called the Philaidai).

²⁶¹ For the full argument and its details, see Duplouy 2006, 58-64.

Kimon.²⁶² Some names may be connected to historical personages, while others appear to correspond with local myth. Both types, however, can be associated with Athenian history in the sixth and fifth centuries. Duploux suggests that Aiklos could refer to an *oikist* who founded a settlement on Euboia. The name Epilykos appears also in the *Constitution of the Athenians* as the name of a polemarch who furnished and rebuilt the seat of the polemarch, called the Epilykeion (*Ath. Pol.* 3.5), and the name Agamestor is mentioned by Castor (*FGrHist* 250 F4.28) as an archon for life. It is not improbable that the names in the genealogy could have been intended to recall these individuals. Other names like Akestor, Lykos, and Agenor, Duploux posits, are invocations or heroic names in Athenian tradition. The genealogy may also have a connection to the expansion of Athenian power in Ionia through the names Agenor and Oulios, which also happens to be the name of one of Kimon's sons, who are associated with the mythical migration of Ionians from Athens.²⁶³ It is also possible that such names were projected back in order to create notable ancestors with ties to living members of the family.²⁶⁴ In either case, such proper Athenian ancestors involved in the legendary and political history of Athens would have carried with them favourable patriotic and heroic associations for men trying to make their mark in Athenian politics, shore up their positions, or defend against allegations of tyranny, such as Miltiades the Younger faced upon his return to Athenian politics, or of corruption in the case of Kimon.²⁶⁵ Such

²⁶² Duploux 2006, 59-60. See Duploux's discussion for fuller details than those given here. See also Viviers 1987; R. Thomas 1989, for similar work on the figures of the genealogy.

²⁶³ See J. K. Davies 1971, 306-7; Viviers 1987, 300-6; R. Thomas 1989, 164-65. On the Athenian refashioning of Ionian colonization stories, see Nilsson 1972, 59-65.

²⁶⁴ R. Thomas 1989, 176-86.

²⁶⁵ Kimon would have drawn similar social and political benefit from his 'discovery' of the bones of Theseus.

ancestors may also have helped to honour and explain the extraordinary military and political successes of both Miltiades and his son.

The most prominent association between the genealogy and Athenian history, however, seems to be that between Aias, the Salaminian, the earliest ancestor in the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist, as far as it survives for us, and Athens, where Philaios the son of Aias settled.²⁶⁶ It is a myth developed and promoted by the Athenians that can be seen in the Athenian interpolations in the Catalogue of Ships in Book 2 of the *Iliad*, in particular *Il.* 2. 557-58: Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας, / στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσαντο φάλαγγες (Aias brought twelve ships from Salamis and bringing them placed them where the lines of the Athenians were drawn up).²⁶⁷ Both Miltiades the Younger and Kimon could thus have found a familial connection to the now important Salaminian Aias useful in tapping into Athenian sentiments regarding their right to Salamis. Viviers, R. Thomas, and Möller, as well as Duploux all associate this genealogy with Athenian claims to Salamis and subsequent settlement of the island.²⁶⁸

The same studies, R. Thomas and Duploux in particular, also point out that there are at least two traditions at play regarding the family of Miltiades the Oikist, one recorded by Herodotus and one by Pherekydes. The 'tradition' in Herodotus, it must be noted, however, has been compiled and pieced together by modern historians for the purposes of comparing the information about the family of the two Miltiades and Kimon. Whether either tradition is

²⁶⁶ On Aias as an Athenian hero, see Kearns 1988, 141-42; Wickersham 1991.

²⁶⁷ For further discussion on the Athenian interpolations and their connection to Athenian claims to Salamis see Wickersham 1991; Hall 2007a, 220-22.

²⁶⁸ Viviers 1987, 300-6; R. Thomas 1989, 163-65; Möller 1996, 23.

correct biologically is impossible to determine conclusively, but since Herodotus only related the familial information in the context of the events of the Persian Wars, and thus was not in the business of creating a genealogical story or myth here, it seems likely that Herodotus' may be the more biologically accurate. Just what tradition or information he based his accounts on, however, is unclear. What we can determine, however, from the two versions, is that genealogical information was neither static nor bound by biological accuracy, but highly changeable and adaptable to contemporary needs of individuals. R. Thomas has shown, taking the information in Herodotus to be more reflective of the biological truth, how the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist in Pherekydes could have been formed by taking names from Kimon's and Miltiades' recent familial past and using them to elongate the genealogy to connect the present with the distant past.²⁶⁹ This would mean that biological information, if known, could be manipulated in the creation of genealogies, and that therefore genealogical information was not biological information, but could be created from it.

Two important related points should be drawn from recent interpretations of the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist: 1) The genealogy benefited individual members of the family as figures in Athenian politics and not the family as a whole acting as a group in Athenian politics; and 2) genealogical information could be manipulated or adapted to suit contemporary political and/or social interests. Early Greek genealogical information is thus not equivalent to biological information, but rather was information based on a biological model of reproduction but not reflective of biological realities.

If genealogies could be created from biological information to benefit contemporary individuals, how and by whom were they chosen or made to benefit those individuals? Who

²⁶⁹ R. Thomas 1989, 165-69.

did the manipulation? In the case of the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist, did Pherekydes manipulate the information himself? Or did Pherekydes record an already existing Athenian tradition? We do know from the fragments that writers like Hellanikos and Damastes did write about recent and/or current events or events in living memory and that Pherekydes, as a fifth century Athenian, probably had personal knowledge of Miltiades the Younger and possibly Kimon. In whose specific time period, he lived and worked, however, is a matter of debate.²⁷⁰ Current affairs and matters within living memory were on their radar. Whether they worked at the behest of individuals attempting to establish or maintain themselves as politically or socially important is debatable. The historical men who are featured in the genealogies we have evidence for are certainly men important in some way to politics or society. Whether this is an accident of survival or signifies something about the material is unclear. But it is not unreasonable to suggest that men such as Kimon, Miltiades, Andokides, or Hippokrates would come up in writing about contemporary or recent events. That these individuals or their descendents would benefit from writings about their heroic ancestry is also reasonable. That they commissioned genealogists to create independent genealogies, however, seems doubtful. If there were professional genealogists who offered their services to families or individuals, they have left little trace of themselves and their works. There is simply no evidence of professional genealogists creating commissioned genealogies for families or individuals. Rather, we see these genealogies that benefit individuals embedded in larger works, such as histories and great genealogies organized by mythical families. The only genealogy we have that is independent of a larger work is that of Heropythos, and such

²⁷⁰ E.g., Jacoby places Pherekydes in the time of Miltiades the Younger (1947), while Huxley places him in the time of Kimon (1973).

a list hardly requires the services of a professional teller of genealogical tales. The most likely scenario for the manipulation or creation of genealogies that benefited individuals, is probably that in which individuals influence tradition and those who seek to record it. Pherekydes' account may have reflected tradition rather than having created it. This is likely given that Pherekydes was writing a work of collected great genealogies, rather than individual independent genealogies. It may be, then, that the genealogy was elongated, as per R. Thomas' argument, by someone other than Pherekydes, and that Pherekydes picked that version up. We simply cannot know. Thus, we also cannot know how Pherekydes came to write a genealogy that benefited the descendents of Miltiades the Oikist. We can know, however, that the genealogy as written could well have served the political and social interests of either of the Miltiades or Kimon. Those interests, however, could also overlap with those of the state in whose politics both men were involved, which brings us to the other party whose interests genealogies in the Early Greek world benefited.

Genealogy and the State

The *Theogony*, the *Catalogue of Women*, and the works of the prose and poetic genealogists, as far as we can follow their structures, all seem to branch out significantly, but none seems interested in creating or inventing a corporate kinship group based on descent or narrowing the branching down to one specific individual. Such genealogies, instead, seem to have benefited the state and serve its ambitions, interests, and claims. As with genealogies which seem to have benefited individuals, genealogies which benefited states do not all have the same structure. Linear descendent genealogies, as we will see, as well as ancestor focused tendrilled genealogies, also could have benefited the state.

Some genealogies were concerned with matters within the state. They portray genealogical myths by which those governing or trying to govern attempted to maintain the status quo, to enhance their prestige, to affirm their powers or office through inheritance, or to justify or take power. The Spartan royal genealogies in Herodotus are a good examples of linear genealogies focused on individuals that would have served both the state and the individuals ruling it. That there is a connection between kinship and kingship in these genealogies is undeniable, even if, as I have argued, Herodotus reproduced them as genealogies. It has long been accepted that they were produced originally in connection with rule at Sparta, either to establish, maintain, or justify it, promoting the notion of an unbroken hereditary monarchy stretching back to Herakles. And Herakles, we know from Spartan myth, as seen for example in Tyrtaios (Tyrt. 2, 11 [West]), was considered an important figure in the establishment of the Spartan race, and its character, strength, and domination. Such a genealogy of kings would have served both the monarchy and those within it.²⁷¹

Another example of a genealogy connected to holding positions of power within a state is again the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist. We have already discussed how the genealogy, in containing figures of local Athenian mythical and political history and Homeric heroes associated with land interests, could have benefited Miltiades the Younger or his son Kimon. That it would have benefited them especially in their political careers in the democracy at Athens, is what makes this genealogy also related to matters within the state. It nicely associates men attempting to enhance their political positions as the state's leaders,

²⁷¹ A point of comparison may lie in the inscription from Cyrene (*SGDI* 4859) from the late third century BCE or first or second century CE (see pp.56, 116, and note 133) which outlines the genealogy of Klearchos leading back to a Battos, referencing the Battidai kings of Cyrene.

with the state's territorial claims. The two interests here, personal power for the individuals and territorial control for the state, overlap for mutual benefit.

The genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist brings us to another way in which genealogies could have benefited the state: through portraying charter myths, myths that established precedent and gave the state rights to something, usually territory or hegemony or domination over others. Such myths and the genealogies that portray them they reflect, inform and are moulded by events contemporary to the myth-teller.²⁷² They are not just convenient inventions or adaptations drawing on mythic traditions; they constitute social knowledge about the past, what Gehrke calls "intentional history" and Luraghi calls "creative engagement with the past."²⁷³ Such genealogies could be politically useful not only in expressing, reflecting, justifying, or informing contemporary realities or claims through an idea of history, but in doing so in a framework of kinship relationships.²⁷⁴

The genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist taps into the myth that allowed Athens to claim Salamis ancestrally and justify their settlement of the island against the claims of Megara.²⁷⁵ Similarly concerned with land and territory, the Spartan genealogy as recorded in Pausanias, as has been argued by Calame, probably reflected the territorial expansion of Sparta in the Peloponnese in the late sixth to early fifth century.²⁷⁶ Malkin rightly identifies that the

²⁷² Malkin 1994, 3.

²⁷³ Gehrke 2001, *passim*, esp. 297-8; Luraghi 2008, 47. On intentional history, see also Harding 2007, 183; 2008, 3.

²⁷⁴ See Finley 1975, 48-49, on the importance of symbolic kinship to the state.

²⁷⁵ On Athenian mythico-historical traditions that are not necessarily presented genealogically, see Loraux 1986; 2000; Parker 1988; Kearns 1989; Harding 2007, 2008. Specifically on the claim to Salamis, see Wickersham 1991.

²⁷⁶ Calame 1988.

Spartan genealogies point more to a history of a people than to a claim to land.²⁷⁷ Instead of being used to actively claim title to land or territory, they seem to be a reflection of the power already held and land already possessed, a retrojection of the current situation through an historicizing genealogy. That the myths were politically interested and charged and were manipulated is not disputed; however, the genealogical telling of the myths was more a statement of contemporary power, than an active claim to land.

Similar to Spartan historicizing genealogies, the genealogy of Hellen in the *Catalogue of Women* likely reflects the hegemony and influence of the Amphictyony in northern Greece dominated by the Thessalians in the seventh and sixth centuries.²⁷⁸ The use of the terms Hellas and Hellenes to mean all Greece and Greeks, previously indicating only a specific place and people in Northern Greece in Homer, can probably be associated with the influence of the Amphictyony and its contemporary power. The territory, and influence of the Amphictyony is thus retrojected into the distant past through the genealogical myth of the earliest ancestor of the all Greeks, Hellen, son of Deukalion and Pyrrha, the progenitors of the human race itself.

There are, as West has revealed, several local traditions that seem to be present in the *Catalogue of Women*, namely those of Elis, Amyklai, Aulis-Hyria, Malis, Pisatis, Messene, Argos, and Lesbos.²⁷⁹ West's analysis places the development of these genealogical myths in early to mid-eighth century, and their compilation to the early to mid-sixth century. This

²⁷⁷ Malkin 1994, 19-22.

²⁷⁸ Fowler 1998.

²⁷⁹ West 1985, 165. For an outline of the conclusions of the argument, see West 1985, 164-71; Cole 2004, 24-25.

compilation, West argues, was around that same time subordinated to the more encompassing genealogy of Deukalion and his offspring, especially Hellen, tied to the flood story and the regeneration of the human race. Cole interprets this process of compilation and subordination of local genealogical narratives as reflective of increasing inter-regional ties and exchange and cooperation.²⁸⁰ While I agree that the circulation of a text like the *Catalogue of Women* hints at the “development of shared institutions and a new, more broadly defined and self-conscious cultural identity,” I am not so sure that it so clearly represents an attempt at the stabilization of genealogical myths or is the necessary result of increasing inter-regional ties.²⁸¹

First, in order to accept these positions, we would have to rely on the premise that networks of exchange and cooperation between regions bring about a blending of myth, rather than a differentiation of myth. Secondly, we would have to accept that from the eighth to sixth centuries not only did populations in and around Greece live in relative isolation but also that their their myths were likewise isolated. It would indeed be curious if isolated regions would each develop their own regional myth, but develop it in the same form, as genealogy. Moreover, as can be concluded from the archaeological record, towards the end of the ninth century, inter-regional contacts within mainland Greece were already increasing in strength, and in the period following the collapse of the Mycenaean palace centres, there remained limited contacts with the broader Mediterranean world, in particular the eastern part, that would increase dramatically in the eighth century.²⁸² Isolation perhaps more

²⁸⁰ Cole 2004, 27.

²⁸¹ Cole 2004, 26.

²⁸² Osborne 1996, 50-51; Whitley 2001, 90-96, 101; Morgan 2009, 51; C. G. Thomas 2009, 26.

appropriately describes the situation in Greece in earlier centuries. Thus West's model and Cole's interpretation of genealogies composed regionally in relative isolation in the eighth century and collected together among increasing ties between regions in later centuries could use some refinement. The compilation of genealogical myths may not have had to do simply with increasing contacts, but rather with the changing character of those contacts that were already in place.

The nature of regional contacts probably was moving toward an understanding of a shared cultural identity and the *fact* that the compilation of the Catalogue happened may be a sign of that movement, but the content and structure of the Catalogue itself does not represent that movement. What I mean here is that the *actual* shared cultural identity among Greeks is not necessarily based on a shared belief in the genealogy of Deukalion as represented in the *Catalogue of Women*. The myth is not a neutral or pan-Hellenic one to bind the others. It is a representation of common cultural identity retrojected onto the distant past, from a particular point of view, probably, as Fowler argues, that of the Amphictyony dominated by the Thessalians.²⁸³ Its spread and prominence is probably the result of the influence of Delphi where the Amphictyony was centred in the sixth century. But perhaps the dearth of textual sources for Early Greece leads us to place more importance on one work than appropriate. It should be remembered that the *Catalogue of Women* was but one piece among several genealogical works (written or oral) that could have circulated in Early Greece. The myth of Deukalion was a dominant myth about the origins of the human race

²⁸³ For a similar example of retroactive ethnic connections, see Hall 2007c, 53-58, on Dorian ethnicity and the similarities between Dorian *poleis*. On the slow shaping of Greek identity in the Archaic period in general, as seen archaeologically and textually, and later constructions or retrojections of the kinship of *ethnē*, see C. Morgan 2001; Ulf 2009a.

and the Greek race, but not the only one. Different myths are given different emphases in different works from different regions, as we can see in the works of Hekataios, Pherekydes, and Akousilaos, who selected and ordered their genealogical material differently from one another and from the *Catalogue of Women*. Hekataios appears to have started with the Deukalionidai, whereas Pherekydes appears to have begun his genealogical work with the family of Aias, but it is unclear whom exactly they place at the beginnings of the human race and the Greek race. In the case of Akousilaos, however, we can surmise that he began his genealogies with a *Theogony* of the gods (*FGrHist* 2 F1, F5-F22 and Fowler *Akousilaos* F6A) but followed that with an Argive first man, Phoroneus, and his genealogy (*FGrHist* 2 F23-F28). His regional bias is fairly clear; Akousilaos of Argos privileges his city with the progenitor of the human race. Such genealogical myths about the origins of the human race and the Greek race are not an attempt to reflect the shared cultural identity of the Greeks, but rather attempts, it seems, on the part of specific regions or cities to assert their importance within that cultural identity.²⁸⁴

Besides expressing common cultural identity between regions, genealogies could also express common cultural identity within regions and differences. Local myths of autochthony are expressed in the genealogical material, perhaps the ultimate relationship between people and territory, and accordingly the ultimate ancestral claim to territory and antiquity in a region. But myths of autochthony are also myths of the creation of the

²⁸⁴ Similarly, Ulf argues that common ethnic identities based on later constructions of kinship (e.g., through reformulations of myth) were claimed on a super-regional level (e.g., the division of Greek states into Ionian and Dorian) or a regional level (e.g., the formation of *ethnē*) to set local ethnic identities or affiliations in hierarchical schemes (2009a).

community and its ethnicity.²⁸⁵ For example, among the fragments of the *Catalogue of Women*, we find the myth of the autochthony of Pelasgos in Arkadia (Hes. frags. 110a, b, c (Most)), and among those of Pherekydes, we find the myth of Theban autochthony through which the Theban race comes into existence from within their territory (*FGrHist* 3 F22a, b).²⁸⁶ These myths establish both the community, which forms the state, and its ethnicity firmly within a locality. Other mythical happenings portrayed in genealogies, however, such as toponyms, marriage ties, individual relocations, and migrations, can perform a similar function for the state. Hall, for example, shows through a combination of such myths the role genealogies may have played in constructing ethnic identities in the Argolid, one belonging to Mycenae and Tiryns based on the Perseid branches of the Herakleidai and another belonging to Argos on the Proitid branches.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ Although such myths obviously involve notions of ethnicity and the construction or representation of it through kinship, it is not my purpose here to delve into theoretical debates about ethnicity, what it is, and how it is determined or constructed. My purpose here in this chapter is not so much to study ethnicity as it relates to kinship, as it is to study how ethnicity was expressed and perhaps understood through genealogies and how mythico-histories of kinship could be exploited politically and socially. My discussion, however, generally follows the theoretical understanding of ethnicity, as outlined by Hall, that it is “repeatedly and actively structured through discursive strategies” (1997, 41), and that social identity is not formed by belonging to discrete social groups, but is a matter of “self-conceptualization, predicated on perceptions of similarity and difference” in which personal affiliations have varying degrees of significance (2007b, 338).

²⁸⁶ The most well-known autochthony myth is probably that of the Athenians, but it is not well covered in the extant Early Greek genealogical material. It does, however, flourish in the fifth century and beyond as what Loraux calls “the Athenian myth par excellence” (1986, 150) in funeral orations and in other expressions of myth (see Loraux 1986, 148-50; 2000, *passim*, esp. 13-27; Parker 1988, 194-95; Kearns 1989, 110-19; Gehrke 2001, 301-3). The picture is more complicated in the *Atthis*, where, as Harding points out, there are no outright statements in the fragments concerning the autochthony of the Athenians as a whole, but some fragments do ascribe autochthony to some of important early Athenian figures, e.g., Kekrops, Erechtheus, and Erichthonios (2008, 14-17).

²⁸⁷ Hall 1997, 77-99.

Mythical happenings (toponyms, marriage ties, individual relocations, migrations, autochthonous births) told through genealogy could also serve a state's inter-regional interests as aetiologies or justifications for the actions it takes or its animosities and alliances.²⁸⁸ Kinship could be an important connecting and separating device among states. As Cole points out, the relationship between the new settlement and its *metropolis* (mother-city) was expressed through the kinship metaphor of mother and child.²⁸⁹ We can also see, through Curty's study of inscriptions, that states could be connected or allied through ideas of common kinship, expressed in kinship terms like *συγγένεια* (sameness of descent).²⁹⁰ Larson shows how Boiotians understood or reinforced in images and words their common identity as an *ethnos* through common descent from an eponymous ancestor Boiotos.²⁹¹ They connected him by kinship to cult figures from the central region of Boiotia. They were also able to make ancestral ties to southeastern Thessaly through Boiotos' supposed descent from the Aiolidai, the heroic family most associated with that region in mythology.

Genealogies could similarly show ancient ties of kinship between states. For example, mythical migrations and relocations in genealogical narratives of the distant past could be used to justify or explain colonization, settlement, or hegemony through notions of kinship. For example, the expansion of Athenian power in Ionia in the fifth century could have partially been justified by the myth of an ancient migration of Ionians from Athens led

²⁸⁸ On the role of myths in political affairs, including myths of kinship, among and within Greek *poleis*, see Hall 2008, 331-54.

²⁸⁹ Cole 2004, 28.

²⁹⁰ Curty 1995.

²⁹¹ Larson 2007, 17-30, 189.

by Androklos, son of Kodros king of Athens, which seems to have been first articulated by Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F155).²⁹² Another example from Pherekydes is the myth of the nymph Cyrene who was brought to North Africa by Apollo in the form of a swan (*FGrHist* 3 F58). There she killed a lion who was harassing the populace and accordingly became the local king's heir and the city was named for her.²⁹³ This myth, told through genealogy, expresses the settlement of Cyrene by her descendents, the Cyreneans, in terms of inheritance and kinship as the result of a heroic action. Actions, alliances, and animosities of states like Athens and Cyrene could thus be expressed in terms of kinship and retrojected into the distant past.

States and those within them use the concept of ancestry expressed through genealogy, to promote, within and without the state, ideas of common ancestry, ancestral friendship and animosity, or ancient settlement and autochthony. Genealogies that were ancestor-focused and tendrilled seem to have developed in line with this purpose. Such genealogies are also primarily mythological, i.e., they involve figures who are considered by us to be mythical rather than historical. Only rarely do they connect the distant past with the historical world, but they do definitely relate to the historical contemporary world of their composition and dissemination.

The context of Early Greek genealogies is not that of an aristocratic society of powerful families using genealogical material for their own ends. The genealogies simply do not express or serve the interests of corporate descent groups any smaller than ethnic or state groups. Instead, they serve and express the interests of individuals, who may have belonged

²⁹² See Nilsson 1972, 60-62; Viviers 1987, 300-6; R. Thomas 1989, 164-65.

²⁹³ See Griffin 1986, 88.

to an elite class, and the interests of states. We should not be misled by the fact that genealogies are expressions of kinship to conclude that they were created by kinship groups for their own benefit. They were not. They served the interests of individuals and states, through expressing particularly beneficial kinship connections and ideas.

Conclusion

There are many sources of Early Greek genealogical material from the Homeric poems to the prose genealogists. Much of that material, however, is very fragmentary and presents us with several challenges in determining the character and structure of Early Greek genealogies. Moreover, any questions we may have about the structure, scope, and material of a given work rely ultimately on how we determine what and is not genealogical. It is not appropriate simply to import the characteristics of and assumptions about genealogies from other societies. What I have done in part 1 is use a loose definition of genealogical material as that material which recounts ancestry and/or descent. This does not mean that there are no other types of information contained in the material and it does not necessarily define its character. To do that, I have turned to the material itself.

An assessment of all of the genealogical materials available to us from Early Greece reveals that Early Greek genealogies generally took on one of two structures. The first, most associated with Homeric genealogies, is largely linear, in that it does not branch very much, although it can have limited branching, and is descendent-focused, following generations by descent down to or from a particular descendent. The second is what I have called tendrilled and ancestor-focused, starting with an important ancestor and branching out and down through various branches of descendents. Both types, however, display a very pronounced element of story-telling and narrative style. Everywhere, with only a very small number of

exceptions, information beyond descent and ancestry is told through epithets, descriptions, and stories, sometimes short but often lengthy in relation to the genealogy as a whole. Story-telling was fundamental to Early Greek genealogy. It conveyed what may have been more important than the descent/ancestry information itself, namely, the deeds, exploits, and greatness of individuals of the distant legendary past.

The few exceptions, which do not display this kind of story-telling and present only descent information, are the list-like genealogies in Herodotus and the genealogy of Heropythos, both from the mid-fifth century.²⁹⁴ These list-like genealogies are unique. The genealogy of Heropythos on a grave *stèle* from Chios is even unique among the unique, for being the only genealogical inscription we have from the fifth century and earlier. It may represent its own tradition or simply be one-of-a-kind. The genealogies in Herodotus appear to have been compiled and distilled from sources with more detailed information, e.g., king-lists or royal genealogies. The method of composition through literary means on the part of Herodotus and the late date of the list-like genealogies, show that genealogy as a whole probably did not play the historiographic role of inspiring chronological thinking that is often assigned to it. Early Greek genealogies up until these two, and even after, simply do not display the list-like, highly ordered structure that would suggest chronological thinking or impose chronological order on writing or thinking about the past.

Genealogies generally served the interests of either individuals or states, although the interests of these two parties could overlap as well as the interests within a particular genealogy. They appear not to have been associated with corporate kinship groups acting as groups with group interests, nor to have been fundamental in any tribal or kinship-based

²⁹⁴ The list-like genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist in Pherekydes displays some story-telling elements.

society in Early Greece. They rarely connect with historical individuals and when they do so, it is in connection with the benefit of the individual. Genealogies could have also benefited states through the expression of kinship, by retrojecting contemporary circumstances into the distant legendary past in order to explain, justify, or maintain claims, alliances, animosities, and actions both within and without the state. Thus kinship appears to be something which was fluid and changeable in the Early Greek world. It was not necessarily something that was static and strictly determinable only through biology, although biological metaphor was an important part of genealogical thinking, a way of connecting things that ought to be connected naturally. It seems that kinship could be constructed out of observable or desired closeness and connection, by combining the biological metaphor of reproduction with the closeness or connection observed or desired. This brings us, then, to how kinship was thought of in the Early Greek world and how it was expressed in genealogical material. I will revisit such questions in the concluding synthesis of kinship ideas (Chapter 7), in which I will compare and combine what we can learn about Early Greek kinship from the kinship ideas discernible in genealogical material and the archaeological record.

Part II: Archaeology and Early Greek Kinship

Chapter 5: Burials and Early Greek Kinship

This chapter looks at burials from across the Early Greek world for the expression or reflection of ideas of kinship in the number of ways the Early Greeks buried their dead. I am more interested in where kinship may be seen in the material record than where kinship can be used as an interpretive tool. Given the piecemeal nature of the data, as will be seen, and given my interest in the manifestation of kinship ideas, it is not my intent to discuss all burials from every relevant site, but to select and discuss key examples of particular phenomena.²⁹⁵ In choosing these examples, I have concentrated on aspects or elements of the archaeological mortuary record which may shed light on kinship and the conception of kinship, namely the grouping of burials and distinctions between burials.

If we do not believe that burials were made so haphazardly or so at random as to have no thought or intention behind them or no scheme or method of organization, the question arises: by which factors, social or otherwise, were burials made and placed in Early Greek necropoleis? The answer for scholars usually comes down to kinship and sometimes to age.²⁹⁶ Kinship is the standard assumption for the grouping of burials and is superseded by other criteria only when circumstances suggest otherwise, often where the common ages of those buried (usually children) indicate grouping by age or in very specific cases that can be connected to the historical narrative and textual or epigraphic sources. For example, the mass burials found in the Kerameikos during excavations for the Athenian Metro have been

²⁹⁵ My purpose here is, therefore, not to provide an overview of funerary or burial practices or the mortuary record, nor to trace development or patterns. For such works, see, e.g., Kurtz and Boardman 1971; Snodgrass 1971, 140-212; Morris 1998; Lemos 2002, 184-90; Dickinson 2006, 174-195; or embedded in the surveys by Osborne (1996) or Whitley (2001).

²⁹⁶ E.g., Young 1939, 15-16; Smithson 1961, 1974; Humphreys 1983, 94-104; 1991, 263-64; Morris 1987, 44-54, 87-92; 1992, 186-88; Buchner 1975, 70-71; Ridgway 1992, 52-54; *Corinth XIII*, 15.

associated with the events of the second Peloponnesian War and the plague that beset Athens between 430 and 420 BCE.²⁹⁷ The burial of war-dead in collective graves, again usually associated in the Greek world with specific battles (e.g., the burial mound of the Athenians who fell at Marathon), is another example. Burial clubs are a distinctly non-kinship way of grouping burials known from epigraphic and literary sources, but they belong to a Roman or Greco-Roman context. When other sources are silent and circumstances do not clearly suggest otherwise, kinship tends to be the assumed criterion for grouping burials in the Early Greek world.

It does not necessarily follow that this assumption is wrong or misguided. Kinship seems to be a reasonable criterion for grouping given the importance put upon family, and women in particular, in burial ritual in Greek antiquity and in life cycles in general.²⁹⁸ Some inscriptions on Archaic Attic monuments also make reference to the family, indicating relationships between the living and the dead. Humphreys points out, however, that less than one-third of the total number of inscriptions on funerary markers of this period indicate relationships of any kind, and of the relationships indicated, most involve parents commemorating their young adult children.²⁹⁹ Most monuments commemorate only one individual, and in the few cases in which more than one person is mentioned, no more than three are mentioned together.³⁰⁰ Therefore, Humphreys concludes that Archaic monuments

²⁹⁷ Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 271-73.

²⁹⁸ For the importance of women and family in burial practices, as seen in textual sources: Humphreys 1983, 83-88; Morris 1987, 44-54; as seen in iconography: Shapiro 1999. For importance in life cycles as seen through Archaic poetry: Kamen 2007.

²⁹⁹ Humphreys 1983, 126n18. See the same for a list of the inscriptions and the breakdown of the relationships indicated.

³⁰⁰ Humphreys 1983, 93.

do not stress a son's duty in burying his father and do not stress family unity, but individual relationships.³⁰¹

Some monuments, however, seem to have been set up by friends or companions (for example, Pfohl nos. 75 and 78).³⁰² We should remember, therefore, that there were other relationships besides kinship that could be important in burial, and it stands to reason that there were other ways of grouping burials too. We cannot know with absolute certainty that grouping was done primarily by kinship. Thus, when we use kinship as a standard criterion for grouping burials in Early Greece, we ought to approach it with caution and give the concept further examination. What is it exactly that is meant by kinship? Do we mean ancestors, immediate kin, paternal kin, maternal kin, etc...? What is it exactly that suggests kinship? How do we recognize it?

Osteology, Biological Kinship, and Burial Groups

One method of determining and studying burial groups and kinship is to test hypotheses of kinship among a set of burials through osteology to see if those burials are related biologically. This approach, although appealing for the answers it could provide, has two drawbacks: kinship is not necessarily strictly biologically determined and a group must first be hypothesized by other means before it can be tested. If grouping was done by some idea or ideas of kinship, we cannot assume that it was always biologically determined and thus able to be tested in this fashion. Moreover, the work and interpretation are neither

³⁰¹ Humphreys 1983, 93.

³⁰² Pfohl no. 75 = *IG* i² 920 = i³ 1399, ca. 500. Pfohl no. 78 = *SEG* xiv 23, xv 75 = *IG* i³ 1231, ca. 500 or later. See Humphreys 1983, 93, 126n19.

straightforward nor often even possible. In order to see exactly what scientific assessments of skeletal remains can tell us about kinship, it is necessary to understand something of the techniques used to assess biological kinship and the possibilities and limitations of those techniques.

The examination of human skeletal remains has for a long time been involved in determining the age and sex of burials, but in some cases it has also been involved in larger social questions concerning race and sometimes kinship.³⁰³ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, race and nationality were key points of analysis in studying the ancient world. Determining the race of ancient individuals and peoples, through both their bodies and their art and artefacts, was of prime scholarly interest.³⁰⁴ The study of kinship between buried individuals was an offshoot of racial interest in ancient skeletal material. Angel, for example, was interested in questions of relatedness between the individuals buried in a late Geometric grave enclosure in the Agora at Athens excavated by Young.³⁰⁵ The techniques available to him in 1939 for investigating biological relatedness were limited, consisting mainly of the comparison of skeletons through metric traits (measurements of the teeth and bones). These were the same techniques used to determine the race of buried individuals and

³⁰³ See MacKinnon 2007 for an overview of the history of osteological research, both human and animal, in Classical archaeology. See also Morris 1992, 70-102, for an overview of the potential and limitations of osteology for studying ancient history.

³⁰⁴ See MacKinnon 2007, 475-76. See also Trigger 2006, 248-61 on nationalism, race, and ethnicity in early twentieth-century archaeology. See Dyson 2006, 172-214, for an historical account of Classical archaeology between the world wars. For discussions of specific examples of racial theorizing and categorizing in classical scholarship before World War II, see: Hall 1997, 11-13 on scholarship on the Dorians; Marchand 1996, 110-11 on the German study of art and the art of nations; and Whitley 2001, 35-36, on the study of human remains from Classical cemeteries.

³⁰⁵ Angel 1939.

develop supposed standard racial characteristics, usually cranial.³⁰⁶ In the case of the burials from the Geometric enclosure in the Agora, Angel tested Young's suggestion (based on the spatial organization of the burials within the enclosure, the presence of child burials, the respect for earlier burials, the dates of the burials) that they belonged to a family group through dental and cranial analysis (the shape of the jaw and cheek) and the sex and age of the individuals.³⁰⁷ From these data, he concluded that the individuals buried in the enclosure represent two generations of a familial group.

Such metric data are still used to examine biological kinship, but there are some new tools and points of analysis that have improved our ability to determine biological kinship. The examination of biological kinship in osteology now involves both metric and non-metric traits as well as blood types and DNA analysis. Metric traits are derived from measuring various parts of the skeleton, especially the skull and teeth, but other bones can be used to estimate features such as height and weight. Metric cranial analysis used to dominate studies concerned with biological kinship or ethnicity, but that has changed as the dental record has proved more significant, in large a part because of the higher rate of survival of teeth in the archaeological record, but for other reasons as well.³⁰⁸ Non-metric traits, also called epigenetic traits, are inherited, qualitative, anatomical characteristics of the skeleton.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ See MacKinnon 2007, 475-76.

³⁰⁷ Angel 1939; Young 1939, 15-16.

³⁰⁸ See MacKinnon (2007, 485) for the interest in craniometry and the increased importance of the dental record in the history of osteology in Classical archaeology. Teeth are durable and therefore can potentially provide large sample sizes for examining both metric and non-metric traits. Beyond sheer numbers, however, teeth can also provide information about disease, health, and life, since their development in the living body is affected by the environment within and outside of the body (Carter et al. 1998, 505-6). They also seem to be better than bone for the extraction of ancient DNA (see Evison 2001, 676).

³⁰⁹ *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 505; Parker Pearson 2000, 116-17.

Since they are inherited, non-metric traits can be useful in investigating kinship. Precisely how some of these traits are inherited, however, it is not certain, so caution is required.

There are many possible non-metric traits to test for (e.g., metopism, parietal foramina, ossa suturarum), but the survival and condition of the skeletal remains for comparison largely determines what is able to be tested for. For example, if enough of the skull is preserved, metopism (the presence of a suture that has not closed in childhood as it normally does) can be tested for. In order to investigate biological kinship, a number of skulls for comparison must have been preserved and be examined for metopism.

Biological kinship can also be studied through blood type, which can be determined from the bone tissue of some individuals (secretors versus non-secretors).³¹⁰ Since blood type is heritable, it may be possible to determine kinship burial grouping through examining rates of blood types. This requires an hypothesized group, usually spatially and temporally determined, whose rates of each phenotype (A, B, AB, and O) may be compared with that of the whole population (usually represented by a necropolis). If a high frequency of a certain blood type is found in a particular hypothesized group that is greater than the corresponding rate for entire population, it is a good indication that the buried individuals were related biologically and that an idea of kinship was involved in the grouping of burials. This method only works with groups hypothesized by some other means and with a wider population for comparison

A major development in osteology and the osteological study of biological kinship has been in ancient DNA research. So far, it has had limited use in classical archaeology for a number of reasons, both technical and disciplinary. Contamination with modern DNA is a

³¹⁰ See *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 507-8 for a description of the technique of extraction.

serious concern. It can lead to statistically significant false positives, but need not do so if appropriate procedures are followed both in the field and in the laboratory and false positives are accounted for in the statistics.³¹¹ Ancient human DNA is hard to extract and analyse, but some areas are better sources than others. In Evison's study of the ancient Greek DNA results from an overall study of ancient DNA, teeth offered positive results for DNA more often than bones.³¹² There are a few gene sequences in particular that are useful for questions that historians and archaeologists are asking about kinship, ethnicity, and demography. Sequences of the *amenoglobin* gene are particularly useful for sexing. Sequences of the polymorphic *HLA-DPB1* gene and of the mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) region V gene, which is maternally inherited, are useful for determining biological relatedness. Evison, Fieller, and Smillie have shown that these sequences can be extracted and isolated from archaeological specimens with low rates of contamination under the right laboratory conditions.³¹³ Adopting appropriate protocols for collecting material in the field for DNA analysis could foster success. Evison offers the following proposals for furthering the use and usefulness of DNA research in archaeological pursuits: planning ahead so that osteological research is not an afterthought; treating the excavation of skeletal remains with the standards and procedures applied to crime scenes; using tooth specimens; being flexible with plans for and questions asked of the results; building up a broad picture; and being patient.³¹⁴ Patience is indeed necessary, but perhaps not as necessary as making key changes,

³¹¹ Evison et al. 1999, 2, 5-6, 15; Parker Pearson 2000, 118.

³¹² Evison 2001, 676, with the results from Evison et al. 1999.

³¹³ Evison et al. 1999, 15.

³¹⁴ Evison 2001, 676-77.

if Classical archaeologists and historians are to seriously pursue and use ancient DNA research and incorporate it into the discipline in a meaningful way. It seems that excavators, particularly of necropoleis, will need to take steps to enable ancient DNA research to progress.

Ancient DNA analysis could certainly prove valuable for kinship studies and the discipline of Classical archaeology in general; however, as Evison writes, “Ancient DNA is a science in its infancy.”³¹⁵ Scholars have been anticipating a bright future for ancient DNA for over twenty years, that is, since 1985 when Pääbo published the results from extracting DNA from Egyptian mummies.³¹⁶ If the future does hold great things for the use of ancient DNA in classical archaeology, that future is coming very slowly. And it may be that it will not advance very far at all until some disciplinary practices are modified or new procedures are adopted both in the field and in analysis and question-making.

New tools have been added to the toolbox, but the task of determining biological kinship is still very much the same. The basic method of studying relatedness from skeletal material remains to test a hypothesis, a theory of kinship already assumed. We cannot simply look at the data and see a map of who is related to whom biologically. We first need a hypothesized group to test, which comes down to perceived clustering or partitioning in physical location and orientation and to burial dates that are either analogous or appropriately distributed according to age of the individuals at death. Data collected from skeletal remains

³¹⁵ Evison 2001, 677.

³¹⁶ Pääbo 1985. E.g., Renfrew and Bahn 1991, 380-81; Evison 2001, 676-77; MacKinnon 2007, 484-85. Evison is cautious, however, pointing out some of the things yet to be learned, such as the circumstances favourable to the survival of ancient DNA, and advises patience in what remains a very new science (2001, 677).

that do not directly reflect kinship can also aid in hypothesizing kinship groups by reconstructing a hypothetical family tree (generations of parents, children, and grandchildren). Marks on pelvic bones, for example, can indicate females who have given birth. The ages of the individuals buried, when combined with dates of deposition, can give some indication of the dates of birth and the relative ages of the individuals in question. These dates of birth and relative ages along with the sexes of the individuals may correspond with the make-up of a hypothetical family tree.³¹⁷ Similarly blood types may also help in creating such hypothetical family trees. In some cases, they can rule paternal or maternal kinship in or out as a possibility between individuals, but in those cases kinship must already be hypothesized on the basis of other data.

Once a kinship group is hypothesized, it is then necessary to look at it as a subset of a larger whole or wider population, so that the rate of relatedness within the hypothesized group can be compared to the rate of relatedness of the overall population, usually represented by the excavated necropolis.³¹⁸ Are members of the group any more related to one another than they are to the rest of the population? Do they share any particular trait any more than it is shared within the rest of the population? The rate of the sharing of each trait among the hypothesized group and that among the wider population are derived and compared. If the rate among the hypothesized kinship group is significantly greater, then the hypothesis of biological kinship within that group would appear to be supported by that trait. Such rate comparisons cannot *prove* biological kinship between buried individuals, nor can

³¹⁷ See *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 143-65, for the use of such a method to hypothesize family groups at the Pantanello Necropolis near Metaponto.

³¹⁸ The lack of a larger group of Geometric Athenian skeletons, with which to compare the rates of relatedness based on the various traits of the group in the enclosure, is a major difficulty in Angel's study (1939).

they map out biological family trees within necropoleis; however, they can *support*, *contradict*, or *not support but not contradict* an hypothesis of kinship based on other factors.

There is not much biological information for Dark Age and Archaic Greek necropoleis beyond the sexing and aging of skeletons. Research from ancient Italy, pre-Roman in particular, seems further ahead in incorporating osteology and recent scientific techniques into the interpretation of ancient necropoleis, which probably in large part has arisen from the types of questions being asked in early Italian archaeology, namely those involving ethnicity and cultural contact.³¹⁹ It is perhaps not surprising then that the most advanced and thorough osteological study of kinship involving Early Greek burials is that of the Pantanello Necropolis in the countryside of Metaponto conducted by Carter, Henneberg, and Henneberg.³²⁰

At the Pantanello Necropolis, it was postulated that the nuclei or clusters of burials in the necropolis corresponded to the grouping of burials by kinship within family plots (fig. 5.1). From the location, orientation, and dates of the burials and the ages and approximate birthdates of the individuals, hypothetical family trees were hypothesized.³²¹ These groups were then used to test the hypothesis that “individuals buried in the same nucleus were biological relatives” against the null hypothesis that “the distribution of biological characteristics was the same in each nucleus as it was in the entire skeletal sample (taken to represent the general population).”³²² On the basis of metric and non-metric traits and blood

³¹⁹ For references of osteological studies concerning ethnicity and kinship for Italian sites, see the extended bibliography to MacKinnon 2007. Pages 4 to 9 are dedicated to studies of Italian sites.

³²⁰ *Metaponto Necropoleis*.

³²¹ *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 156-60.

³²² *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 163.

types, it was found that for nine out of the forty-five hypothesized family groups at the Pantanello Necropolis the data provided sufficient support to suggest biological kinship between individuals.³²³ For the other groups, there was no evidence either for or against kinship, either because of too few data or because the frequency of traits, tooth size in particular, did not differ significantly from that in the rest of the skeletal sample.

For the purposes of this study, only one hypothetical family group for which there is osteological evidence of biological kinship contains burials that can be dated relatively securely to the last quarter of the sixth century, family group 10.3 (fig. 5.2).³²⁴ Kinship within the other groups with early burials (family groups 2, 5.3-4, 7.1, 7.2, 8.2, 8.4) can only be suggested by the means by which the groups were hypothesized. Kinship amongst the individuals in family group 10.3 is suggested by the presence of Carabelli's trait among the five individuals of the group for whom it could be tested.³²⁵ Tooth size neither supports nor rejects a hypothesis of kinship. It is also likely that members of 10.3 were related to members of family group 10.2, based on the presence of Carabelli's trait in both groups, the absence of parietal foramina and metopism in both groups, as well as spatial organization. As a group, 10.3 is characterized by a simplicity of burial goods. Its earliest burials (tombs 137, 215, and possibly 359) date to the late sixth century at the earliest and the later ones to the last quarter of the sixth century.³²⁶ The burials belonging to hypothetical family group

³²³ See *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 163-64, for a description of the statistical methods used.

³²⁴ *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 164. It is not indicated which five individuals these were.

³²⁵ Carabelli's cusps are an inheritable (epigenetic) dental trait and are grooves on the side of the molars closest to the tongue (*Metaponto Necropoleis*, 163).

³²⁶ Tomb 359 was partially destroyed and very fragmentary and can only tentatively connected to family group 10.3. It is dated by tomb type to 525-390 BCE, although Carter et al. suggest that it is likely the earliest burial

10.2 are later. It may be then that what we have in nucleus 10 is a family burial area used over a few generations made up of the members of hypothetical family groups 10.2 and 10.3 beginning in the late sixth or early fifth centuries BCE.

Family groups or clusters are also hypothesized in the necropolis at Pithekoussai, another site in Italy settled by a Greek population.³²⁷ The skeletal remains have been analysed by Munz and by Becker. The remains able to be studied at Pithekoussai, however, are limited to cremations and the teeth from the inhumations, because of the difficulties of preservation at the site, namely from ground water and heat from thermal springs.³²⁸

Becker's sample consisted of 112 cremations and 17 inhumations (those out of the 126 studied so far with teeth and traces of bone surviving) from between 750 and 675 BCE. The goals of his study, beyond basic information about the burials, were to investigate the ethnic identity of individuals and biological change over time through intermarriage.³²⁹ Biological kinship between individuals was not therefore a direct concern of the analysis. It seems, however, that given the limitation of the evidence for inhumations to the odontometric data of only 17 out of 126 inhumations studied, assessing biological relatedness within hypothesized family clusters made up of inhumations, *enchytrismos* burials, and cremations would produce statistically skewed or simply inconclusive results.

in the area (*Metaponto Necropoleis*, 346-47). Tomb 215 shares the same rather length date range, 525-390 BCE.

³²⁷ Munz 1970; Ridgway 1992; *Pithkoussai I* 1993; Becker 1995.

³²⁸ Becker 2005, 273.

³²⁹ Becker 2005, 275-76.

The osteological assessment of biological kinship may prove to be an interesting and fruitful area of study, although it will probably be a long time until practices in the field and in the discipline change enough to allow this research really to flourish. Even if such advances are made, it must be remembered that biology is not the whole basis of kinship. It is the privilege or meaning that humans give to biological relatedness that makes biological kinship socially or culturally significant, not the fact of biological relatedness itself. Osteology can allow us to humanize ancient history, as MacKinnon suggests, through the study of individuals, but as we do so we must be sure not to de-humanize ancient history by disregarding their will, intention, and beliefs.³³⁰

Recognizing Intentional Burial Groups

How do we recognize intentional groupings of burials if we cannot always test biological relatedness for technical, practical, and theoretical reasons? Humphreys has called for more stringent criteria for identifying intentional groups of burials, criticizing the practice of taking excavators' conclusions in this matter at face value.³³¹ It is indeed necessary to look into the conclusions of excavators and make explicit the reasons and theory behind determining burial groups; however, there can be no standard rule for how to determine groups of burials across all sites, given the variety from site to site of burial practices, topography, population, numbers of burials, length of use and so on.

³³⁰ MacKinnon 2007, 496.

³³¹ Humphreys 1983, 94-101; 1990, 264.

Humphreys puts a lot of emphasis on physically well-defined burial groups, namely on enclosures.³³² One might add multiple burials within the same grave to this sort of category of more securely evidenced intentional grouping and differentiation. We cannot, however, go by obvious physical features alone. That would limit our evidence significantly, produce skewed results, and impede further study or questions. Moreover, we cannot say that a constructed physical perimeter is any more determinative of a burial group than a perimeter of simply space that is difficult to discern archaeologically.

It is possible to hypothesize deliberate groups of burials by the combination of a number of criteria, any one of which can be a clue, but none of which can be definitive proof in and of itself. These include multiple burials, successive burials in the same tomb or location, walled enclosures, the relative positioning of graves, the same orientation, similar tomb type or burial style, corresponding or appropriately distributed burial dates, and a mix of sexes and ages among the buried individuals.

Although multiple burials (the reuse of burial places within a relatively short periods of time) are not unheard of in the Early Greek world, they are not common either.³³³ The multiple burials at Corinth are not secure.³³⁴ Successive burials in the same tomb or location over time, however, are not as rare.³³⁵ Multiple burials are much more common at Greek settlements in Italy, many of which likely had mixed populations of Greeks and native

³³² Humphreys 1990, 263-64.

³³³ *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 108; Lemos 2002, 189.

³³⁴ *Corinth XIII*, 69.

³³⁵ Instances of multiple burials over time occur at Vroulia on Rhodes (Morris 1992, 174-99) and in the Argolid (Hägg 1980, 1983) and will be discussed below.

Italians and saw a mixing of cultural practices in their necropoleis.³³⁶ Multiple burials at these sites seem to represent a native Italian cultural element or influence in burial practices.³³⁷ There are possibly two early examples from Metaponto: tomb 191, a fossa burial of a female with what are suspected to be two *enchytrismos* burials of infants, and tomb 131, a sarcophagus with an adult male and female burial.³³⁸ Other examples are seen at Syracuse, Megara Hyblaia, and Gela.³³⁹ Multiple burials were not enough of a common practice in Early Greece to be used as expected criteria for recognizing kinship groupings, although when they are seen, they should be considered as possibly significant for kinship.

Enclosing walls and enclosures may be rather physically obvious markers of the partitioning or gathering together of burials, but they pose their own problems for determining burial groups.³⁴⁰ Just what is being enclosed and when it is enclosed are key factors for interpretation. The large Archaic enclosure (15-16 m by 29 m) in the Agora along Areopagus street is a case in point.³⁴¹ The enclosure contained forty-eight burials from ca. 550-500, some of which are not really datable and there are at least a few Geometric burials. There is no suggestion of grouping within the cemetery, so the question is whether or not the

³³⁶ On mixed populations and Italian and Greek customs in the burial practices, see Shepherd 1995; De Angelis 2003, 52-55. On mixed populations, citizenship, and ethnicity in the western Greek *poleis*, see Lomas 2000.

³³⁷ Shepherd 1995, 66-68, 70.

³³⁸ Shepherd 1995, 66-68; *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 108-10. Megara Hyblaia: De Angelis 2003, 53.

³³⁹ See *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 108-10.

³⁴⁰ Such enclosures are often called *peribolos* tombs, particularly in a Classical context. For this early period, however, the term enclosure is better descriptive of the nature of the evidence and is less loaded with connotations of Classical *peribolos* tombs and their development.

³⁴¹ Young 1951.

enclosure can be considered as a deliberate burial group based on kinship or not. The theory that the enclosure represents a rather large family burial ground relies mostly, however, on interpreting the burials as truly exceptional for being situated within the city after 700 and in a highly visible location.³⁴² In this case the enclosing wall alone does not provide a clear argument for either interpretation.

Another illustrative case is the enclosure south of the Acropolis along Erechtheion Street with Submycenaean, Protogeometric, and Geometric burials inside and around it (fig. 5.3).³⁴³ A fourth-century wall surrounds most, but not all, of the burials. A row of stones 'lining' the wall may be evidence of a wall contemporary to or slightly later than the graves, as Brouskari suggests.³⁴⁴ The evidence is slight, however, and the presence of an earlier wall under the fourth-century wall is not secure. That the wall appears to have been rather arbitrarily placed, cross-cutting some of the burials and not in alignment with the one inhumation burial, suggests that such a wall may not have been contemporaneous with the burials and perhaps constructed in the context of a much later tomb cult. It does seem that the enclosure was the location for a tomb cult in the fourth century, but I see no reason other than the scant possibility of a Geometric wall to suggest that such a tomb cult would have been maintained since the Geometric period.³⁴⁵ With such enclosures, therefore, it is possible that a wall constructed in a later period could give the impression of grouping where grouping did not originally exist or have meaning. In such cases, the wall and the enclosure

³⁴² More on this enclosure below, p. 207. Morris 1987, 67-68.

³⁴³ Meliades 1955, 43-45; Brouskari 1980.

³⁴⁴ Brouskari 1980, 17

³⁴⁵ Brouskari 1980, 17-18, 30.

of certain graves would have bearing on the grouping of burials and much more on the treatment of those burials in later periods.

Similar tomb type or burial style may be a clue for grouping burials, but not necessarily. Ridgway and Buchner, for example, make a convincing case for clusters burials of different types based on kinship at Pithekoussai.³⁴⁶ Most often the initial indicator of intentional burial groups for excavators and interpreters is spatial organization, namely the relative positioning and orientation of the burials. But this can indicate a number of things (e.g., the overall orderliness of the necropolis, differences in date of burial, differences in social or economic status) and not necessarily be connected to a kinship idea. What concept of kinship is inherent, for example, in the orientation of burials?

The north cemetery at Corinth provides a good example of how kinship grouping is usually recognized in the scholarship. There were forty-nine Geometric burials identified in the necropolis (fig. 5.4). Three of those, as well as two pits located near to them, were surrounded by an enclosure of upright slabs of stone, and were left undisturbed by later burials. Since these burials were isolated together by the wall, Young interprets a special relationship between individuals buried, likely a kinship relationship.³⁴⁷ Young also takes the existence of this enclosure of burials to mean that we ought to look for other groups of Geometric burials and he is confident in the ability of type, position, orientation, and depth to indicate intentional burial groups not determined by enclosures.³⁴⁸ He begins by labelling the group in the enclosure as group A (graves 14-16, along with smaller pits/graves 14B and

³⁴⁶ Buchner 1975, 70-71; Ridgway 1992, 52-54.

³⁴⁷ *Corinth XIII*, 15.

³⁴⁸ *Corinth XIII*, 15-16.

15B). Group B he creates from graves 17-24, linking them by their relative position, their north-south orientation, and burial type, although five are cists with an added compartment for offerings and three are ordinary cists. Group C (graves 25-29), D (graves 30-32), E (graves 33-40), F (41-44), and G (45-46), are similarly grouped by location and orientation. Young interprets the others as isolated (graves 47-62). There is some focus on grave type in Young's grouping strategy, although at a cemetery with so few grave types, it is debatable just how significant type is in differentiating groups. Sites like Pithekoussai, moreover, remind us that types of graves can be (and often are) determined by factors other than burial group, especially by age. Young also puts a lot of stock in the ability of the orientation of graves to determine groups; however, orientation is not a guaranteed way of differentiating meaningful burial groups. Orientation may reflect an overall organization or orderliness of the necropolis even as it develops over time, which is in fact how Young interprets the development of the site from Group A's enclosure outward over time. Such orderliness may be seen in the alignment of graves 17, 18, and 19 (belonging to Young's group B) with the enclosure wall (enclosing group A) or by the general north-south or east-west orientation, which Young points out, of most of the graves in the necropolis.³⁴⁹

Most importantly for the interpretation of the site and our understanding of the individuals who were buried and buried their dead in this necropolis, is there any meaning behind such groupings? Were these groups established, followed, or considered distinct by Early Greeks, or are they artificial constructions to allow later excavators to make sense of the site plan and the data? Is there any ancient intention or meaning behind them? If Young's groups A through G were burial groups, it is not clear that much effort was made to

³⁴⁹ *Corinth XIII*, 16.

differentiate the groups from one another, except in the case of group A. Therefore we must question whether there was intentional grouping and whether there is any ancient idea or meaning informing the grouping. If our questions concern kinship or we assume kinship to be informing the grouping, perhaps we ought to look at where grouping appears to be intentional *through an idea of kinship*.

Ideas of Kinship in the Grouping of Burials

The overall approach to kinship in this project is to focus on indigenous kinship ideas, that is, how Early Greeks conceived of kinship, whether biological or otherwise. Even if the evidence of biological kinship is non-existent, inconclusive, or contradictory, it does not mean that no *concept* of kinship is present. Burial groups may be formed by an *idea* of kinship. For Morris burial groups were formed by descent, specifically truncated descent groups; for Humphreys they were bilateral kinship groups, at least in the Classical period.³⁵⁰ This opposition seems somewhat mired in traditional kinship theory's descent versus agnatic kinship debate from kinship studies and perhaps not a very useful distinction.³⁵¹ Considering kinship through concepts allows us to see the multiple ways kinship was thought of and expressed in the Early Greek world and the multiple ideas of kinship by which burials may be linked. It should be noted that the following kinship ideas cannot really be disentangled from one another, only identified and explored within a larger package of interrelated ideas that made up the conception and expression of kinship in Early Greece.

³⁵⁰ Morris 1987, 90; Humphreys 1990, 263-64.

³⁵¹ See the my discussion of traditional kinship theory in the introduction, p. 15.

The grouping of some burials appears to express or follow an idea of descent; others seem to express an idea of the household over a few generations. We are not talking here about mutually exclusive burial types (generational household burials as opposed to descent burials), but rather two ideas of kinship that are interrelated and seem to feed off one another. Generational household ideas carry with them some notion of descent in the relatedness of generations by reproduction. Both ideas, the household and descent, are at play in Early Greek burial practices and are evidenced often at the same sites and within the same burials.

Descent

Burials that are deliberately made in the same spot over time, in so-called descent tombs, near or in pre-existing mounds, or over earlier burials seem to be connected by an idea of descent.³⁵² They draw a connection between the long (or at least longer) dead and the recent dead, either emphasizing a founder or adding to a lineage. Such burials may thus be associated with a prominent (e.g., by wealth or size) grave or grave marker, or be associated with the burial location of what may be a founder of a lineage. The expression of the idea of descent could be more important here than any biological relationship. Therefore we should not necessarily expect to be able to test for biological kinship, no more than we could biologically test the descent relationship between Miltiades the Oikist and Aias (*FGrHist* 3 F2) or between Pindar's victors and their divine ancestors. Such burials may tap into a biological model of kinship whether or not the biological relatedness is actually present among the individuals buried in that location.

³⁵² See Parker Pearson 2000, 114-16, for ethnographic examples in which inferences about social precedence and succession may be made from the sequential deposition of burials.

The layering of several cremation burials in the same spot appears deliberate at Vroulia, for example, where some cremations are followed by several more successive cremations.³⁵³ These successive cremations were clearly deliberate and the spots for further cremations were chosen for a reason, since as Morris writes, “After each cremation, the tomb was filled to the surface level with earth; and for the next use, the buriers had to dig it out again, generally being quite careful to stop at the surface of the last cremation.”³⁵⁴ Not all of the cremations were performed over top of previous ones; however, nineteen out of the thirty-one locations with a cremation burial have evidence of more than one cremation (table 5.1).³⁵⁵ Two have up to nine successive cremations (burials 2 and 6), one has five to six (burial 19), and two more have four (burials 20 and 21). The rest have one or two or two to three. They represent a significant proportion of the burials within the necropolis.

The successive cremation burials tend to increase in depth as the number cremations increases, whereas the singular cremation burials range from moderately deep to very shallow: the deepest is 1.1 m and the shallowest for which there is a recordable depth is 0.18 m (see table 5.1 and fig. 5.5).³⁵⁶ The ones with successive cremations were thus dug deeper for the initial cremation and those with the most cremations are among the deepest at the

³⁵³ Morris 1992, 179, 186-87. At this site, we are apparently not dealing with straightforward family grave plots or even clusters, although it may be possible to determine groups topographically as the excavator has done (Kinch 1914, 35-36).

³⁵⁴ Morris 1992, 186.

³⁵⁵ Morris 1992, 176-78, tab. 9. The numbering of the burials here follows Morris’ numbering.

³⁵⁶ The deepest burials (burial 12 at 1 m with one to two cremations and burial 13 at 1.1 m with two to three cremations) appear to buck the general trend, with few cremations but lots of depth. It could be that these burials were meant eventually to be reused similarly to burials 2 and 6, in which up to nine individuals were cremated successively.

necropolis. This is a good indication that these locations were probably intended from the beginning to be used continuously. That grave goods were concentrated at the lowest (and earliest) levels of the successive cremations further supports this intended use.

Nearly all of the grave goods excavated are associated with the first cremation in successions of cremation burials.³⁵⁷ After that the finds consist mostly of pierced discs, the purpose of which is unknown. The distribution of pottery is relatively even across those burials, except for burial 2 which contained 23% of the pottery found in adult cremations and which is also one of the two burials with the most cremations (eight to nine). The burial goods are rather modest and are not an indication of a wealthy elite or aristocracy, although that one burial had more burial goods than others may indicate a small degree of social or economic differentiation. There is some other significance we may draw, as Morris does, from the concentration of goods in particular burials and in the earliest levels of those burials. The grave goods indicate the veneration for the initial buried individual, possibly a founding member of a household. Because they would have had to have been given at the time of the earliest burial and not during later cremations, the grave goods may have anticipated the overlaying of future cremations as part of the reason for the reuse of that particular burial spot. The successive cremations seem to be tapping into the veneration that those grave goods represented. Morris suggests that this pattern of distribution of grave goods at the earliest levels of successive cremation burials and the successive burials themselves exhibit the veneration of founding ancestors at Vroulia and a symbolic expression of descent.³⁵⁸ He puts forward a picture of Vroulian burial practices in which each descent group (a nuclear

³⁵⁷ Morris 1992, 186, tab. 10.

³⁵⁸ Morris 1992, 187-88.

family perhaps with unmarried close kin) would begin its own series of cremations in one burial spot. Upon the death of the first appropriate person (however that was determined), the group would start with a deep pit to allow for future burials and the initial burial would receive grave goods. The burial location would remain in use, perhaps for a generation or two, until full, and the group would divide and perhaps begin another series of burials.

I agree that what we have at Vroulia is probably an interest in or idea of descent expressed in burial. I am hesitant, however, to assign a label of descent group to a group of the living (even if it simply refers to a nuclear household), since the interest in descent here does not necessarily translate to real active descent groups. What we have here is a group of dead individuals (male or female is not known here) to which the recent dead are connected. The site of Vroulia was occupied over an approximately fifty-year period (625-575 BCE), which is not enough time for up to nine generations of adults to be buried (as in burials 2 and 6). Therefore, we are not dealing with linear descent, but perhaps with the creation of a descent idea in which several family or household members are connected with an honoured founder. Just as in tendrilled genealogies, we do not see the living associated with the living, but rather the recent dead or living associated with one dead ancestor and the past through what is probably an idea of descent. Just how the living are connected to the tomb here, what connection they made with the successive burials, we do not know.³⁵⁹

In the Argolid we also see the intentional reuse of graves throughout the Geometric period. Most of these burials reuse Geometric graves, although some reuse Protogeometric,

³⁵⁹ Adult and child burials clustered around central male cremation shaft graves, perhaps emphasizing descent relationships, at the necropoleis at Osteria dell'Osa may provide an Iron Age Italian parallel (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 143-46, fig. 7.2, 154). More discussion on this site follows below.

particularly in Tiryns.³⁶⁰ They are also mostly cist graves, but Hägg notes that there are some rare examples of reused *pithoi* as well from the Geometric period.³⁶¹ Reuse appears to have been more numerous in late Geometric period, when increasingly fewer cist tombs were being built; the majority of burials (at least of those excavated) seem to have thus occurred in pre-existing tombs. At the end of the Geometric period (ca. 700) it seems that in the Argolid the reuse of graves was given up, cist graves ceased to be built, and *pithos* and pot burials became the norm.³⁶²

Many of the Geometric burials in the Argolid that reuse graves contain two burials (one apparently original and one additional) but others contain three or four successive burials. The Papaparaskevas ground plot in Argos is extraordinary for its twenty-five individual burials in four graves (tombs 263, 265, 266, and 278), with five, six, or seven individuals in each grave.³⁶³ These graves, in use throughout the Geometric period ending in the Late Geometric, were bigger than other cist graves in the region and were therefore likely constructed with the intention of successive reuse.³⁶⁴

Hägg, however, interprets these tombs as the strengthening of family and kinship ties, connecting the reuse of graves to “the strengthening of family and kinship ties, in the period

³⁶⁰ Hägg 1980, 119-20.

³⁶¹ Hägg 1980, 120; 1983, 29.

³⁶² Hägg observes that at this time the orientation of graves towards the west or southwest and avoidance of easterly orientations also appears to have become significant (1980, 122-26).

³⁶³ Daux 1967, 844-46; Hägg 1974, 40-41. The site is unfortunately only published in Daux’s overview of archaeological work done in Greece in 1966 and covered more extensively in Hägg.

³⁶⁴ Daux 1967, 844; Hägg 1974, 122, 131; 1980, 120-21.

of the formation of the phratry.”³⁶⁵ Again we have the problem of interpreting the archaeology through an established model or picture of Early Greece, rather than allowing the archaeology to assist in building that model or picture. The spike in the reuse of tombs in the Late Geometric period may, however, be connected with the growth in population in mainland Greece in the Geometric period as more burial places were needed after a generation or two of growth.³⁶⁶ Moreover, interest in the family in burials is not a Dark Age or Archaic phenomenon; consider, for example, Classical Attic *peribolos* tombs.³⁶⁷ The important question probably lies in the sort of family or kinship ties. If we can accept that we are probably dealing with kinship in this case, what sort of kinship idea or ideas are expressed in these burials and the reuse of graves?

The question of descent largely depends upon the distribution of the successive burials over time. It seems likely that in the case of the reuse of Protogeometric graves in the Geometric period we are seeing an idea of descent at work, in which a relationship of some sort is claimed or created with the long dead and the past. The successive burials seem to express linear descent in which the recent dead are connected to the longer dead and the past. In other cases in the Argolid, for example Papaparaskevas plot, the reuse of graves probably indicates the deaths over a short period of time of a generational household.³⁶⁸ This is an interest in kinship that does not necessarily translate to an interest in kinship ties along the lines of phratries. Moreover, it is hard to make a correlation between cases of two to four

³⁶⁵ Hägg 1980, 122; 1983, 29-30.

³⁶⁶ On Geometric period population growth in mainland Greece, see note 623.

³⁶⁷ See Garland 1982; Closterman 2006, 2007.

³⁶⁸ On generational households, see p. 193-212 below.

successive burials in the same grave and large living corporate kinship groups. The idea that is to be able to be drawn from these burials is one of sequence and descent between two to four individuals. It is not necessarily biological descent but an expression or even a claim to descent following a biological model.

There are similar successive burials in Attica in a Geometric grave enclosure in the Agora.³⁶⁹ Nichoria also has a few instances of continued burials in the Dark Ages that could suggest a similar interest in descent. In the Nikitopoulos area of the site, tombs 1 and 6 each have two Dark Age burials, and the burials in tomb 6 are located in reused Mycenaean tomb.³⁷⁰ These tombs only have two burials, but that one occurred in a Mycenaean tomb could indicate trying to draw an immediate connection between the recently dead and the distant past. Antonaccio has shown that there was awareness of the remains of the Bronze Age past in the Early Iron Age, which can be seen in renewed activity (such as tomb cults or, in this case, burial), but not continuous use, at Mycenaean sites in all regions of Greece.³⁷¹ This renewed activity is short-lived, usually lasting only two to three generations. As Antonaccio argues, the descent connection is not a long drawn out succession of individuals and burials following the model of a clan.³⁷² The connection is incomplete and links only a few recent generations with a figure in the distant past, very much like the telescoping effect in Early Greek genealogical thinking that was discussed in part 1 of this project.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ Young 1939, 15; *Athenian Agora VIII*, 111; *Athenian Agora XIV*, 10-12; Humphreys 1983, 94-95.

³⁷⁰ *Nichoria III*, 266.

³⁷¹ Antonaccio 1995, 141-42, 245-46.

³⁷² Antonaccio 1995, 252-53.

³⁷³ See pp. 42, 94, 121, 125.

An overlapping series of mounds could reflect an interest in descent or at least kinship over time. At Pithekoussai, Ridgway and Buchner identify clusters of burials consisting of a variety of types, which are largely determined by age.³⁷⁴ One of these types is the burial of the remains of cremation in a shallow scoop over which a tumulus was constructed.³⁷⁵ These are usually adult or adolescent burials and some but not all have burial goods associated with them. Some of the tumuli overlap so that a progression of burials over time can be observed in many cases, for example, the cluster of overlapping tombs 159-168 (fig. 5.6).³⁷⁶ Again, as at Vroulia, the rather limited period of these burial groups (750-700 BCE) suggests not descent in terms of a long vertical lineage, but rather the few generations of a household group.

The early mounds in the Kerameikos in Athens, however, present a different and much more complex picture. Several mounds and tombs could be grouped together, but, as Humphreys notes, the crowded conditions of the Kerameikos make it nearly impossible to say which juxtapositions could be the purposeful result of grouping by kinship.³⁷⁷ Two of the largest mounds, Mound G and the Rundbau, provide some of the best clues for ideas of descent in burial in early Athens.

Mound G was originally constructed in the middle of the sixth century to cover a single shaft grave. The grave had no goods except the remains of an ivory *kline*, but an associated offering place contained a black-figure bowl with a scene of lamentation. It is

³⁷⁴ Buchner 1975, 70-71; Ridgway 1992, 46-49, 52-53.

³⁷⁵ Ridgway 1992, 49.

³⁷⁶ *Pithekoussai I*, 197-223, plan A II bis.

³⁷⁷ Humphreys 1983, 98-99.

probable that a tall stele with an image of a man with sword and walking stick of a comparable date found nearby is related to the shaft grave.³⁷⁸ Although similar in size to the slightly later South Hill (30 m in diameter and 5 m high) at the Kerameikos, Mound G is the largest known Archaic Greek mound in volume at 2600 m³ of earth.³⁷⁹ The large size of the mound and the stele with the image of a man with weapons indicate that the individual in the original shaft grave may have been important or significant in some way.³⁸⁰ From the sixth to early fifth centuries, the following half century after the erection of the mound, over eleven shaft graves were cut into the mound and two smaller mounds were erected on its western edge. Humphreys interprets the shaft graves as kin of the individual buried in the shaft grave under the mound using it as a burial ground. The continued use of the mound for burials into the late fifth century is quite unique as it represents rare monumental burial practices in Athens in this period.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ *Kerameikos VII*, 13, fig. 3.

³⁷⁹ Morris 1987, 131; Knigge 1991, 101, 105. Large mounds were relatively common funerary monuments throughout antiquity (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 309). In this period, very large mounds could be found in Etruria and in Lydia. Etruscan mounds could be as large as 50 m in diameter and 12-15 m high (Izzet 2007, 92-93). The Lydian burial mounds at Bin Tepe (meaning literally, in Turkish, 'a thousand mounds') outside of Sardis vary greatly in size: the non-royal mounds range from 1-15 m high and 10-40 m in diameter (Russin and Hanfmann 1983, 54), whereas the largest of the massive Royal Mounds (that attributed to Alyattes) is 50 m high and 200 m in diameter (Russin and Hanfmann 1983, 54). The similarities between the burial mounds in these two cultures, emphasized by Dennis in 1848 as part of a diffusionist model connecting the origins of the Etruscan elite with Lydia, have been explored and ultimately found to be general in nature by Hanfmann (Russin and Hanfmann 1983, 55-56). Hanfmann and Russin, therefore, suggest that the mounds in both regions are the "products of similar socioeconomic structures or models, expressions of royal and feudal classes anxious to show military power and wealth", (Russin and Hanfmann 1983, 56). This is likely the case for the mounds in Greece (exchanging 'elite' for the word 'feudal') and Phrygia as well.

³⁸⁰ The suggestion by Kübler that the shaft grave under Mound G belonged to Solon is highly speculative and probably not tenable (1973, 172). See *Kerameikos IX*, 10n26 for criticism of the suggestion and a perhaps equally speculative attribution of the grave and mound to the Alkmaionidai.

³⁸¹ Morris 1992, 132-34.

The Rundbau, erected about a century earlier, also had continual burials set into it over time. It was constructed sometime in the early seventh century over a single shaft grave (grave 5).³⁸² The mound was the largest in the Kerameikos in the seventh century and could be associated with the inhumation of a pony (grave 9), but only if we accept a date for grave 5 ca. 650.³⁸³ The mound was used for another burial around the middle of the seventh century (grave 8). In the sixth and fifth centuries burials continued to be set into the Rundbau.

Mound G and the Rundbau both had prominent original burials and experienced a significant number of secondary inhumations over time, in which later generations buried their dead and were buried. Similar mounds elsewhere in Attica at Petreza, Vourva, and Velanideza underwent a similar process with later burials set into them.³⁸⁴ Whether or not there is a biological descent relationship among the individuals associated with a given tumulus, it seems that there is an idea of descent linking later individuals and burials with the individual in the earliest burial under the tumulus. As in genealogies, later generations tap into the honour, prestige, or importance of the earliest ancestor. That the burials in both Mound G and the Rundbau in the Kerameikos continue over a substantial period of time and the physical prominence of the two mounds, suggests that the idea of descent operating at

³⁸² Knigge dates grave 5 to the Early Protoattic period close to its terminus post quem (provided by Late Geometric IIb/Early Protoattic sherds in the mound) because it lies parallel to grave 6, which dates to Late Geometric IIb (*Kerameikos XII*, 61-63). Morris offers an alternative date ca. 650, dating grave 5 close to the terminus ante quem provided by grave 8, which cuts into it and had Middle Corinthian II pottery (1987, 130). Although he admits that the evidence is strong in neither case, he offers the interpretation that grave 5 and grave 9 (the burial of a pony on the edge of the mound) could have belonged to the same grand funeral in which the mound was built up, and that they both occurred along with grave 8, since it was next to grave 9.

³⁸³ Morris makes this suggestion (1987, 130).

³⁸⁴ Humphreys 1983, 101.

each mound is not that of an average household over a few generations, but rather that of a politically or socially important family or individuals with a vested interest in maintaining or creating a familial connection to the dead buried under and within the tumulus.

The lengthy expression of descent and the prominence of the earliest burials are not really that common. The most common idea of descent in Early Greek burials seems to reflect the generations of household groups over much shorter time spans or with much fewer secondary burials (e.g., fifty years at Vroulia or the reuse of tombs in the Argolid only once or twice). There appears to be two registers of descent ideas in Early Greece, one establishing a lengthy genealogical style connection to the distinguished dead and the distant past and the other expressing the generations of connected households.

Households and Generations of Households

If burial areas were used by households over generations, in time several households could potentially have used the same area, as the original household expands and perhaps produces further households over a generation or two. The plot could no longer simply belong to one household, but to the households of at least some of the offspring of that household, creating a group of households burying their dead in the same spot. Such a group is what I term a generational group of households, that is, the group of households connected by ideas of descent created by the growth and dividing off of households over generations. This is similar to what Morris calls a truncated descent group.³⁸⁵ Here, however, I want to emphasize the concept of households and their composition over generations rather than the concept of relatedness through procreation or a model of biological procreation. The two

³⁸⁵ Morris 1987, 90-91.

ideas are certainly interconnected - an idea of descent connects households over generations. But the household idea concerns the kinship group acting as a group, whereas the descent idea concerns the understanding of relatedness over time through procreation.

I do not suggest that such generational groups of households are clearly defined groups. Their boundaries would have been rather porous or ill-defined as households changed over time with birth, death, and marriage. At some point, moreover, a group would have to break off and establish a burial location of its own, or else our evidence would suggest the continual use of burial plots over significantly long periods of time, which it does not. An inscription from Liopesi of ca. 540 BCE seems to provide an example of such a transition, or at least the establishment of a burial location or marker:

Οἱμοι Πεδιάρχο | τῷ Ἐνπεδιῶνος.
Πεδιάρχος ἄρχει τῶ<v> σ|ε<μάτῶν.

Alas, for Pediarchos son of Empedion.
Pediarchos begins the tombs.³⁸⁶

This inscription suggests that Pediarchos, as Humphreys interprets, is not to be buried among his ancestors but is to establish his own set of tombs in which his descendents will be buried, his children and his children's children.³⁸⁷ Perhaps this is where the generational group of the households of Empedion truncated, or perhaps it is as Humphreys suggests, that Pediarchos predeceased his parents, and they intended to be buried alongside him. In either case, we do see the beginning of what appears to be a group of tombs.

³⁸⁶ Pfohl no. 57 = *SEG* iii 56 = *IG* i³ 1267.

³⁸⁷ Humphreys 1982, 94.

Such generational groups of households acted as groups insofar as burying their dead in the same location or within the same plot, and perhaps maintaining the plot, constructing enclosing walls, and in some cases erecting monuments. But whether such a group would act as a group in other concerns is not clear. The burial evidence does not immediately suggest that that was the case, other than perhaps in efforts to achieve notoriety for political or social benefit from impressive enclosure walls, monumental burials, and statuary, although there is limited evidence for the latter two in family plots.

So what do we make of the evidence within plots? How does the household relate to the burial ground and vice versa? We could reconstruct hypothetical family trees by age and burial date, essentially working back from the burial data as Carter does at the Pantanello Necropolis in the *chora* of Metaponto. Although most of the burials there are later in date, a few of the family burial groups identified by Carter, including family group 10.3 discussed above, have burials that can be dated to the late Archaic period.³⁸⁸ At least seven of the hypothesized family groups have burials that date to the middle to late sixth century, and one, family group 8.2, has burials that date to the early sixth century.³⁸⁹ Although the dating is not always secure, there are enough potentially pre-500 burials to see the clustering or grouping of burials in the beginnings of the necropolis at the crossroads. Carter extrapolates

³⁸⁸ Although these early burials belong to a period in which the Pantanello Necropolis could be considered a 'mixed necropolis' of Greek and indigenous Italian burials and burial styles (*Metaponto Necropoleis*, 169-71), since we are considering kinship, family groups, and potential intentional grouping on the part of ancient people, it seems reasonable to include whatever burials appear to be connected, whether they fall into one ethnic category or another. That the burials may be grouped in an at least partly Greek context, is enough to justify their inclusion in a study of Early Greek ideas of kinship, which probably knew no specific firm cultural boundaries. On the *polis*, ethnicity, and mixed populations in the western *poleis* in the Archaic period, see Lomas 2000, 173-77.

³⁸⁹ Carter's hypothesized family groups with at least one burial in the middle to late sixth century include: 2, 5.3-4, 7.1, 7.2, 8.4, 10.3, 18.1.

from all of the hypothesized family groupings an overall organization of rectangular family plots for the necropolis. It is hard to say, however, that such organization would have existed for the earliest burials in the necropolis, given their very small number. The family groups with earlier burials, however, are for the most part significantly spaced apart topographically (fig. 5.1), which could indicate a certain level of organization in claims to, rights to, or customary uses of specific areas along the crossroads by certain families.

As discussed above, the hypothesized kinship groupings have been tested for biological relatedness, but they can only be supported mildly by the osteological evidence, since only 10.3 and 18.1 had any evidence either way concerning biological kinship. The osteological evidence, however, does not contradict any of the groupings. Carter admittedly constructs (or re-constructs) the hypothetical family groupings according to an idea of household; however, that it appears to work relatively well, may be a sign that such kinship organization by households over a few generations was at play at the Pantanello Necropolis and in its organization. That there was at least one group apparently comprised of only female burials, however, suggests that generational households were not the only type of grouping at the necropolis (perhaps a household missing its males or a group of priestesses?)³⁹⁰

Data like those Carter works with at Metaponto, however, are not available for most sites. And even the data analysed by Carter under an assumption of conjugal households lack key demographic groups with which to reconstruct family trees; there are too few males. Although the presence of burials of a variety of sexes and ages and the intermingling of child burials among adult burials in a group can suggest that the group belonged to a household,

³⁹⁰ Family group 5.3 consisted entirely of adult female burials (*Metaponto Necropoleis*, 159).

such a burial group will not necessarily look like a living household. Living households change over time, growing, decreasing, and splitting off in cycles of birth, death, and marriage; burials, however, although they are made over time, are static and unchanging. Burial groups are groups of the dead, and as such we cannot expect burials to be a direct reflection of a living active population.³⁹¹ Burials in a given group may also not represent all of the dead of a household. Often the ratio of male to female (the sex ratio) is unbalanced to an unnatural degree. This is the case at the Pantanello Necropolis. The sex ratio at birth is generally accepted to be around 105 males for every 100 females, but tends to even out over early childhood.³⁹² In ancient necropoleis this ratio is seldom seen for a large number of possible reasons, among the most commonly suggested are: the burial or death of males away from a city because of war or loss at sea, military garrisons or settlements, polygamy, differences in citizenship status, infant exposure or neglect of one sex in particular, and differences in mortality rates.³⁹³ At the Pantanello Necropolis, the overall ratio of female to male burials was almost 2:1, and at the necropolis at Pithekoussai where the same ratio for the period ca. 750-700 BCE was 3:2.³⁹⁴ Children and infants, especially newborns, are also usually under-represented in overall burial numbers, given the high infant and child mortality

³⁹¹ On paleodemography, see Sallares 1991, 107-29; Morris 1992, 72-91. Cf. Pomeroy (1997, 116-17), who is more optimistic about the ability of Greek burials to approximately reflect the population, albeit with caveats and corrections.

³⁹² T. G. Parkin 1997, 98.

³⁹³ On sex ratios in ancient societies, see T. G. Parkin 1997, 98-104; Morris 1992, 81-90. See *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 145-48, 154-55, for hypotheses considered for the uneven sex ratio at the Pantanello Necropolis.

³⁹⁴ *Metaponto: Metaponto Necropoleis*, 145-47; Pithekoussai: Becker 1995, 276.

rates that have long been considered to have existed in the ancient Greek world.³⁹⁵ For example, Morris uses the comparisons of ratios of infant/child to youth/adult burials from model age structures and from Geometric Athenian burials, to show that a large portion of the infant/child deceased are absent from the burial record at Athens for certain periods.³⁹⁶ Carter notes a similar situation at the Pantanello Necropolis in the fourth century.³⁹⁷ These ‘missing’ members of households could be absent for a number of reasons, including differential treatment of members of households, such as separate necropoleis and burial practices not as traceable in the material record.³⁹⁸

So what could the composition of the dead of a household and of a generational group of households over a period of fifty to sixty years (a common time span suggested for the use of several Early Greek burial plots and enclosures) have looked like? How many generations could the household and its offshoots have seen? How many dead could they have produced? Any answer of course can only be hypothetical. But with that in mind, perhaps we may use demographics to make some sense of the burial groups, rather than the other way around.

Most demographic reconstructions of ancient Greek households are for the Classical and Hellenistic periods and usually based on Athenian evidence, namely house sizes, inscriptions, and law court speeches.³⁹⁹ The sources, although they are certainly scant and

³⁹⁵ See Finley 1981, 159; Morris 1987, 57-58; 1992, 78-81; Golden 1988, 155; 1990, 83; Gallant 1991, 20-21; Sallares 1991, 117-18.

³⁹⁶ Morris 1987, 62.

³⁹⁷ *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 144-45.

³⁹⁸ More on differential treatment in burial based on age and sex below, p. 213.

³⁹⁹ See, e.g., Gallant 1991, 11-33.

difficult for those periods, are even more so for Early Greece. The textual sources and inscriptions from Early Greece just do not provide the kind of information useful for reconstructing households. Domestic architecture provides a few clues, but mostly concerning overall demographics.⁴⁰⁰

Gallant works out a reconstruction of the life cycle of the ancient Greek household from marriage practices, life expectancies, estimations of average nuclear family size (parents and children), and co-residency patterns including adults not part of the conjugal reproductive group (table 5.2).⁴⁰¹ Although these factors are determined largely by Classical and later evidence, Gallant provides demographic comparison that could as easily be applied to the Early Greek world, especially in the absence of other data. Besides, for our purposes here, exact precision is impossible and is not called for; only approximate numbers with which to conceptualize the use of space are possible or necessary. Gallant postulates a twenty-four-year cycle divided into three year periods in which a patrilocal household changes over time from a household with four adults through children, marriages, and death to a two adult household.⁴⁰² The cycle then presumably repeats itself.

⁴⁰⁰ Housing and households are discussed in the following chapter. Little demographic work has been done on Early Greek housing, partly because of the limited number of houses at a limited number of sites. When it is done, it is concerned with overall population or population growth and either a model of household composition is adopted or household composition is irrelevant. For example, in order to make population estimates of Megara Hyblaia from housing, De Angelis adopts Gallant's and Salleres' numbers for the household (2003, 41-45). Green's study of the house sizes at Zagora in the late eighth century is concerned with rates of growth of the physical house as they may reflect rates of population growth, and so a model of the household members is not called for (1990).

⁴⁰¹ Gallant 1991, 17-30.

⁴⁰² Gallant's numbers owe much to the basic demographic picture derived from average ages at death put forward by Angel over a number of publications (1947, 1969, 1975). Although Pomeroy probably appropriately adjusts the age of marriage for most young women from Gallant's 16-19 to 14-15 years, it will not really affect our hypothetical numbers of dead (Pomeroy 1996, 5-6).

If we can accept Gallant's figures, even just tentatively, we might expect approximately two adult deaths per household over a twenty-four-year period and perhaps a number of child and infant burials, which may or may not be traceable in the burial record (see table 5.3 for hypothetical figures derived here). Let us stick to adult burials for the moment. If hypothetically all three children marry and form households that remain connected somehow to the starting household and each produce three offspring in turn, the household and its offshoot households might produce another six adult burials over a slightly overlapping twenty-four-year period. Over two generations a connected household group might ideally produce ten adult burials. This is obviously a highly idealized and imaginative scenario not taking into account a variety of other possible individual scenarios. I am working on purpose with the highest approximated numbers here, assuming that no adolescent children left the group of related generational household (which seems highly doubtful in reality). I am investigating the extremes. If we take the lowest numbers that still produce children, there would be six adult burials over two slightly overlapping life cycles: two adults from the first generation of the generational household group, two from the preceding generation, and two from the following generation. If we take our hypothetical household groups to three life cycles, we could have twenty-eight adult burials on the high end and eight burials on the low end. No matter which scenario is chosen, the figures would vary according to a multitude of factors, for example, the number of females offspring marrying out of the family; young adult offspring dying in battle or childbirth; the number of surviving children in each generation; the members of the household not directly included in the reproductive cycle; how many members marry, remarry, and are widowed; and at which point the descent line truncates and new generational groups of households commence their own burial practices.

These numbers are extremely approximate indeed; the exercise in hypothetical numbers is meant to consider and conceptualize who could be filling burial plots on what scale over time. The numbers are enough to give us a very loose idea of how many groups could perhaps be represented by the number of individuals buried over a certain period of use.⁴⁰³ This gives us an idea of the scale of the groups by whom burial plots were used. Were they huge groups? Were they small? To take an example: an eighth-century *peribolos* wall in the Agora south of the Tholos enclosed eighteen burials made over an approximately fifty- to sixty-year period (ca.750-700 BCE).⁴⁰⁴ The burials have no clear plan, being in alignment neither with the wall nor with one another. The grave types are similar and the enclosure contained both adult and child burials. None of the burials could really be considered wealthy or extravagant, although there were some traces of what is likely ritual funerary activity at a few of the burials, for example, the remains of animal sacrifice or pyres.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰³ Although Sallares casts doubt on the usefulness of such models for trying to understand population growth or change (1991, 107-8), for my purposes here some approximate numbers of household members are all that is needed to get a sense of scale.

⁴⁰⁴ Young 1939, 13-20. There were twenty graves in all, two of which are successive burials (graves 19 and 20) and two of which (Graves 1 and 2) are much later. I have followed Brann's absolute dating of the enclosure here. Brann criticizes Young's absolute dating of the cemetery and, on the basis of the pottery chronology she establishes for the Late Geometric and Protoattic pottery in the Athenian Agora, she back dates it by twenty-five years from ca.725-675 BCE to ca.750-700 BCE (*Athenian Agora VIII*, 4-8, 111). Despite the change in the absolute date of the enclosure, Young's the relative dating of the enclosure remains uncontested and span of time the enclosure was in continuous use remains at around 50-60 years, on the basis of the relative dating of the ceramic evidence in grave 22, which was the earliest, and graves 3 and 4, which were the latest before two later urn burials were made in the early sixth century (Young 1939, 15, 23-27).

⁴⁰⁵ Young 1939, 19-20.

Young estimates two generations of use of this plot by a family group, which seems reasonable in terms of numbers and ages distribution, but so does three generations.⁴⁰⁶ A period of approximately fifty to sixty years could hypothetically accommodate either two successive or three overlapping life cycles of related households. Eighteen burials could correspond to three overlapping life cycles of related households, given that our idealized low and high scenarios produced eight and twenty-eight adult burials over three such generations. Factor in child and infant mortality rates, deaths of young adults, non-married kin, widows and widowers, and even possibly slaves and our conceptualizing may change, but at least we have a loose idea of household numbers with which to begin. Eighteen burials could be made by a group of households over three generations or by a group of large households over two generations with more than three offspring in a generation or a number of members not in the reproductive cycle. If some, none, or many of the burials belonged to children and infants, then that might affect the interpretation; fortunately, they are usually discernible enough in the mortuary record to be able to incorporate into an estimate. It may be, however, that some infants, especially newborns, are missing from the mortuary record, because they were buried elsewhere or even disposed of. The absence of some members of households is, perhaps, to be expected. In the Agora burial plot there were ten child urn burials “tucked in wherever there was room.”⁴⁰⁷ That ten of the eighteen burials belonged to children changes the picture. By comparing our hypothetical burial numbers for groups of small households and for groups of larger households, we may conceptualize the eight adult burials and ten child burials in the enclosure as the burials of a generational group either of

⁴⁰⁶ Young 1939, 15-16.

⁴⁰⁷ Young 1939, 15.

fairly small households over three life cycles or larger households over two life cycles. That the period of use for the plot was estimated at fifty to sixty years, makes me lean more toward the generational group of smaller households over three overlapping life cycles.

For Young, that it was indeed a family group was indicated by the successive burial, the respect for earlier burials, the intermingling of adult and child burials, and the effort apparently made to economize on space, which resulted in a multitude of orientations. Angel makes a case from the skeletal material for individuals being related biologically; however, as noted above, the evidence and techniques available to him were limited to mostly cranial data and there were no data from the population outside the enclosure with which to make the comparisons crucial to determining levels of biological relatedness within the group. Although the number of burials supports that area could have been the burial ground of a generational group of households over two or three generations, ultimately this interpretation comes down to orientation and the existence of the enclosure wall to suggest kinship.

A walled tomb enclosure at Vari had a similar number of burials (twenty-five), although they were probably made over a much longer period of time from the late seventh through mid-fifth centuries.⁴⁰⁸ Within the enclosure were five stone built tombs, one of which seems to take pride of place in the centre of the enclosure, two *enchytrismos* child burials, and several inhumations. Some of the sculptured monuments found at the site may have lined the walls of the enclosure. Outside were five burial mounds, two of which had burials set into them over time: mound 3 in the late sixth century and mound 5 in the mid-sixth to mid-fifth centuries. Mound 1 contained one burial of the later seventh century.

⁴⁰⁸ Stais 1891; Karo 1936, col. 123-25; Riemann 1937, col. 121-24; Lemerle 1937, 451; Walter 1940, col. 175-78; Humphreys 1983, 99-100.

Unfortunately the site is not well published, and crucial information concerning the dating of the walls and stone built tombs is incomplete.⁴⁰⁹ It seems likely, though, that Humphreys is correct in her assessment that this site was a burial ground for the local elite given the monumentality of the enclosure and the mounds.⁴¹⁰ Unfortunately the dating of the individual burials is not very clear from the published reports, but if the burials in both the mounds and the enclosures were made over a period of approximately one hundred seventy-five years, we could be dealing with several generations of an initial household or with several households, one of whom used the area inside the enclosure for its burials. It seems to me more probable that this site was the cemetery of a few elite families.

Clusters of burials based on the generations of households have been suggested by Buchner and Ridgway at Pithekoussai in the last half of the eighth century.⁴¹¹ These family plots are determined by the clustering of mounds covering cremation burials into isolated groups. These tumuli are accompanied by inhumation graves of children, infants, and some adults as well as *enchytrismos* graves of infants. The mounds either overlap one another in some fashion or are placed next to a pre-existing mound. For example, the cluster of mounds created by tombs 159-168 (fig. 5.6), encompassed inhumations of infants, children, and an

⁴⁰⁹ The site, partially excavated in 1936 by Oikonomos and Stavropoulos, has only been published in a series of overviews of archaeological work in Greece in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* [Archaiologikon Deltion] (Stais 1891), *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Karo 1936, col. 123-25; Riemann 1937, col. 121-24; Walter 1940, col. 175-78) and *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (Lemerle 1937, 451). A different area at the site with another tomb enclosure at Vari with graves from the sixth to fifth centuries was excavated in the early 1960s, but again published only in overviews in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* [Archaiologikon Deltion] (Andreiomenou 1963, 37-39; Kallipolitis 1964; 1967, 112-17).

⁴¹⁰ Humphreys 1983, 99.

⁴¹¹ Buchner 1975, 70-71; Ridgway 1992, 52-54.

adolescent and *enchytrismos* burials of infants.⁴¹² This organization of various burial types in clusters recognisable by tumuli present an image of plots in which households buried their dead of all ages and sexes over a few generations.⁴¹³

The Geometric enclosure at Corinth contained three graves and two pits that may have been the burials of children.⁴¹⁴ It seems probable that the grouping and isolation of these burials by a wall of upright slabs of stone indicates and was intended to indicate a special relationship between the individuals buried in that spot, as Young suggests, most likely kinship.⁴¹⁵ That the group may include burials of children, suggests that this may have been the burial place for a generation of a household. It is possible, as Young tentatively posits, that the burials outside but aligned with the enclosure are slightly later burials belonging to the same family.⁴¹⁶ There is not much to support that theory, however, other than orientation, alignment, and Young's dating system, which ultimately rests on orientation and alignment.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹² *Pithekoussai I*. From the plans (Plan A II, A II bis, A III) it appears that tombs 390, 434-439, 487, 490, and 492, at least, are encompassed by the cluster of the mounds of tombs 159-168.

⁴¹³ The grouping and overlapping of mounds in the Kerameikos, as pointed out by Humphreys (1983, 98), is somewhat similar to the situation in the eighth century at Pithekoussai, which may also be evidence of kinship grouping on a household level, but the very crowded conditions of the Kerameikos make such determinations more difficult.

⁴¹⁴ *Corinth XIII*, 15.

⁴¹⁵ *Corinth XIII*, 15.

⁴¹⁶ *Corinth XIII*, 15.

⁴¹⁷ As Young points out, only eleven of the forty-two cist graves ultimately identified as Geometric contained material that allowed them to be dated on the basis of burial goods; the rest, which were empty of burial goods, had to be dated by relative orientation and alignment with those graves (*Corinth XIII*, 14-15).

Several sites in Attica also have such enclosures, although many of the sites are not well published; either they are published mainly in preliminary reports or else have been published well after excavation by other archaeologists. The Kerameikos, of course, is the exception. The so-called Plattenbau constructed ca. 740-30 BCE in the Kerameikos enclosed at least thirteen burials (graves 51-63), possibly two generations of a household group, but in the crowding of the Kerameikos it is difficult to establish reasonably an intentional burial group.⁴¹⁸

One of the not well-published enclosures in Attica is at Nea Ionia, where the Protogeometric cemetery consists of a small cluster of six burials with the scant remains of a curved wall. We know too little about the wall's dimensions to be able to surmise the area it may have originally enclosed or what its purpose was.⁴¹⁹ Smithson suggests that most simply it could be a wall enclosing a burial plot or a retaining wall supporting the terrace of burials. She seems to lean toward the former, suggesting that the wall and the associated burials could be an enclosure within a larger cemetery that covered the hillside. Too little of the surrounding area had remained intact by the time of excavation and so the hypothesis is impossible to investigate, although Protogeometric pottery fragments, perhaps the remains of burial goods, in the peripheral area may suggest that a burial ground is a possibility.⁴²⁰

The six Protogeometric burials at Nea Ionia consist of child and adult graves (four apparently adult cremations and two child inhumations).⁴²¹ They appear, from stylistic

⁴¹⁸ *Kerameikos V*, 17-19.

⁴¹⁹ Smithson 1961, 152-53.

⁴²⁰ Smithson 1961, 154.

⁴²¹ The sexing done by the grave goods is not secure (Smithson 1961, 151).

analysis of the pottery, to have been made over short time in last half of the 10th century. I do not find it wholly convincing, however, on the grounds of the limited ceramic evidence that all six burials occurred, as Smithson suggests, within an extremely limited period of “a few years, even weeks.”⁴²² The evidence of the hand of one artisan and one workshop on which Smithson makes this assessment, is not very tight, but it remains a possibility. In any case, what we may have in this small cluster of burials is a burial location, possibly enclosed by a wall, for members of a household over one and perhaps two generations at most.

When we have such small numbers of burials grouped together over a short period of time, it is relatively easy to suggest that those few individuals were connected by some idea of kinship. When the numbers in an enclosure get larger but the period of use remains short, we have to postulate larger kinship groups, look for internal divisions (which may be rather arbitrary), or postulate some other factor for the ‘grouping’ of a larger number of burials within an enclosure. And it is the fact of the enclosure that seems to make all the difference here. It is the simultaneous act of isolating and collecting together the burials by placing them behind a wall that is significant in some way. Just what that way is, is not clear. Does the act of isolating and collecting together so many burials mean that the burials belong to, for example, the same kinship group, the same social or economic strata, or the same neighbourhood?

This question arises particularly with the Archaic cemetery in the Agora in Athens. Thompson and Wycherley interpret the cemetery as a large family burial plot.⁴²³ Its comparatively large size for a burial enclosure (15-16 m by 29 m) and the number of burials,

⁴²² Smithson 1961, 155.

⁴²³ *Athenian Agora XIV*, 10-12.

however, bring it into doubt as a kinship group. Bourriot concludes that it was an ordinary public Archaic cemetery, from the lack of organization, unity among the burial rites, wealth displayed by the tombs, and the chronological distribution of the datable burials, with only a few in the Geometric period, and most concentrated to ca. 550-500 BCE.⁴²⁴ The significance of the wealth of the graves in determining the enclosure's use could be disputed, given that most burials in early Athens were relatively modest and the presence of the marble sarcophagus in the enclosure; however, the rest of the argument holds. Morris sees it as an unusual burial ground, since it was situated within the city walls after 700 BCE, when burials began almost exclusively to be made outside of the city walls.⁴²⁵ He attributes this atypical situation to the possible importance of the people buried within, which is suggested by the prominent location and the marble sarcophagus found in the enclosure. He posits that it could be the burial enclosure of an elite family group, even the family of Peisistratos. Humphreys writes that the enclosure provides little information concerning deliberate grouping of burials and so draws no conclusion from it.⁴²⁶ I agree somewhat with this assessment (it is in an exceptional and prominent location), but not entirely. Within the enclosure, there are no clear indications of grouping. If it was a family group, it would have had to have been a group of very large households to make the amount of burials in the enclosure over only a fifty-year period, probably the span of two generations, at most three. There were at least eighteen burials from the period of the height of the enclosure's use in the Archaic period (ca. 550-500 BCE), but most definitely more should be included in this

⁴²⁴ Bourriot 1976, 980-89.

⁴²⁵ Morris 1987, 67-68.

⁴²⁶ Humphreys 1983, 99.

number from the twenty-eight which could not be dated because of a lack of burial goods. There are only two child burials discernible among the eighteen intact burials (graves 3 and 15), but there may be more among the few cremation burials. In any case, there are not enough to greatly affect the numbers of adult burials. Therefore, I am not sure that the enclosure wall and the exceptionality of the location inside the city is enough to suggest that it is a large family group, even an important one. I would put forward tentatively that it was a burial ground of prominent individuals (given the exceptionality of location), maybe or maybe not in smaller family groups, but not necessarily *all* related or meant to be related to one another by kinship and that it was their prominence in the *polis* that afforded them this location and not kinship.

So what would the mortuary record of larger, even clan-type social or kinship groups look like? Two necropoleis at indigenous Italian sites may provide a useful comparison here. Similar to the burial clusters at Pithekoussai, the early grave clusters at the Iron Age necropolis at Osteria dell'Osa, an Italian site in Latium, consist of male, female, and child burials of varying age and showed differentiation in grave type and burial goods according to age and gender.⁴²⁷ Not initially detectable in the necropolis plan, the clusters were formed around distinct smaller clusters (around four to six burials) of male cremation shaft graves. Twelve clusters make up the core of the necropolis in its early stages in the ninth and eighth centuries. The clusters contain twenty-eight to fifty-three burials each (most have around thirty-five) and have been estimated to span approximately three decades. The clusters, in their numbers and make-up, look like the burial remains of what I call here generational

⁴²⁷ Bietti Sestieri 1992, 141-61. The similarities between the clusters Pithekoussai and Osteria dell'Osa may be explained by similar ideas about kinship and burial at the two sites, at least in the earlier period at Osteria dell'Osa, perhaps as a part of cultural mixing of a mixed population at Pithekoussai.

families. Bietti Sestieri similarly takes them as the “funerary equivalents of extended families” with a strong interest in descent along the male line.⁴²⁸ Unlike what I argue about generational families in the Early Greek world, however, she regards these extended families as segments of wider kinship groups (patrilineal descent groups or lineages), which she sees developing in the necropolis over time.⁴²⁹ Bietti Sestieri recognizes the development of patrilineal descent groups in the addition of more clusters, in the internal differentiation between burials not according to age or gender, in the increased periods of use, in changes in the distribution of burial goods, particularly weapons, and the spatial distribution of the burials, perhaps indicating branches of families.⁴³⁰ She sees the clusters as the beginning of lineages, which then she relates to the later Roman *gens*. Bietti Sestieri, however, admittedly interprets the necropolis and the clusters within a tribal framework from the outset, which may itself allow the anticipation the origins of the Roman *gens* in Latium.⁴³¹ It is possible that what we see at Osteria dell’Osa are indeed the burial remains of lineages. This is suggested by the use of the later clusters for burials over an extended period of time and the possible grouping of burials in branches, both of which would require active familial groups continuing to bury their dead in a particular place and maintaining that place as their own over time. The interest in descent which Bietti Sestieri observes in the burials and burial

⁴²⁸ Bietti Sestieri 1992, 146.

⁴²⁹ Bietti Sestieri 1992, 147, 202-3, 206-11.

⁴³⁰ For the entire list of factors, see Bietti Sestieri 1992, 202-3.

⁴³¹ Bietti Sestieri 1992, 2, 141. This anticipation of later Roman systems could perhaps be seen in Bietti Sestieri’s identification of those individuals who lack grave goods as *clientes*, who were members of defeated lineages (1992, 199-220, 241). See C. J. Smith 2006, 149, for reservations concerning this idea, namely the creation of one group out of many.

goods is less compelling, however, since interest in descent, as I have and will continue to argue, does not mean descent groups.⁴³² In any case, although the initial burial clusters in the early period at Osteria dell'Osa follow a similar pattern as those at Pithekoussai, the social and kinship structure that Bietti Sestieri sees reflected in the development of the necropolis at Osteria dell'Osa over time is not reflected in the necropoleis of the Early Greek world. Greek and even Greco-Italian necropoleis in this period do not exhibit the length of use, internal organization, and patterning of burial goods that Osteria dell'Osa does.

Cuozzo similarly considers the possibility of *gens*-like social-organization reflected in the mortuary record at Pontecagnano, an indigenous site near Salerno. She, however, approaches the question cautiously and considers also the possibility that the socio-political systems of early Italy varied depending on context.⁴³³ She investigates this through changes in burial practices. In the eighth century at Pontecagnano, burial locations were used for approximately one to two generations and the age and gender structures of burial groups suggest use by generational households. This changes at the end of the eighth century, at the start of the so-called Orientalizing period. Burial areas began to be used continually over a much lengthier time span, from the seventh century through the fifth century BCE.⁴³⁴ The mortuary record of this period suggests the development of a limited number of elite groups using new symbolic languages and reinventing tradition to exercise power and earn social prestige within their communities. This can be seen particularly in discrete burial groups

⁴³² See my discussion on descent systems and the Early Greek interest in descent in the synthesis of kinship ideas, p. 328-37.

⁴³³ Cuozzo 2003, 224-25.

⁴³⁴ Cuozzo 2003, 85-90, 125-28, 194-96.

with seemingly distinct preferences in material culture linking them to different areas of Italy.⁴³⁵ These large burial groups developed over several generations and included prestigious monumental tombs with burial goods. Although Cuzzo is rightfully cautious about seeing a *gens*-like socio-political structure at Pontecagnano, she does conclude that the evidence of the necropoleis suggests elite groups that, over centuries, recognized with continuity a common identity based on kinship.⁴³⁶ This is a much different mortuary record and organization of burials, which was done by large social groups probably based on kinship, than we see at necropoleis in the Early Greek world, which seem to have been organized by much smaller kinship groups.⁴³⁷

The sizes of hypothesized burial groups at Early Greek necropoleis in mainland Greece and in Greco-Italian settlements indicate that if they were based on kinship, some may have belonged to individual households, while others may have belonged to generational groups of households. Some are small, less than ten or even less than five burials; some are larger, between twenty and thirty burials. There is no good evidence of large corporate descent groups.⁴³⁸ Only one large Archaic enclosure in or near the Agora hints at anything even like that, and it requires a particular interpretation in order to be thought of as an enclosure based on kinship.

⁴³⁵ Cuzzo 2003, 196-98.

⁴³⁶ Cuzzo 2003, 229-32.

⁴³⁷ This observation ties in well with C. J. Smith's conclusion that the Roman *gens* and the Greek *genos* ought not to be directly correlated. Instead, the comparison between the terms, concepts, and groups (the *genē* of later Athens) ought to be considered within a wider framework of socio-political change, namely the changing relationship between community, social groups, and kinship (2006, 140-43).

⁴³⁸ For similar conclusions, see Bourriot 1976, 999-1000, 1028-32; Antonaccio 1995, 250-53.

Burying Men, Women, and Children

The mortuary record is not only useful in studying kinship for what it may or may not reveal about groups but is also useful for what it may reveal about relationships between household members. For the Early Greek period (and beyond into the Classical and Hellenistic periods), there are no discernible differences between male and female burials and no discernible differences between younger and older adult burials. Sometimes sexing burials has been done by grave offerings, but this has often proved an unreliable measure for ancient Greece. Although Stromberg is able to determine some grave objects that seem to belong to one sex or another, the difference is not easily perceived and is a small difference at most, useful to scholars mostly when the osteological evidence fails.⁴³⁹ To produce reliable results, the sex of burials must ultimately be determined biologically through skeletal remains, and to be thorough also through double blind tests, since determining sex from remains with varying degrees of survival is a difficult task and possibly subject to observer bias.⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, burial objects differed among all burials; not all female or even most female burials had loom-weights and most male burials did not contain weapons and some female burials did. That burial objects *can* be different between men and women, does not necessarily mean a standing difference between all or even most female and male burials. Ultimately their burial types are indistinguishable.

⁴³⁹ Stromberg 1993; see also Lemos 2002, 188-89, for distinctions in grave goods in the Protogeometric period.

⁴⁴⁰ Double blind tests are intended to negate the bias of the observer by not revealing what is in the control group and what is in the experimental group. In the case of osteological identifications, control bones of known sex are mixed in with the bones to be identified. On the osteological identification of sex from burial remains, see Morris 1992, 81-82 and Parker Pearson 1999, 95-96.

Although there are no discernible or obviously meaningful differences in the rites for men and women, the ratios of the sexes at necropoleis can present something of a problem. The reasons for the high ratio of female burials at some sites are debatable. Becker suggests that high number of female burials at Pithekoussai reflects a high number of unmarried women in Pithekoussai, perhaps because Greek settlers were marrying local women or because there were numerous female slaves.⁴⁴¹ These interpretations do not consider the possibility, however, that the mortuary record may not reflect the actual living population at Pithekoussai. Carter offers several possibilities for the similar but even more pronounced high ratio of females to males at the Pantanello Necropolis near Metaponto, including female necropoleis, males buried elsewhere because of war or political reasons, or a lack of males in the population.⁴⁴² Just what the answer is, though, we can only surmise, and it seems to have been a phenomenon more of the late fifth and fourth centuries than of the sixth and early fifth centuries: the sex ratio at the necropolis for the period 600-501 BCE close to 1:1 (although the sample is small), whereas it is 2.29:1 for the following period 500-301 BCE.⁴⁴³

Distinctions in the burial practices employed for children seem to be quite common in Early Greece. Child and infant burials are recognisable through osteological evidence, usually the size of the skeletal remains, and the size of the burials and burial containers. The physical remains of children and infants, however, do not survive well in the archaeological record, and accordingly the sex, especially of young children and infants, is very hard and often impossible to determine. Recognizing child and infant burials is not without its

⁴⁴¹ Becker 1995, 276-79.

⁴⁴² *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 153-55.

⁴⁴³ *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 509.

difficulties; for example, by what age and/or by what biological criteria do we determine if an individual was an infant, child, adolescent, or adult at the time of death?⁴⁴⁴ The dividing lines between age categories are hard, if not impossible, for us to know, even assuming that such things were both closely observed and relatively fixed. The age line may not have been a precise measurement and could have been determined more by rites of passage than by number of years.⁴⁴⁵

It has already been mentioned that the expected number of child and infant burials from a society with a high infant and child mortality rate is generally not represented in the archaeological burial record.⁴⁴⁶ Given that the physical remains of infants and children often do not survive well archaeologically, our expectations should be lowered in the ability of the mortuary evidence to reflect the population of those who did not survive infancy or childhood in Early Greece.⁴⁴⁷ But, as Morris points out, lack of survival alone cannot account for all ‘missing’ child and infant burials, since in some periods there are very many child burials and in others extremely few, and there is no reason to suggest that remains survive better in some periods than in others.⁴⁴⁸ It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that many deceased infants or children were handled in ways not particularly visible in the archaeological record.

⁴⁴⁴ See Perry 2005.

⁴⁴⁵ See Houby-Nielsen 2000, 153-55, for differences between the treatment of infants and that of children in burial as seen through grave goods in Athens.

⁴⁴⁶ See p. 197 and for references, note 395.

⁴⁴⁷ On the survival of infant and child remains, see Perry 2005, 90.

⁴⁴⁸ Morris 1992, 78-79.

Differences in burial rite and types according to age can be observed for most Early Greek necropoleis, but how that difference is manifested varies from site to site.⁴⁴⁹ *Enchytrismos* burial, a small sarcophagus, and a small cist burial are the most common types of burial for children in the mortuary record. Children tended not to be cremated.⁴⁵⁰ At Pithekoussai in the late eighth century, the rite of inhumation with grave goods seems to have been reserved for children and the rite of *enchytrismos* burial was reserved for infants and possibly still-born babies.⁴⁵¹ Distinctions between adults and children in grave type also remained in Athens from the Geometric period to the Classical period and beyond.⁴⁵²

Distinctions between adult and child burials can also be discerned in the location of burial.⁴⁵³ Differences in location varied greatly from period to period and site to site, even within the same period and same site. Often child burials were placed in and among adult burials in the same area or plot (e.g., in the small enclosure at Corinth, in the large Archaic cemetery in the Agora, in the possible enclosure at New Ionia, in the burial clusters at Pithekoussai, and in between and among adult ‘groups’ in the necropolis at Vroulia).⁴⁵⁴ Sometimes they have their own separate areas in necropoleis or even their own necropoleis

⁴⁴⁹ See Houby-Nielsen 2000, 152-55, for the modes of Athenian child burials and their distinctiveness from adult burials. See also Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 188-90. For the Protogeometric period, see Lemos 2002, 188.

⁴⁵⁰ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 189-90; Garland 2001, 78-79.

⁴⁵¹ Ridgway 1992, 48.

⁴⁵² Morris 1989, 315-16; Houby-Nielsen 2000, 163.

⁴⁵³ See Houby-Nielsen 2000 for a detailed study of child burial locations in Athens as they change over time. See also Morris 1987, 57-62; 1989, 315-16.

⁴⁵⁴ Corinth: *Corinth XIII*, 15. Nea Ionia: Smithson 1961, 151. Pithekoussai: Ridgway 1992, 52-54; *Pithekoussai I*. Vroulia: Morris 1992, 183.

(for example, the child necropoleis at Smyrna and at Thorikos, or the clusters of infant burials (e.g., grave 266 with possibly fourteen burials) in the North Cemetery at Corinth.⁴⁵⁵ There are also cases where adult burials seem to be phased out and the area becomes used for child burials only.⁴⁵⁶ Sometimes children are found buried in or near living areas, for example, the burial of a child with a piglet under the floor of a Geometric building in the Agora in Athens.⁴⁵⁷

The geography of child burials, specifically how to interpret the increases and decreases in child burials and the changes in locations of child burials in Athens, has been a subject of interest for a number of scholars. For example, Morris deals with the topic as part of overall thesis in which he sees the development of the *polis* idea in Athens in the late eighth century. He interprets the burial of children and adults together in the late eighth century as a sign of the adoption of a *polis* idea and the division of child and adult burials topographically ca. 700 BCE as a sign of a reversion to an elite idea.⁴⁵⁸ Houby-Nielsen, focusing on the importance put on deceased children and infants, rejects the theory that young children were unimportant to Greek society until the fourth century, when the sources for studying ancient childhood increase significantly.⁴⁵⁹ From the distribution of child burials in Athens over time, she argues that changes in burial practices were in keeping with

⁴⁵⁵ Smyrna: Nicholls 1958-59, 44-46; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 190. Thorikos: *Thorikos I*, 16-17. Corinth: *Corinth XIII*, 70, 217.

⁴⁵⁶ Morris 1989, 316n118.

⁴⁵⁷ Burr 1933, 552-54; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 55.

⁴⁵⁸ Morris 1987.

⁴⁵⁹ Houby-Nielsen 2000.

the changes from a 'big man' society to a 'state society'. As children became politically and socially significant as part of "an ideology that saw children as necessary for the survival of society and city-state," their prominence in burial practices increased and space was dedicated to children.⁴⁶⁰ Therefore Morris sees the separation of child and adult burials as a sign of excluding behaviour, whereas Houby-Nielsen sees it as a mark of importance. Of these two interpretations of the same phenomena in Athens, the increase in archaeologically visible child burials in the late eighth century and the separation of adult and child burials, I lean toward Houby-Nielsen's, since it better takes into account the continued importance of children to family and society, despite changes that may be seen archaeologically in burial practices.

Given that child and infant burial rites were usually distinct from adult rites, it is plausible to suggest that children continued to be afforded a special status in the household. We probably should not attribute, as Golden warns, distinctions in burial location or the lack of visibility in the burial record to the emotional detachment of ancient parents from young children brought on by the high infant mortality rate.⁴⁶¹ That there were distinct ritual practices for infants and children as opposed to adults can be interpreted in a number of ways, including emotional attachment. Kurtz and Boardman explain that child burials occur near or in living areas because there would be less ritual pollution from deceased children

⁴⁶⁰ Houby-Nielsen 2000, 163.

⁴⁶¹ Golden 1988; 1990, 82-87. Cf. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 55; Finley 1981, 159.

than from deceased adults.⁴⁶² Golden, however, suggests that such burials could be a sign of not wanting to part with a deceased child completely.⁴⁶³

Whatever the circumstances of the distinctiveness of child and infant burials, the fact remains that in the Early Greek world children and infants were considered special, different from adults as regards burial rites. We may extrapolate from this distinction in burial rites to a possibly meaningful distinction of children and infants within the household and society and a special status afforded them by those making the burials. No other member of the household regularly received this sort of distinction in the mortuary record of the Early Greek world.

Conclusion

Focusing on ideas of kinship allows us to analyse the Early Greek mortuary in a way that goes beyond physical markers and spatial organization. It provides a way into the ancient intentions and meanings behind grouping and differentiation in burial rites and locations, and may help us in determining burial groups based on kinship, by treating such them as burial groups *based on ideas of kinship*. If we can see kinship ideas at play, it helps us in more securely, although never certainly, identifying such groups.

It also takes us beyond turning to testing biological kinship for the answers. Although biological assessments may take future research down interesting paths in the future, disciplinary changes and significant funding are necessary for the full effect of modern analytical techniques to be felt. That having been said, we cannot simply rely on biology to

⁴⁶² Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 188.

⁴⁶³ Golden 1988, 156; 1990, 85.

present us with the full picture. Kinship is not necessarily biologically determined; the creation and expression of kinship where biological kinship is perhaps not present, can be equally if not more valid to a culture without the concept of DNA and blood type, and wholly without the ability to put kinship 'to the test'. Determining biological kinship, moreover, requires some element of the non-scientific in order to form the hypothesis to be tested.

The ideas of kinship represented or expressed through burials in the Early Greek world seem to be of descent and of the household and generations of the household. Descent ideas associated the dead with groups of dead, in what is perhaps the expression or creation of a familial past possibly linked with founding figures and past prestige. But it is not necessarily always a long familial past that is being tapped into. There seem to have been two registers of descent ideas in Early Greece. The first concerned the distant past, creating associations with long-dead figures; the second seems to have concerned related households over generations. This idea is, of course, connected to an idea of the household group. The size of burial plots seems to indicate that a household sometimes buried its dead together in a small plot, and a generational group of households sometimes buried their dead together over several life cycles. Burial rites and locations were certainly not limited to either option, but both were just that, simply options. In terms of differentiation of burials, the only real discernible and meaningful difference in burial practices between members of households is that between adults and children and infants. There may also be a discernible difference between slightly older children and infants.

Although the information concerning kinship which we can derive from burials and burial practices is not of the nature that it can ever be secure, there are some ideas of kinship that seem to continually appear. And when those ideas are placed alongside those seen in genealogies (from part 1 of this project) and those in domestic architecture (in the following

chapter), a picture of kinship and the conception of kinship in the Early Greek world begins to emerge involving ideas of biological relatedness and models, descent, and households over generations.

Table 5.1. Cremation burials at Vroulia

Sorted by Depth			Sorted by Number of Cremations		
Burial	Depth (in metres)	Number of Cremations	Burial	Depth (in metres)	Number of Cremations
15	?	?	15	?	?
14	0?	1	17	0.43	1?
25	0.18	1	14	0?	1
3	0.25	1	25	0.18	1
24	0.25	2	3	0.25	1
28	0.25	1	28	0.25	1
22	0.27	2	27	0.29	1
27	0.29	1	29	0.33	1
7	0.3	2	31	0.42	1
29	0.33	1	23	0.48	1
31	0.42	1	26	0.5	1
17	0.43	1?	33	0.6	1
23	0.48	1	8	0.5	1-2
8	0.5	1-2	13	1	1-2
26	0.5	1	24	0.25	2
21	0.6	4	22	0.27	2
32	0.6	2-3	7	0.3	2
33	0.6	1	1	0.8	2
16	0.61	2-3	32	0.6	2-3
9	0.64	3	16	0.61	2-3
11	0.65	2-3	11	0.65	2-3
10	0.7	2-3	10	0.7	2-3
4	0.75	2-3	4	0.75	2-3
5	0.75	3	12	1.1	2-3
1	0.8	2	9	0.64	3
19	0.87	5-6	5	0.75	3
20	0.87	4	21	0.6	4
6	0.9	9	20	0.87	4
2	0.94	8-9	19	0.87	5-6
13	1	1-2	2	0.94	8-9
12	1.1	2-3	6	0.9	9

Source: Data from Morris 1992, 176-78, table 9.

Table 5.2. Model of the life cycle of the ancient household

	adults	children	adolescents	total size
year 0	4	-	-	4
year 3	4	1	-	5
year 6	2	2	-	4
year 9	2	3	-	5
year 12	2	2	1	5
year 15	2	1	2	5
year 18	2	-	2	4
year 21	2	-	1	3
year 24	2	-	-	2

Source: Data from Gallant 1991, 28, fig. 2.1.

Table 5.3. Adult burials in hypothetical generational groups of households

	Generational Group of Large Households <i>-3 offspring in each generation</i>	Generational Group of Small Households <i>-1 offspring in each generation</i>
generation 1	4	4
generation 2	10	6
generation 3	28	8

Note: These numbers are idealized and assume that no offspring leaves the group and the each offspring marries and brings one spouse into the household group.

Figure 5.1. Hypothesized family plots at the Pantanello Necropolis near Metaponto
(*Metaponto Necropoleis*, 162, fig. 5A.7)

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The information removed is a plan of the hypothesized family plots at the Pantanello Necropolis near Metaponto (*Metaponto Necropoleis*, 162, fig. 5A.7).

Figure 5.2. The burials in hypothetical family group 10.3 at the Pantanello Necropolis near Metaponto (following *Metaponto Necropoleis*, 337, fig. 7.10)



Figure 5.3. Burial enclosure south of the Acropolis on Erechtheion Street (Meliades 1955, 41, image 2)

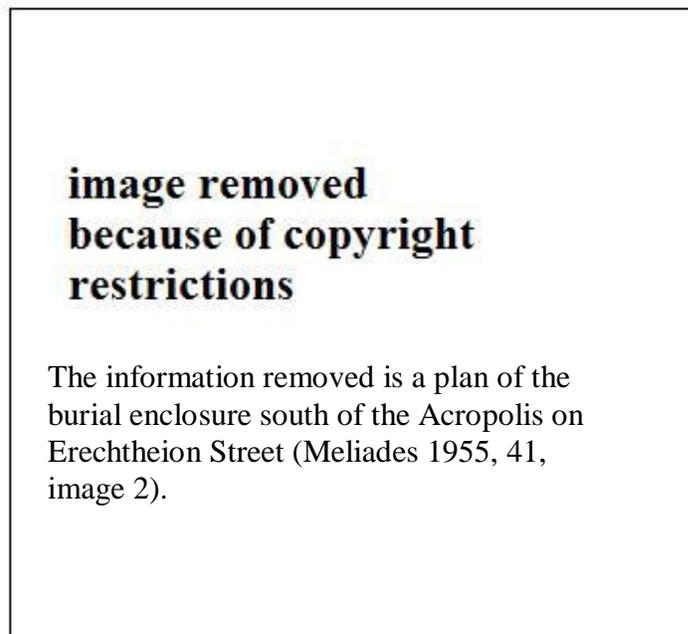


Figure 5.4. Geometric burials in the North Cemetery at Corinth (*Corinth XIII*, plan 2)

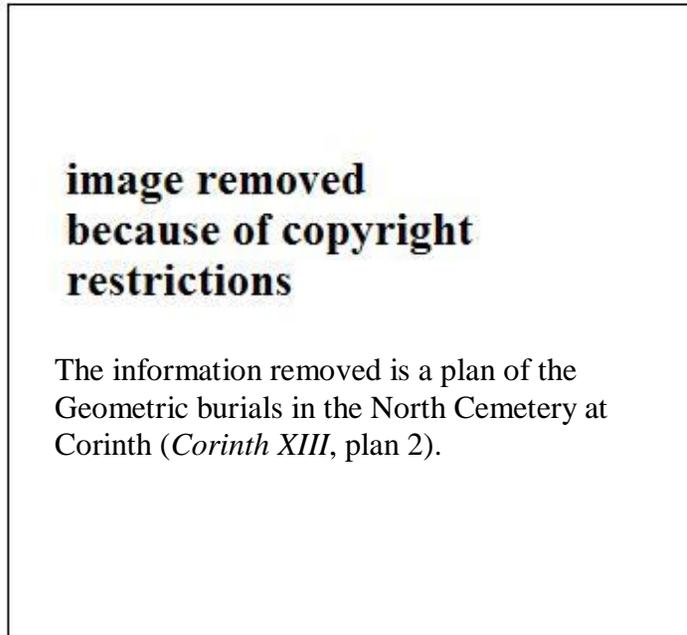
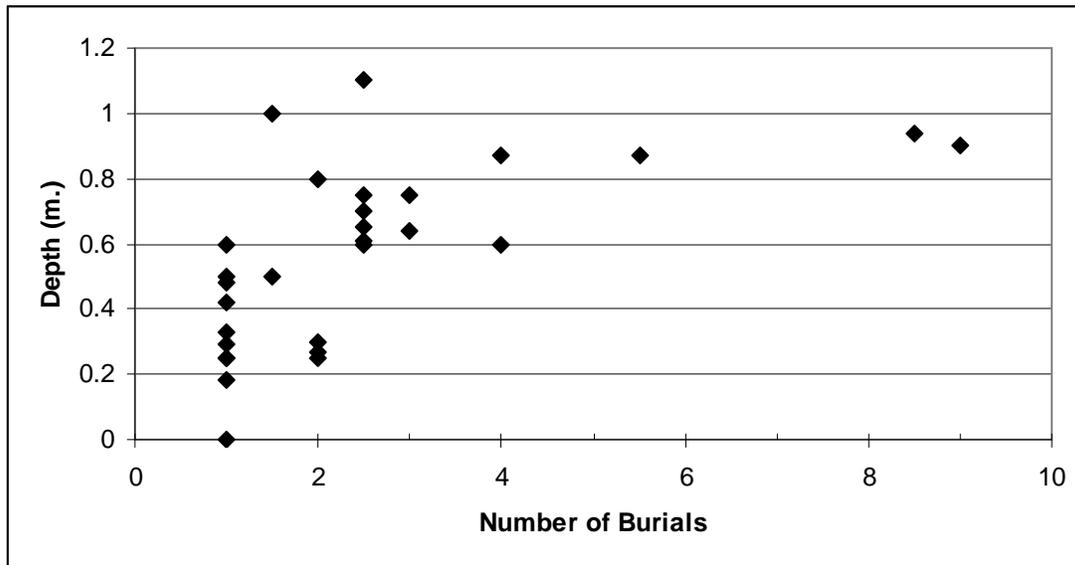


Figure 5.5. Depth of cremation burials at Vroulia by number of cremations in each burial



Source: Data from Morris 1992, 176-78, table 9.

Note: Those burials listed as having one to two, two to three, five to six, and eight-nine cremations have been rendered numerically as 1.5, 2.5, 5.5, and 8.5 respectively to indicate that the burial could have either number of cremations. Burials 15 and 17 have not been included because of limited data concerning depth and number of cremations for these two burials. The depth of burial 14 has been entered at 0 m, since it was listed by Morris as “very shallow” (1992, 177, table 9).

Figure 5.6: Tomb cluster 159-168 at the necropolis at Pithekoussai (*Pithekoussai I*, plan A II bis)

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The information removed is a plan of the tomb cluster 159-168 at the necropolis at Pithekoussai (*Pithekoussai I*, plan A II bis).

Chapter 6: Domestic Architecture

In this chapter, I look at domestic architecture as a physical environment of kinship, that is, an environment in which day-to-day lives were lived out among a network of kin, strictly biological or not and possibly others not considered kin. Some theorists question or even reject the element of co-residency in definitions of domestic groups and households. For example, Netting, Wilk, and Arnould state, “The physical or spatial dimension of a building where people live should not be conflated with social and demographic or with conceptual dimensions, especially if this uncritically perpetuates the single model of the Euramerican household.”⁴⁶⁴ Certainly the point is made that we cannot use Eurocentric or Euramerican household forms cross-culturally as a point of analysis. The fact remains, however, even for these theorists and the examples they cite, that people do co-habit the same physical spaces, and so the importance of co-residency as an analytical tool depends largely on the questions one asks. Since I intend to look at houses and from them attempt to learn something of their inhabitants, it seems reasonable to call the group of inhabitants the ‘household’ so long as the use and limitations of the term are made clear.

A fundamental question, apart from cross-cultural applicability, in the inclusion of co-residency in definitions of households seems to be, however, whether co-residency is meaningful or not. Does living together entail more than simply co-existing in the same physical space? Does it relate to kinship? Blanton defines the household as “a group of people co-residing in a dwelling or residential compound, and who, to some degree, share

⁴⁶⁴ Netting et al. 1981, xxviii. Cf. Laslett’s discussion of residency as a defining characteristic of the domestic group (1983, 513-16) and Blanton’s definition of household (1994, 5-7).

householding activities and decision making.”⁴⁶⁵ Wilk and Netting similarly turn to activities and actions, speaking of households as ‘activity groups’.⁴⁶⁶ When co-residency is defined alongside the activities and decisions of those co-habiting, it takes on more meaning than just the inhabitation of space. Blanton’s interest is the cross-cultural comparison of households, and he is careful to note that what exactly “householding activities and decision-making” entail and the degree of participation in each case are highly variable. Since the implications of the last part of the definition are so variable across cultures, classes, and households, I would add that just how much the household was a group acting as a group for group interests also remains to be seen in each case.

I take the household as a co-resident group, sharing activities and decision making and acting as a group with group interests to varying degrees. Although the conjugal family or nuclear family is just one form of the household, for Greek antiquity as a whole, co-residency seems largely to be patterned on conjugal or nuclear families with additional members.⁴⁶⁷ One might expect a similar pattern for the Early Greek world; I wish, however, to turn to the evidence of domestic architecture, such as it is, before making such a determination. We have already, however, considered burial groups along the lines of conjugal households. The household over generations seems to be an idea of kinship, even a kinship structure, reflected in burial. Now I shall turn to the living household in its

⁴⁶⁵ Blanton 1994, 5.

⁴⁶⁶ Wilk and Netting 1981, 5.

⁴⁶⁷ See, e.g., Gallant 1991, 11-33; Sallares 1991, 193-97; Pomeroy 1996, 4-7; Saller 2007, 90-92; Scheidel 2007, 70-72. Some form of the nuclear family also seems to be the most common in cross-cultural samples, see Blanton 1994, 5.

environment, partly to see if such generational household groups seem viable in the domestic architecture. It would be nice to be able to determine from houses what the make up of the residential group was, what the household exactly looked like, but it is not possible from our evidence. So again, as with burial groups, we must rely on some rough idea or model of household life cycles. It is only possible to make loose estimates of how many people could have potentially lived in a space, since lifestyle and use of space could have been very different from that suggested by the models. This is especially significant when we entertain ideas of moveable kitchens or unfixed sleeping arrangements.⁴⁶⁸ We can estimate to some degree the scale of habitation and household size if not specifically household make-up; the evidence of housing, however, can do more. As with burials, we can consider domestic architecture as a changing physical environment in which we may see ideas of kinship reflected or expressed.⁴⁶⁹ Therefore this chapter studies ideas of kinship which may be seen in the remains of Early Greek houses.

My purpose here is, therefore, not to provide a catalogue or description of relevant sites and domestic architecture from Early Greece. Such cataloguing has already been accomplished through the work of Drerup, Fusaro, Fagerström, Pesando, Lang, Morris, and the collaborators in the volume on historical housing edited by Hoepfner.⁴⁷⁰ Although I

⁴⁶⁸ E.g., Foxhall 2007.

⁴⁶⁹ See Souvatzi 2009, 35-46, on the reasons for and possibilities presented by studying households as dynamic and complex groups, instead of simply as units of production and consumption in economic models. Household archaeology can do more. Although this chapter does ultimately connect household changes to economic development and participation, it does so though considering individual success and intentions.

⁴⁷⁰ Drerup 1969; Fusaro 1982; Fagerström 1988a; Pesando 1989; Lang 1996; Morris 1998; and Hoepfner 1999.

provide an overview of the evidence of domestic architecture in Early Greece, my intention is only to introduce the reader to the general trends and features of domestic architecture in this period and the problems which plague its study both evidentiary and theoretical. More detailed overviews of domestic architecture or settlements from the Dark Ages to the Archaic period already exist and need not be replicated.⁴⁷¹ Moreover, I do not intend to present a developmental scheme of domestic architecture from the Dark Ages to the Classical period. My approach here, instead, is to consider what the material evidence of domestic architecture can tell us about households, their members, and kinship.⁴⁷²

Evidence, Typologies, and Approaches

Interest and scholarship in Early Greek housing (along with ancient Greek housing in general) has seen an increase and renewal in the past twenty years, to a large degree on account of the works and theoretical advances of, for example, Hoepfner and Schwandner, Jameson, Lang, Mazarakis-Ainian, Morris, and Nevett.⁴⁷³ Over the past century the

⁴⁷¹ E.g., Morris 1998; Mazarakis-Ainian 2001.

⁴⁷² It should be said here, that while there is not always clear differentiation between domestic and non-domestic architecture from Early Greece, I have tried to focus on buildings that have been generally accepted by archaeologists as houses. In determining the character of structures, I have found Lang's catalogue particularly useful (1996). Any detailed discussion concerning non-domestic buildings or comparison between domestic and non-domestic buildings is beyond the scope of this study. For Early Iron Age and Archaic buildings in general and comparisons between civic, domestic, and sacred buildings, see Fagerström 1988a; Lang 1996. See also Mazarakis-Ainian 1997 for an argument for the common origin of sacred architecture and certain domestic buildings, i.e. rulers' dwellings.

⁴⁷³ Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986; Jameson 1990a, 1990b; Lang 1996; 2005; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 2001; Morris 1998; and Nevett 1999; 2003; 2007b. See Nevett 2007a, 5-7 for a more detailed overview of the trends and methods of the scholarship on domestic architecture from Rider's *The Greek House* up to and following Drerup's influential typologies. See also Lang 2005, 12-14.

scholarship on Early Greek houses has moved from the creation of fictional reconstructions derived solely from Homeric poetry,⁴⁷⁴ through the typological sorting and describing of the archaeological remains of houses by shape and room number,⁴⁷⁵ to the recognition and analysis of access patterns, use of space, and settlement types in the archaeological record.⁴⁷⁶ The sorts of questions being asked of both texts and archaeology about ancient Greek housing have changed alongside these developments in approaches. Rider in the early twentieth century, for example, was interested in Homeric palaces as a stage in the development of Greek housing from Neolithic Mediterranean dwellings to the Greek houses of the Roman period. To bridge the gap between the Mycenaean palaces and Athenian houses of the fifth century, Rider reconstructs the “roomy Homeric palace” from the texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, creating elaborate, although entirely fictional, ground plans.⁴⁷⁷ Rider’s volume is certainly a product of its time and place in early twentieth century northern European scholarship, reflecting that period’s scholarly interest in the evolution of societies through their evolutionary developmental scheme, and the positivism of scholarship at the time through its unwavering confidence in the textual evidence to supply information about the real world of antiquity. It also reflects the limited state of archaeological research and

⁴⁷⁴ E.g., Rider 1916.

⁴⁷⁵ E.g., Drerup 1969; Lang 1996.

⁴⁷⁶ E.g., Nevett 2003, 2007b; Lang 2005, 2007; Christophilopoulou 2007. See also the recently published proceedings of the conference held at Cardiff in 2001 *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond* (Westgate et al. 2007) for an overall picture of the current state of the field of ancient Greek and Roman housing.

⁴⁷⁷ Rider 1916, 211, and on Homeric palaces: 166-209.

excavation at the beginning of the twentieth century, the field's lack of interest in excavating domestic buildings, and the resulting unavailability of archaeological evidence for domestic architecture for large swathes of Greek history. The state of archaeological research and excavation, of course, changed dramatically over the following half century, as seen, for example, in the interest and care in reporting which was afforded the domestic architecture of the Classical period at Olynthos.⁴⁷⁸

For the study of Early Greek houses, however, it was Drerup's typologies, outlined in his *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit*, that marked a turning point.⁴⁷⁹ Drerup provided a basic vocabulary and classification system for houses of the Geometric period, thereby offering a way to talk coherently about the limited and yet varied archaeological remains of Early Greek housing. He also separated to some degree the study of the archaeological remains from Homeric interpretation.⁴⁸⁰ Archaeology could be studied, categorized, and described without reference to Homer. Despite the dramatic increase in the archaeological evidence for Early Greek housing since Rider's time, Homer was still important for those asking bigger picture questions. Early Greek houses were labelled and described, but not really used to discuss broader questions about family and society.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁸ On the importance of Olynthos, see note 547.

⁴⁷⁹ Drerup 1969.

⁴⁸⁰ Drerup's study, however, is not fully distanced from Homeric 'archaeology', since it contains a discussion on Geometric architecture and Homer (1969, 128-33) and appears in a volume of *Archaeologia Homerica*.

⁴⁸¹ E.g., Lacey's *The Family in Classical Greece* features Homeric families and no archaeology of the Geometric period (1968).

Part of the reason for this is that Drerup's typologies, while providing a vocabulary for description, are ultimately only descriptive and only relate to ground plans in two dimensions. He categorizes Early Greek buildings largely by shape: curvilinear and rectilinear. These two categories he then subdivides: curvilinear by shape again into apsidal, oval, and round; and rectilinear by shape and number of rooms into one-room, multiple-room, porch, long, wide, and square houses.⁴⁸² This has largely been the way that Early Greek houses have been analysed, described, and sorted in cataloguing since Drerup's study.⁴⁸³ The data concerning domestic architecture, however, when they are sorted into and presented in such typologies, do not lend themselves easily to asking questions of society and kinship for a number of reasons. Such sorting into typologies pulls domestic buildings out of the context of their site or settlement, making it difficult to study surrounding houses and the community. Comparison is obvious only between houses of the same shape. The changes that sites or domestic buildings undergo through time can also be difficult to discern in a system of typologies based primary on layout or shape, because as buildings change in room number or shape or are demolished and built over, the resulting building can come to belong to a different category altogether. Such typologies can also give a false sense of uniformity among the types of houses and how they could be lived in as domestic space. Such a system, based on layout and room number, does not adequately capture the use of buildings in real-life, categorizing houses by factors which do not necessarily have any bearing on how a building's space was experienced in three dimensions.

⁴⁸² Drerup 1969, 5-31.

⁴⁸³ E.g., Lang 1996; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997.

A few recent studies have turned to access patterns to investigate Greek domestic architecture, namely those of Nevett and Lang.⁴⁸⁴ The analysis of access patterns has been employed by archaeologists and anthropologists studying other cultures and is highly adaptable and able to be applied cross-culturally, since it assumes very little about layout and shape. Moreover, unlike the culturally specific layout-based typologies usually employed in studying Greek housing, the human use of space is its focus instead of layout and shape. Studying buildings through access patterns is also very useful in situations where little other than foundations survive, such as is the case for Early Greek domestic architecture.

By using access patterns to describe domestic structures, Nevett has recently identified six types of Early Greek houses, based upon access patterns and numbers of rooms (table 3.1). Although Nevett identifies these types in order to understand social change and the formation of the Greek *polis*, her typologies are also a useful tool for questions concerning kinship. They were inspired by largely the same theoretical concerns as this study, i.e., understanding domestic structures as used and experienced in three dimensions by living people.

While my aim is not to classify Early Greek houses, it is necessary to use descriptors in order to compare and analyse the archaeological remains of domestic architecture across many sites. Thus I shall often employ Nevett's classifications and terminology, although with adaptation and simplification as necessary or appropriate.⁴⁸⁵ It should also be said that

⁴⁸⁴ Nevett 2003; Lang 2005.

⁴⁸⁵ Although Lang also uses access patterns to study Early Greek society through domestic architecture (2005, 24-26, fig. 2.4), Nevett's six categories are easier to understand at a glance and more readily cited than Lang's access pattern diagrams which require some decoding.

in determining which houses to look at, I will consider those structures that are widely accepted by archaeologists to have had domestic functions.⁴⁸⁶

Nevett's classifications, besides supplying an approach and a basic vocabulary for analysis, also provide a general picture of domestic architecture in Early Greece. One-room houses (type 1) were the dominant type by far in the Greek world from the tenth to sixth centuries BCE, with the highest number of them surviving from the eighth century. Only during the seventh century did houses with composite access patterns (type 6) come close to equalling the number of one-room houses in the same century.⁴⁸⁷ Therefore one-room houses remain dominant throughout Early Greece, even once so-called courtyard and corridor houses (both falling under either types 5 or 6) begin to appear in the eighth century and increase in popularity in the seventh century. Type 5 houses, when considered apart from type 6 houses, are not numerous nor are two-room houses with serial access patterns (type 2). The other types of houses (types 3 and 4), although present and able to be identified as a type by Nevett, are very rare indeed.

Another point that should also be noted from the comparison of data on domestic architecture from various sites across the Early Greek world is that there was a general increase in house sizes from the eighth through sixth centuries and beyond. Morris,

⁴⁸⁶ In determining the character of structures, I have found Fagerström's and Lang's catalogues particularly useful (Fagerström 1988a; Lang 1996). Any detailed discussion concerning non-domestic buildings or comparison between domestic and non-domestic buildings is beyond the scope of this study. For Early Iron Age and Archaic buildings in general and comparisons between civic, domestic, and sacred buildings, see Fagerström 1988a; Lang 1996. See also Mazarakis-Ainian 1997 for an argument for the common origin of sacred architecture and certain domestic buildings, i.e. rulers' dwellings.

⁴⁸⁷ See Nevett 2003, 17-18, esp. fig. 3, for the number of houses of each type through the tenth to sixth centuries.

compiling the data from houses at sites across the Greek world from the eighth to the fourth centuries BCE, shows that there was a very clear increase in the median area of roofed-over floor plans.⁴⁸⁸ Houses size between the eighth and sixth centuries varies greatly from site to site and even house to house, as Ault points out, and as can be seen from Lang's charts for the various shapes and types of houses.⁴⁸⁹ It should be noted, therefore, that the increase in size is an overall, long-term trend that can only be seen when all of the data from a number of sites are compiled and does not necessarily reflect the development at individual sites. The numbers only suggest that *the houses in the collection of houses* from the eighth century from various sites are smaller than those in the collection of houses in the sixth century. The numbers do not suggest that *the houses at any given site* in the eighth century are smaller than those at the same site in the sixth century. Therefore, we must see it as a long-term, overall trend, that is most helpful for us to identify in answering questions of social change and economic growth on a Braudelian scale (such is Morris' interest in the numbers) and perhaps in making comparisons between Early Greece and the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

The example of the identification of an increase in house sizes highlights a challenge presented by the evidence for studying Early Greek housing in general and its development in particular. There are a number of sites where we have only one or two houses belonging to a single phase. At others we can track changes in domestic architecture for some period

⁴⁸⁸ Morris 2005a, 107-25, esp. fig. 5.1; 2007, 226-231. He uses the data from the studies of Lang (1996), Mazarakis-Ainian (1997), and Nevett (1999).

⁴⁸⁹ Ault 2007, 260; Lang 1996, 81, text fig. 18; 89, text fig. 20; 95, text fig. 20a; 100, text fig. 21a.

between tenth and sixth centuries.⁴⁹⁰ But very few of those sites show changes over any lengthy period.⁴⁹¹ They typically either present a few changes over a short time span or are very short-lived sites. Zagora on Andros, for example, whose changes in the eighth century provide the evidence for numerous arguments about social change, experienced its foundation, building phases, and abandonment within the space of that one century.⁴⁹² Similarly, Vroulia on Rhodes appears to have been abandoned three generations after its founding.⁴⁹³

That the evidence is scattered across many individual houses, specific phases, or short-lived sites from across the Greek world and across the centuries of Early Greece, makes studying the development of Early Greek domestic architecture problematic in a number of ways.⁴⁹⁴ Whitley, for example, reminds us about the regional patterns in pottery styles, burial customs, and settlement structure which belie any uniformity in political and social institutions in Early Greece.⁴⁹⁵ Such social diversity means that it would be unwise to trace development from site to site, taking any one site as representative of a particular stage in

⁴⁹⁰ E.g., Megara Hyblaia, Old Smyrna, Zagora, Vroulia, Kasatanas, Miletos, and Xobourgo.

⁴⁹¹ E.g., Megara Hyblaia, Kastanas, Miletos, and Eretria provide evidence for more than two phases over several centuries. The changes that take place at these sites will be discussed below.

⁴⁹² *Zagora II*, 238-39, 242; Green 1990. On Zagora and social and/or political change, see, e.g., Hoepfner 1999, 163-69; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 171-76; 2001, 151-52; Coucouzeli 2004, 2007; Lang 2005, 20-22; Morris 2000, 285-86.

⁴⁹³ Morris 1992, 174; Hoepfner 1999, 195-99.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. Christophilopoulou's more optimistic view (2007, 30).

⁴⁹⁵ Whitley 1991a, 342-3; 2001, 90.

development. Ideally we would be able to trace the development of domestic architecture over a substantial period of time at a number of sites independently and compare the data. The situation with the archaeological remains of Early Greek houses, however, means that we are forced to use data compiled from a number of individual phases or short-lived sites and a very small number of sites whose development we can trace over a substantial period of time. Thus, when analysing the data, it is necessary to recognize that any information gleaned from it is ultimately compiled from a collection of sites and is thus not necessarily indicative of the development of real sites over time.

Another problem arises when we consider that the evidence is collected from a number of geographically diverse sites from all over the Greek world. When we speak of overall development, we have to realize that places like Kastanas and Assiros in northern Greece experienced the opposite of what Zagora did (see fig. 6.1). They move from house complexes with one-room and multiple-room houses in the eighth century, which were remodelled into one- and two-room houses in the seventh century, to detached one- and two-room houses in the sixth century.⁴⁹⁶ Zagora, on the other hand, moves from house complexes with one- and two-room houses (so-called '*megaron*' houses) to complexes of multiple room houses with courtyards (see figs. 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4).⁴⁹⁷ Some possible reasons for the changes at different sites will be discussed toward the end of this chapter, but it is important to recognize from the outset that changes in housing are not uniform following the same direction across the Early Greek world. Zagora, however, is the site that seems to be chosen

⁴⁹⁶ For more on regional differences, see Morris 1998, 10-13; Lang 2005, 22-23; 2007, 189-90.

⁴⁹⁷ *Zagora I*, passim; *Zagora II*, passim.

to represent early *polis* society or to be the precursor or even the advent of Classical-style courtyard houses and the households that occupied them. Why? It is largely because it is the more completely excavated and published site. But it is also because scholarship on Early Greek housing has had a tendency to have the Classical or Hellenistic courtyard house (its *oikos* and its features) in its sightlines, seeing an evolution in housing and the family that leads up to and explains the advent of the courtyard house and the Classical *oikos*, particularly in places like Athens or Olynthos.⁴⁹⁸ One problem with this approach, however, is that the sites about which we have the most questions concerning development, especially Athens but other large and important urban centres like Argos or Corinth as well, do not retain a representative portion of their early domestic architecture. Dark Age and Archaic building phases have been for the most part built over and obscured.⁴⁹⁹ And so, again, anyone interested in tracking development is forced to look to short-lived sites such as Zagora or Vroulia to see early developmental stages. Another problem is that in trying to trace development teleologically we may inadvertently select the sites or houses which conform to a developmental scheme that leads nicely toward the courtyard houses of the fifth and fourth centuries.

Developmental schemes are not always useful nor are they necessarily possible, and we ought not to set sites too quickly into an overall developmental scheme. Therefore, I shall simply outline the few things that can be said generally about the overall picture of domestic

⁴⁹⁸ E.g., Drerup 1969, 103-5; Hoepfner 1999, 168-69; Jameson 1990a, 106-9; Coucouzeli 2004, 472-76; 2007, passim; Morris 2000, 285-86; Westgate 2007, 231-235.

⁴⁹⁹ Whitley 2001, 88.

architecture from the tenth to sixth centuries, highlighting the interesting changes that occur. The evidence increases in number and the variety of houses becomes broader in the eighth and seventh centuries, but only relatively so. There is still not an abundance of evidence and most houses still consisted of only one room. We do see the appearance of houses with more rooms and complex access patterns in the eighth and seventh centuries, including houses with courtyards, although they may not be all that similar practically or in intention to Classical courtyard houses. We also see the emergence of planned Greek settlements in the eighth and seventh centuries especially in Sicily and Southern Italy, but also in other areas of the Greek world in the seventh and sixth centuries.⁵⁰⁰ The changes in the eighth and seventh centuries are certainly important, and studying them may give us some indication of changing social, economic, and political situation at different sites at different times. How exactly the family and ideas of kinship play into or are reflected in these changes is what I am interested in here.

In keeping with the overall approach to kinship in this study, this chapter will not simply focus on relationships between blood relatives, but rather on the ideas of kinship and broader aspects of kinship which were expressed or reflected in the domestic environment, in which people lived their daily lives. Questions about blood, biology, and human reproductive patterns are certainly pertinent, but the evidence of domestic architecture cannot really answer them. What it can provide evidence for, however, are questions about household activities, livelihoods and economic success, interactions between household members, expressions of status, and familial and societal structures, all matters related in some way to kinship. We also ought not to simply look at houses themselves, but also the

⁵⁰⁰ Hoepfner 1999, 132; Whitley 2001, 171-74; Lang 2007, 183-85.

relationship those houses have with each other and the rest of the settlement.⁵⁰¹ Therefore I shall consider domestic structures within the context of their community, before moving on to the internal organization of domestic structures.

House and Settlement

The context of Early Greek houses and the physical organization of the community may tell us something about kinship among its citizens and about the kinship ideas of the community. How households were formed and differentiated in the community is intimately intertwined with notions of kinship, whether determined biologically or otherwise. It is therefore pertinent, in attempting to understand what kinship was in the Early Greek world, to investigate the physical form and space which the household occupied within the community. How did houses relate to each other spatially? Does the type of settlement and house have any significance for kinship and co-residency? Can we see social or economic differentiation in the comparison of households and can it tell us anything about the status of certain households? Let us examine these questions in turn.

Spatial Relationships between Houses

How did houses relate to each other spatially? Hoepfner identifies three types of Early Greek nucleated settlements: settlements in which the houses are detached from one another (*Einzelhaussiedlungen*), conglomerated or agglomerated settlements, in which

⁵⁰¹ Studies exemplifying similar interests in houses and settlements include Jameson 1990a, 1990b; Nevett 1999; Lang 2007; Westgate 2007.

houses are attached to one another in a larger sometimes rather irregular complex of houses (*Konglomeratsiedlungen*), and settlements in which houses are built in orderly rows and sometimes along grids, showing signs of some planning or forethought in construction (*Reihenhaussiedlungen*).⁵⁰² In the ninth to seventh centuries we see the first two types of settlements, those with detached houses and those with house complexes. Settlements with detached houses can be found, for example, at Nichoria (fig. 6.5), Koukounaries (fig. 6.6), and Emporio (fig. 6.7).⁵⁰³ At Oropos and Old Smyrna there were compound settlements where detached buildings were clustered together in small groups, possibly representing single households.⁵⁰⁴ At Oropos they were surrounded by a *peribolos* wall (fig. 6.8). At Old Smyrna detached buildings gave way to agglomerated one-room houses by 600 BCE.⁵⁰⁵ We see agglomerated house complexes in the ninth and eighth centuries on Crete, where Sjögren notes that freestanding buildings were very rare as houses in the Early Iron Age.⁵⁰⁶ There are Iron Age complexes, for example, at Vrokastro (upper and lower sites) (figs. 6.9 and 6.10) and Phaistos on Crete where houses with one or two rooms (types 1 and 2) belong to a

⁵⁰² Hoepfner 1999, 130-33. Hoepfner identifies these types as those in the Archaic period in particular, but the first two types, those with conglomerated houses or house complexes and those with detached houses, are also evident in the Geometric period (see Lang 1999, in the same volume). See also Lang 1996, 58-62; 2007, 183-85.

⁵⁰³ Nichoria: *Nichoria III*, 57-58. Koukounaries: Schilardi 1978, 195-210; Schilardi 1983, 175-78. Emporio: Boardman 1967, 34-40; Hoepfner 1999, 157-62; Lang 2007, 183.

⁵⁰⁴ Oropos: Mazarakis-Ainian 2006, 202-5; 2007, 157-60; Lang 2007, 183. Smyrna: Akurgal 1983, 22-33; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, figs. 407-14; 2007, 163; Lang 2007, 183.

⁵⁰⁵ Akurgal 1983, 16-56; Lang 1996, 235-43.

⁵⁰⁶ Sjögren 2003, 24.

building complex (fig. 11).⁵⁰⁷ Kastanas in Macedonia has a house complex in the eighth century with at least one multi-room house (fig. 6.1).⁵⁰⁸ Zagora, as already noted, is an extremely important site in the eighth century with a number of agglomerated house complexes, originally of a one- and two-room houses and later with courtyard houses (types 5 and 6) (figs. 6.2, 6.3, 6.4).⁵⁰⁹ In the seventh century agglomerated settlements become the more common than those with detached houses.⁵¹⁰

In the eighth and seventh centuries, we see the first evidence of settlement planning with the foundation of new settlements in Sicily and southern Italy, e.g., Megara Hyblaia, Naxos, and Syracuse in the last half of the eighth century, and Metaponto, Kasmenai, and Selinous in the seventh century. Although it is not entirely certain that such settlements were planned from the outset and that eighth century houses belonged to a predetermined plan, by the seventh century such sites did develop along orthogonal plans, during which century multiple room houses, sometimes with courtyards, also appeared alongside one- or two-room

⁵⁰⁷ Vrokastro: Lang 1999, 119; Sjögren 2003, 164-65. Phaistos: Lang 1999, 119; Sjögren 2003, fig. 28, 128-29.

⁵⁰⁸ Lang 2005, 22-23.

⁵⁰⁹ *Zagora I*, passim; *Zagora II*, passim. At the site of Zagora, areas D and H have received particular attention, because these two areas cover the highest part of the settlement and since the stratigraphy and chronology of the houses and their renovations over phases 1 and 2 are relatively clear (*Zagora II*, 47-49, plan 1). Areas J, E, and F were also explored in the excavations led by Cambitoglou in 1969 to get a better sense of domestic architecture across the site. The fortifications and the temple were also explored. A large portion of the site within the fortification walls remains unexcavated, however, and so the houses in areas D and H, while extremely important, are only part of the whole picture of the settlement.

⁵¹⁰ Lang 2007, 183.

houses (types 1 and 2).⁵¹¹ In the seventh and sixth centuries other apparently planned settlements were founded at sites in other parts of the Greek world, e.g., Vroulia on Rhodes with rows of originally one-room houses (fig. 6.12), Euesperides likely founded in Cyrenaica on a small grid plan (fig. 6.13), and Halieis in the Argolid, whose Classical houses appear to follow an older Archaic grid plan.⁵¹² Most sites from Early Greece, however, do not show evidence of any overall orthogonal pre-planning or organization.⁵¹³

Kinship and House/Settlement Type

Does the type of settlement and house have any significance for kinship and co-residency? In examining the social structure and residency patterns of Bronze Age Crete, archaeologists have suggested that some agglomerated house complexes grew over time from an original group of rooms as a family expanded through marriage and procreation and added on subsequent houses.⁵¹⁴ The various households within a house complex would therefore

⁵¹¹ For example, there is some debate as to whether the eighth century one-room houses at Megara Hyblaia followed the grid plan evidenced in later phases or helped determined its orientation and five-part grid: Osborne 1996, 240; Boardman 1999, 176-77; De Angelis 2003, 17-20; Hall 2007a, 107-10.

⁵¹² It should be mentioned that there is some disagreement over the dating of the settlement at Vroulia. It may be an eighth century foundation or a seventh century foundation (see Morris 1992, 174; Lang 1996, 194; Hoepfner 1999, 198). The consensus seems to be a seventh century foundation, ca. 625.

⁵¹³ The planning of settlements along regular lines has been connected to changes in social organization at sites around the Early Greek world (Whitley 2001, 174; Lang 2007, 183-85). Although we see it especially at newly founded and renovated settlements, it could be considered, alongside the establishment of civic spaces and infrastructure (e.g., fortification walls, *agorai*), to belong to the bigger picture of the creation of urban spaces in the Greek world from the late eighth and seventh centuries on.

⁵¹⁴ E.g., at early Minoan Fournou Korifi (Whitelaw 1981; 2007, 66-69, fig. 8.1a) or at late Minoan Vronda (Glowacki 2007, 134).

likely have been related to one another, at least originally. Just how much an original concept of kinship was important in the living and working arrangements of the inhabitants is debatable. As Whitelaw points out for Bronze Age Crete, all the inhabitants of such small settlements were likely very closely related biologically anyway.⁵¹⁵ The difference between those in one house complex as opposed to another may not have been so important in light of the overall relatedness of the whole settlement. Moreover, Whitelaw stresses, as do others, that the households in the complexes of Bronze Age Crete were independent. For example, at early Minoan Fournou Korifi the evidence strongly suggests that households operated individually: units had their own food storage, processing preparation, and consumption areas and ceramic assemblages reveal patterns of individual access, taste, and consumption.⁵¹⁶ Similarly at Late Minoan Vronda, the picture constructed from the architecture, artefact distribution patterns, and activity areas seems to be of two to three independent households clustered together into multi-household complexes.⁵¹⁷ There are some shared features (e.g., looms in only a few houses) and a few house complexes seem to have communal kitchens and communal storage areas, which are evidence of co-operation, but not necessarily of kinship groups living together.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ Whitelaw 1981, 334n13; 2007, 72-73.

⁵¹⁶ Whitelaw 1981; 2007, 71-73, fig. 8.5a.

⁵¹⁷ Glowacki 2007, 130-35.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. Romanou 2007, 85, for an argument for a different residential organization at Middle to Late Minoan Mallia.

Some of the agglomerated settlements and house complexes of Early Greece may have been formed in a way similar to that suggested for Bronze Age Crete, i.e., having grown from a seminal set of rooms. The foundation of Zagora, however, belies any notion that organic growth of this kind is appropriate to assume as standard for agglomerated house complexes in Early Greece without evidence of growth over time. At Zagora, the building sequence, although walls appear to have been added in stages to create more rooms, shows evidence of orderliness and planning in construction and occurs over a much shorter period of time than would allow for one or two sets of rooms to spawn the rest over generations (see fig. 6.2).⁵¹⁹ Here the agglomerated nature of the settlement neither represents underlying kinship patterns nor exhibits long term organic growth influenced by kinship patterns. Some agglomerated house complexes at sites on Crete also show signs of organic unsystematic growth (e.g., Phaistos, fig. 6.11), but others show signs of regularity and organization and therefore even pre-planning in their construction.⁵²⁰ For example, at Prinias, the rectangular rooms aligned in parallel, carefully constructed walls, along with a common construction date for the whole complex suggests that the complex did not grow over time, but was planned to some degree (fig. 6.14).⁵²¹ There could be many reasons besides kinship for constructing agglomerated house complexes, including, for example, density and good use of space, the cost or availability of materials, construction techniques, or even convention. Kinship may be one of those reasons; however, it does not seem likely without evidence of

⁵¹⁹ *Zagora II*, 150-61, esp. 158.

⁵²⁰ Sjögren 2003, 25.

⁵²¹ Sjögren 2003, 25.

co-residential activities that the mere sharing of walls, even multiple walls, is an indicator of kinship or ideas of kinship between households.⁵²²

Even at sites where organic growth could have occurred in Early Greece, it is doubtful that any notion of original relatedness was important to the identity of the inhabitants.⁵²³ The same observation about the independence of households at early Minoan Fournou Korifi also applies to households in the agglomerated house complexes of Dark Age and Archaic Greece, on Crete and elsewhere. The units within house complexes seem to operate independently with their own food preparation, consumption, and storage areas, e.g., at Phaistos, Dreros, and Prinias on Crete, and at Zagora on Andros.⁵²⁴ Sjögren concludes, specifically for the agglomerated house complexes on Crete, that the picture seems to be of households operating independently but with “a high level of social commitment in settlement life.”⁵²⁵ The households at these sites were not so independent that there were no communal spaces or activities or economic co-operation. Some rooms were communal, but, as with Bronze Age house complexes, that is only evidence of co-operation within the community.⁵²⁶ We also see evidence of communal spaces and activities at settlements where the houses are detached. For example at Koukounaries on Paros, there is possibly a

⁵²² Cf. Jameson 1990a, 108.

⁵²³ E.g., the complexes at Phaistos, Kavousi Kastro, Vrokastro, and Aphrati (Sjögren 2003, 25).

⁵²⁴ Cretan house complexes: Sjögren 2003, 23-25. *Zagora: Zagora II*, 154-61; Coucouzeli 1999.

⁵²⁵ Sjögren 2003, 25. Parallels could be drawn here between early Greek settlements and village life in Greece in more recent times.

⁵²⁶ Sjögren 2003, 25.

communal hearth and food preparation area (D5-D6).⁵²⁷ It seems that such communal spaces and activities have more to do with the settlement or the community than any notion of kinship shared between inhabitants of the houses within complexes. Perhaps the ideas of community and co-operation were the important ideas concerning relatedness and kinship.

Houses at some Early Greek detached settlements have also been connected with kinship ideas and kinship groups. Coucouzeli, for example, has presented an interpretation of the so-called Heroön at Lefkandi that involves ideas of kinship. Using ethnographic examples of tribal societies in various cultures, she interprets the structure as a communal longhouse inhabited by a large kinship group, such as a tribe or clan.⁵²⁸ In this she sees evidence for the ancient *genos* and/or *phylon* going back to the tenth century in Greece, which kinship groups the works of Roussel and Bourriot challenged and many scholars have increasingly doubted the existence of in Early Greece.⁵²⁹ There are critical problems with this interpretation of the Heroön at Lefkandi and the resulting conclusion in favour of tribes and tribal society. The large apsidal building at Lefkandi is unique among excavated Early Greek sites for its enormous size, its burials, and the wealth those burials display. Its use or function is much contested and the evidence can support a number of conclusions.⁵³⁰ Among

⁵²⁷ Schilardi 1978, 209; 1983, 178; Fagerström 1988a, 78, 130.

⁵²⁸ Coucouzeli 2004. For a similar interpretation, see Calligas 1988.

⁵²⁹ Coucouzeli 2004, 471.

⁵³⁰ E.g., see the various interpretations in Calligas 1988; Osborne 1996, 40-47; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 48-57; 2006, 188-95; Thomas and Conant 1999, 95-97, 103; Morris 2000, 218-221; Pakkanen and Pakkanen 2000; Whitley 2001, 86-88; Lemos 2002, 218-19. Among the various interpretations, a funerary function seems reasonable to me given the rich burials located in and around the building, its highly unusual size, its location away from the nucleated settlement at Xeropolis, its unfinished state of construction, and the continued use of the area for burials after the destruction of the building. Pakkanen and Pakkanen also make the point that very

the various interpretations, a funerary function seems reasonable to me given the rich burials located in and around the building, its highly unusual size, its location away from the nucleated settlement at Xeropolis, its unfinished state of construction, and the continued use of the area for burials after the destruction of the building. Pakkanen and Pakkanen's interpretation of the site's use as a communal gathering location, associated with the burial of the dead, is intriguing.⁵³¹ At the very least, in the absence of a firm interpretation of function, that very few of the sherds published in the reports can be assigned to the period of occupation of the building, suggests that it was not inhabited regularly.⁵³² The building is really very difficult to interpret and any theory can only be tentatively stated, even where ethnographic comparisons seem to apply. Therefore, identifying the so-called Heroön as a longhouse inhabited by a kinship group on the basis of ethnographic comparisons is far from conclusive or convincing. Moreover, it is not enough to convince me that we should reject the challenges to the theory of tribal society presented by Roussel, Bourriot, and others after them.

Roussel's and Bourriot's arguments must be refuted in their own right. Their arguments do not just involve a lack of archaeological evidence for the *genos*, *phylon* and *phratry*; they are also philological.⁵³³ They illustrate that these terms, as used in Early Greek

few of the sherds (around twelve) published in the reports can be assigned to the period of occupation of the building, suggesting that it was not a habitation (2000, 249).

⁵³¹ Pakkanen and Pakkanen 2000, 249-52.

⁵³² Pakkanen and Pakkanen 2000, 249.

⁵³³ See Roussel's general conclusion on the *phratry* and *phylon* (1976, 311-313) and Bourriot's sectional conclusions (1976, 196-98, 234, 338-39). The evidence, however, is presented throughout the whole of each volume.

textual sources, do not indicate distinct kinship based groups, such as tribes or clans in a tribal system, and that our understanding of Greek society has been unduly influenced by the model of early Roman tribal society and its *gentes*. They also illustrate that the notion of early *gene* and *phylai*, from which the *gene* and *phylai* of the Classical period supposedly descended, is a fiction of the fifth and fourth centuries. What this does, besides casting serious doubt on the existence of tribal society in Early Greece, is to throw into question the whole model of ethnographic tribal society as based on nineteenth-century ideas about early Classical societies and the evolution of civilized societies. Without the understanding that Early Greek society was based on *gene* and *phylai* the traditional evolutionary model and theory begins to disintegrate.⁵³⁴ Therefore, the existence of one unique large building interpreted through an evolutionary theoretical model suspect for its circularity is not evidence that refutes the philological arguments presented by Roussel and Bourriot. They still stand. It is in fact the validity of the very evolutionary ethnographic model for Early Greece used by Coucouzeli, that they and others after them have questioned. It should not surprise us that we see striking parallels between the theory of tribes and clans in Early Greece based primarily on later Classical textual evidence and the ethnographic models of tribal societies to a large part rooted in nineteenth-century conceptions of Early Greek and Roman societies based on Classical textual evidence. Such circular corroboration is not corroboration at all.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁴ See my discussion on the origins of the evolutionary model in the introduction to this study, pp. 7, 17.

⁵³⁵ While the evolutionary model, divorced from the classical part of its roots, may still be applied aptly in the study of other cultures and may be suited to describe the development of those cultures, the use of the model in an evidentiary capacity for early Greece (as Coucouzeli does) is far too circular argumentation to be effective.

It seems unlikely that the so-called Heroön at Lefkandi was the dwelling of a large kinship group, especially since it is so unique. Moreover, the wealth represented by the building and the associated burials, hints at a much less egalitarian co-operative ethos than dwelling together in a longhouse might require. It seems rather that the builder(s) (or rather the person(s) for whom the building was constructed) would have had to marshal significant resources to construct such a large structure, both labour and supplies. Such a person (or persons) would probably have needed to have possessed both power and wealth to do so - and the rich burials suggest that somebody in the community did. The evidence at Lefkandi suggests a level of social or economic differentiation, in which certain members of this community had higher status or rank than others and could command resources and labour. What about at other sites? Can we see such social or economic differentiation between households in the domestic architecture of settlements in Early Greece?

Social Differentiation and Housing

Can we see social or economic differentiation in the comparison of households and can it tell us anything about the status of certain households? The variety of houses within Early Greek settlements does not tend to be great, although some variety does exist in shape, access patterns, and size, especially where sites undergo change over a period of time, for example, at Zagora or Megara Hyblaia. Sometimes finds may also give some indication of wealth, status, or taste. Unfortunately, there are many cases where so few Early Greek houses remain or are published that a comparative overview of the site is not really possible. Our evidence is again limited to very few sites. And so, we have to be careful, using such a small sample of sites, not to overstate arguments involving the whole of Early Greece. The best we

can do is to look at the evidence at those limited number of sites in context to get a limited sense of what differences we do and do not see in Early Greek housing. Overall, where there are one-room houses there tend to be more one-room houses. Sometimes there will be one or two multi-room houses among them with different access patterns. But what this difference indicates exactly, either economically or socially, is debatable, since it is dependent on various methods of valuation of property or structures (size, room numbers, location, purpose, style, etc...). Social differentiation, even if it existed, is really very difficult to see in housing, even where comparison is possible.

The difficulties with such assessments at Megara Hyblaia, as noted by De Angelis, apply almost across the board for Dark Age and Archaic settlements and housing.⁵³⁶ There are problems with the survival of evidence: only bare foundations survive leaving no way to compare the expenditure in energy or cost in construction, later rebuilding over the site has disturbed stratigraphy, and finds were not reported with their context in site reports (or in some cases, were not published at all). Plot sizes and land ownership and distribution practices are far from clear, making it impossible to judge social or economic differentiation based on property sizes alone. This leaves us with ground plans, room numbers, access patterns, and perhaps location to go on. But these aspects are, like plot sizes, not so easy to interpret. Without being able to measure the effect of such attributes on the valuation of houses and/or property culturally, socially, and economically, we really cannot judge what differences they represent or importance they had in an Early Greek context. And we must

⁵³⁶ De Angelis 2003, 50-51. The only difference is that at a few sites (e.g., Zagora) finds in domestic contexts are better recorded than at Megara Hyblaia.

consider these attributes in context to truly understand what differences among them mean. House size and value, for example, do not necessarily increase proportionally in tandem; many other factors can arise to affect value, both social and economic. Since these factors in Greek settlements are unknown to us and our evidence for them is really very spotty, the prospect of assessing social differentiation at Early Greek settlements to any degree of comprehensiveness without importing (sometimes dubious) ethnographic models or Homeric societies remains bleak.

Some scholars, however, have made arguments about the differences between houses in certain settlements. Mazarakis-Ainian, for example, identifies what he calls rulers' dwellings at Nichoria, Oropos, Eretria, and Zagora, namely those which have larger dimensions and a greater complexity of design.⁵³⁷ He then observes that such houses tend to have particular locations and certain finds and features: a spacious room with benches and a central hearth and sometimes evidence of feasting. Assigning the label of ruler's dwelling to any house on whatever grounds (e.g., if it has the most rooms, the largest floor plan, the most complex access patterns, the best location, or the best construction) requires a theoretical step linking house and leadership. That the buildings Mazarakis-Ainian discusses are built over by temples goes a long way to support his position and the development of the space of domestic buildings into sacred structures. For the interpretation of the society inhabiting those original structures, Mazarakis-Ainian turns to the world of Homeric poetry and the figure of the *basileus* to make the link between the houses and the rulers of the communities

⁵³⁷ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997 270-76; 2006, 184-85. He also proposes that the so-called Heroön at Lefkandi is a ruler's dwelling (1997, 48-57; 2006, 188-91), which does not seem likely (see note 530 above).

and to understand the differences he sees between houses in Early Greece. As part of this picture, he also identifies what he argues to be compounds of aristocratic families at Oropos and Eretria.⁵³⁸ While his interpretations are intriguing and the identification of sacred buildings built over earlier large and complex houses is convincing, the picture of the society inhabiting those original buildings, derived from Homeric poetry, with the labels aristocracy and *basileus*, is less convincing. Social differentiation as reflected in housing, even if able to be represented by complexity of design and size, is very difficult to discern in Early Greece.⁵³⁹ Mazarakis-Ainian does admit that in the eighth century differences between houses of various social strata become difficult to discern and sees in this a lessening of social stratification over time.⁵⁴⁰ This progression, however, can only be seen by jumping from site to site, as is necessary to see any development in Early Greek housing (as discussed above), and so we must be cautious what we draw from it. It probably best represents the changing fortunes of the inhabitants, community, or region, rather than an overall development across the Greek world.

The term ‘aristocracy’, when it conjures up anachronistic notions of extreme wealth or extreme social differentiation based on birth and reflected by wealth, seems rather inappropriate to use in connection with the people inhabiting these houses and the society inhabiting these settlements, especially those of the Early Iron Age.⁵⁴¹ The settlements are

⁵³⁸ Mazarakis-Ainian 2006, 195-99; 2007, *passim*.

⁵³⁹ Similarly, Green 1990, 44; Morgan 2009, 62.

⁵⁴⁰ Mazarakis-Ainian 2006, 185.

⁵⁴¹ On ‘aristocracies’ in Early Greece, see my discussion in the concluding synthesis, p. 334.

relatively small, although this could be simply reflective of our small sample, which does not include the Early Greek phases belonging to much larger later settlements, e.g., Argos and Athens. There is perhaps some differentiation in wealth discernible between houses, in shape, size, and finds, but overall the picture is of modest houses within modest settlements with a modest amount of wealth not vastly disproportionately divided.⁵⁴² The difference between one- and two-room houses and three-, four-, and five-room houses is interesting and notable, but does not necessarily represent a vast difference in wealth and/or status. That there were some members of the community who were more successful economically and socially than others, but only relatively so, and perhaps held higher status in the community, seems to be a fair description of Early Greek economic and social differentiation and the most reasonable interpretation of the archaeological evidence of housing and settlements of Early Greece. Any changes we may see in complexity or dimensions may indeed indicate prosperity or decline tied to changing economic activity and wealth of the household. For this, however, we have to go inside the houses themselves.

Internal Organization

From the eighth through the sixth centuries BCE, at a few sites in the Greek world, pre-existing houses underwent structural changes, either in the addition of new internal walls or new rooms or in the amalgamation of neighbouring rooms or houses, for example, Zagora (figs. 6.3 and 6.4), Megara Hyblaia (fig. 6.15), Miletos (Kalabaktepe) (fig. 6.16), and Old Smyrna (fig. 6.17). These changes produced moderately to significantly different ground

⁵⁴² Similarly, Rose 2009, 472. Tenth-century Lefkandi seems to be the exception.

plans and access patterns in these pre-existing houses. That some of these changes created houses in which the rooms were accessed through a central open space, particularly a courtyard (houses of type 5 and 6), has led many to see in these remodelled structures the precursor or the even advent of the courtyard houses common to the Classical period.⁵⁴³ Some take this idea of the early creation of courtyard houses even further, seeing in these structural changes the formation of the Greek *polis* in the eighth century or even the early stages of the formation of the family ideal of Classical Athens in which the household is turned inward upon itself and segregated internally into gendered space.⁵⁴⁴

We should, however, be careful in connecting Early Greek courtyard houses too quickly typologically or descriptively to the courtyard houses we see in the fifth and fourth centuries. Although we do see the appearance of the first houses with courtyards in the eighth century, they are very few and limited to even fewer sites.⁵⁴⁵ Their access patterns moreover can be somewhat different from those of later Classical courtyard houses; Classical courtyard houses fall into Nevett's category five, those whose rooms were entered through central space, whereas Early Greek courtyard houses can fall into either category

⁵⁴³ E.g., Drerup 1969, 103-5; Hoepfner 1999, 168-69; Jameson 1990a, 106-9; Coucouzeli 2004, 472-76; 2007, passim; Morris 2000, 285-86; Westgate 2007, 231-235.

⁵⁴⁴ E.g., Coucouzeli 2004, 472-76; 2007, passim; Westgate 2007, 231-235.

⁵⁴⁵ Sites with eighth century houses with courtyards (Lang's courtyard houses, *pastas*-houses, and *prostas*-houses): Zagora, Eleusis, Thorikos. Sites with seventh century houses with courtyards: Corinth, Xobourgo, Onythe, Kalabaktepe, Vroulia (Lang 1996, 95, 100). All sites have evidence of only one such house remaining except for Zagora, which had seven such houses, and Vroulia, which had rows of such houses. The function of the complex structure at Xobourgo is, however, under debate. See p. 273 below and Kourou 2002, 62-66.

five or six, composite houses.⁵⁴⁶ Therefore the use or conception of the space was not necessarily the same in courtyard houses of either period, neither practically nor ideologically.

Such structural changes must have altered the lifestyle of those inhabiting these structures as well as reflect the developing needs or desires of their occupants. We cannot, however, assume that the creation of courtyard spaces and more rooms necessarily performed or reflected the same symbolic or ideological function or effect in the Early Greek world as it did in Classical Athens or Olynthos. We also cannot take what happens in Zagora on Andros in the late eighth century as a precursor to what happens in Athens in the fifth century or Olynthos in the fourth century, without being able to illustrate the correlation between the societies. How is it that a few householders' decisions to erect internal walls within their domestic spaces in the eighth century influence the domestic architecture in a different city over 300 years later, approximately 275 years after the abandonment of the original site? We are better off focusing on why the changes were deemed necessary or desirable in the eighth century. Although the sample size is still small, and, therefore, any conclusions still have to be tempered, we make better use of the limited number of sites we do have by considering what social, political, or economic need or desire the changes in certain domestic structures could be connected. Then we may examine the ways in which the structural changes may have affected the domestic environment and the lifestyle of the inhabitants and in what way

⁵⁴⁶ Nevett 2003, 16-17. Nevett gives the following examples: Type five courtyard houses include Eleusis, Kopanaki, Onythe house A, Vrokastro units 16/17, and Vroulia unit 1 29/30/31/32. Type 6 courtyard houses include Emporio house U/V and Zagora phase 2 units D1-4 and D6-8.

these remodelled houses are related to the development of the family, community, or even the *polis*.

Access Patterns and Functionality

Ideally the finds and features from a given structure would give us some idea of what activities took place in what rooms and from there what the function of specific rooms might have been. In the case of Early Greek houses, however, the evidence provided by finds and features is not great owing to multiple factors: the overall poor survival of the archaeological remains from the Geometric or Archaic periods at many sites; finds and their contexts were simply not recorded during excavations at many sites; and the process of abandonment could have greatly affect the deposition and distribution of contents once used within a room or house, in that could have left houses and rooms stripped of their contents or with their contents significantly moved from their context of use. It is not until we get to the houses of the Classical period that we get better evidence, both from the archaeological remains and from the reporting of them, about domestic assemblages and from them about what activities were happening in and around houses.⁵⁴⁷

When the evidence of finds and features eludes us, as it usually does for Early Greek houses, we must turn to the number of rooms and access patterns to study activities and room

⁵⁴⁷ The detailed reporting of domestic assemblages at Olynthos marks an important methodological turning point in the study of Greek housing (see Cahill 2002, 61-73, for discussion of the importance and shortcomings of Robinson's excavations and analysis), but there is not an equivalent site with the same level of preservation for the study of Early Greek houses. On the history of the reporting of domestic assemblages by archaeologists, including that at Olynthos, see Nevett and Ault 1999, 43-47. On the importance of Olynthos, in particular, see Nevett 2007a, 5-7.

function. From these aspects of the evidence, however, we may only make what are essentially very weak statements about functionality or multi-functionality of spaces and the degree of multi-functionality possible within a given structure. For example, if there is one room, then that room must be multi-functional, serving all the spatial indoor needs of the household. As the number of rooms increase, the idea is that the degree of multi-functionality of the various rooms decreases. For example, the rooms in a two-room house would have a greater degree of multi-functionality than they would in a four-room house. This approach, however, needs some further sophistication. There are a few considerations we must bear in mind about the division of functionality in domestic spaces.⁵⁴⁸ 1) Multi-functionality does not necessarily decrease proportionally as the number of rooms increase, since functionality is not equally divisible between rooms. A courtyard may accommodate more activities than any one given room that opens off of it, making a two-room courtyard house and a three-room one not so different in terms of the functionality of rooms. Likewise a room may be used primarily for storage, leaving the degree of multi-functionality of other rooms greater. 2) The functionality of a household does not necessarily stay the same over time and therefore we cannot think of functionality as easily divisible. It can grow or shrink. Therefore, when the internal division, room number, or overall size of a house changed, it may indicate an increase or decrease in the activities of the household.

There are so few rooms in Early Greek houses, even those with multiple rooms, that rooms must have performed multiple functions. Indeed, the rooms in most houses seem to be multi-functional into and beyond the Classical period. The difference seems to lie only in the

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Christophilopoulou 2007, 29-30.

degree to which rooms were multi-functional. It is also well accepted that several household activities must have taken place outside of the house in Early Greece.⁵⁴⁹ This seems particularly understandable outside the one-room houses that are dominant in this period, but also outside multiple room houses whose rooms are accessed directly from the outside (type 4). Houses with courtyards (some type 5 and 6 houses) likewise utilized outdoor space, the difference simply being that the outside space was walled in and could have been provided with some shade from the walls or an overhang. It stands to reason, therefore, that the development of courtyards was the walling-in of the space in which the household's outdoor activities took place.

Privacy, especially as a concept studied through access patterns, has arisen as a key point of analysis in recent studies of early and Classical Greek domestic architecture.⁵⁵⁰ It is often brought out, however, in comparison with or in anticipation of the increased privacy or inwardness of the houses of the fifth century, e.g., those at Athens or Olynthos.⁵⁵¹ Such comparisons either set domesticity in the Early Greek world in stark contrast with that of the Classical period or set up Early Greek domesticity in stages leading up to that of the Classical period. We should, however, be careful with such comparisons, since they do not provide good insight into the domesticity of Early Greece. They focus on a lack of something in a

⁵⁴⁹ Morris 1998, 16; Nevett 1999, 158-60; Westgate 2007, 231; Lang 2007, 188.

⁵⁵⁰ E.g., in connection with the degree of "inwardness" of houses, transitional areas between public spaces and private space, and access patterns: Jameson 1990a, 1990b; Nevett 1999, 2003; Westgate 2007; Lang 2005, 2007. Anthropological parallels include, for example, Blanton 1994; several of the articles in volumes edited by Samson (1990); Kent (1990); Allison (1999).

⁵⁵¹ Jameson 1990a, 1990b; Nevett 1999; Westgate 2007.

particular period in anticipation of a future where privacy and the insularity of the physical household appear to be a major concern.

We can consider, however, how access patterns reflected and determined the lifestyle of the inhabitants of Early Greek houses. Through access patterns we may measure levels of privacy as the amount to which particular spaces were passed through to access other rooms. Privacy beyond this very rudimentary measure, as achieved through other means (e.g., through locks, closed doors, curtains, shutters), simply cannot be measured with our evidence. Private spaces, therefore, are merely those which appear to have the least amount of through-traffic. Therefore we should be careful what exactly we infer from levels of privacy derived in this way.

From the one-room one-entrance houses that are dominant throughout Early Greece, we can infer very little about privacy or lack of privacy as it is determined by access patterns, since there is only one room to be accessed. Therefore if we talk about privacy, it is really only about that between the outside and the inside. It is possible, however, that there were other types of dividers within one-room houses that are less readily identifiable in the archaeological record (e.g., curtains or screens made of textiles or wood). Internally, it appears not to have been a pressing concern to partition, at least not architecturally and more soundly, the inhabitants of the house or the activities which occurred within the house from one another, but only to partition the inside from outside.

What about multi-room houses? Houses with sequential access patterns (Nevett's type 2, type 3, and elements of type 6 composite houses), have varying degrees of privacy from room to room. Only the final room in any series of rooms could be considered private, in that it is the only room with no through-traffic. Non-sequential multi-room houses,

whether they have courtyards or corridors, or simply open up onto outside space (possibly types 3, 4, 5, and 6) have more possibilities for private spaces, as more rooms have only one point of entry or exit. In both of these situations, however, to what degree this lack of through-traffic was important, depends upon what the purpose of the internal divisions were. The type of privacy provided by such private rooms could have had a number of different uses, from storage to the separation of household members and/or activities. It is probably important, however, to remember that privacy in this case simply means no through-traffic, which does not mean privacy in terms of sight, noise, or entry, for example. It may also simply be an inadvertent effect of partitioning for purposes other than to achieve privacy. We therefore need to consider the possible reasons for partitioning the inside space of the household, which means investigating how members of the household utilized domestic space.

The access patterns of one-room houses obviously do not allow for the formal physical division of household members or activities. Those belonging to houses with multiple rooms in a serial arrangement (type 2) also do not suggest such physical division. The room towards the rear of such houses would be the only place according to access patterns that could be truly divisible from the rest of the building. It would probably have received little to no natural light (apart from any windows) and been very ill-suited to the performance of many daily household activities. Moreover, at the end of a series of rooms, it would have been quite isolating, and, as far as I can ascertain, no one has suggested in the scholarship such a severe cloistering of any members of the household in Early Greece. Such rooms would have been better suited as storage space with some additional limited use rather than as the particular space for specific household members to spend their time. The

question of the division of space and the separation of household members or the assignment of gendered space really arises with multiple room houses that are not arranged serially (types 3-6). The formal functional specialization of rooms which is not possible in one-room houses, becomes *possible* in multiple room houses, particularly in those with more complex access patterns. The division of household members also becomes possible. Possibility, however, is far from probability. The existence of internal divisions in a house is evidence not of divisions between activities or household members, but of the possibility for such divisions. Therefore, more information is needed to assess the probability of such divisions coinciding with the physical division of space.

Finds and Features

Although the finds and features often elude us as evidence in Early Greek housing, as mentioned above, there are some sites and individual houses where the evidence is more substantial, e.g., the site of Zagora or house H/L, J, G at Thorikos. Fixed features tend to be better preserved and reported along with the architecture and are useful in suggesting the function of spaces in Early Greek houses and the activities of their inhabitants. In some cases small finds, when reported carefully in their room context, are also useful to some extent in determining room functions and locations for activities, although they must be carefully interpreted in this regard, since find spot does not necessarily indicate the location in which an artefact was used in real life. Nevett and Ault suggest three types of artefact deposits, categorized by the processes by which artefacts enter the archaeological record: *de facto* deposits for artefacts left or abandoned in their location of use; primary refuse for artefacts discarded in their location of use; and secondary refuse for artefacts discarded in places other

than in their location of use.⁵⁵² While this scheme does draw our attention to how artefacts were deposited, there is some ambiguity about what ‘use’ in fact entails. Is storage use? It seems to me that we ought to consider storage as a part of ‘usage’ and location of use. An artefact could be used in one location but stored in another. Loom-weights or lamps, for example, could be stored out of the way in and pulled out only when needed. At Zagora spindle-whorls were found grouped together near the bench in H19, suggesting that they had been stored together in containers.⁵⁵³ Whether they were used and not just stored in that room is, however, unclear. Other highly portable objects like dishes and cups could be used in several locations throughout a house, but perhaps stored only in one particular area. Moreover, an artefact could be used in any number of locations, but can only be found in one location, that is, excavators can only find it once. We should consider that where an item is found is reflective of depositional processes as identified by Schiffer, but also that the ‘usage’ of artefacts in real life can be fluid moving from location to location.

Another challenge for the interpretation of finds is presented by the processes of abandonment at sites and the inappropriateness of the assumption called the ‘Pompeii premise’. The vast majority of sites, of course, do not experience a cataclysmic event, such as Pompeii did (hence, the ‘Pompeii premise’), which supposedly, according to the ‘Pompeii premise’, captured buildings, artefacts, and even people in situ in a moment in time and, along with them, the entire, literal material record of life in Pompeii.⁵⁵⁴ Sites like Olynthos,

⁵⁵² Nevett and Ault 1999, 47-51, citing Schiffer 1996.

⁵⁵³ *Zagora I*, 31, 47; Christophilopoulou 2007, 26.

⁵⁵⁴ See Trigger 2006, 426-27 on the debate between Schiffer and Binford concerning the ‘Pompeii premise’. Not even Pompeii was as suddenly abandoned, destroyed, or caught in time or as untouched in antiquity that the

as argued by Cahill, even though associated in the literary evidence with a particular destructive event, did not experience a sudden destruction, and yet the tendency initially was to interpret the site as if it had and as if the city and its material existence had been caught completely and precisely in a moment in time.⁵⁵⁵ First, the citizens appear to have had the time to get ready, pack up, and leave. Second, the post-destruction phase was not buried, and so not protected from further natural and human transformation processes. The same is true of sites like Vroulia and Zagora, which were abandoned, but not necessarily left as they had been while in use. The processes of abandonment itself, therefore, must be considered in any analysis of the finds. So, with these points in mind, what do we find in Early Greek houses connected to the activities of the inhabitants?

Fire, heat, and light

Hearths can take on various forms in the archaeological record, from burnt areas through pits to built features, and can belong to various contexts: domestic, sacred, or communal. Although the evidence, as Fagerström points out, is very scanty for Early Greece, a few trends in hearths can be noted. Simple pits or burnt areas appear mostly in one-room houses, curvilinear ones in particular, whereas built rectangular hearths appear in structures with more rooms, complex access patterns, and rectangular shapes.⁵⁵⁶ Fagerström

destruction layer captured the material culture of Pompeii so completely and exactly that archaeologists and historians can interpret the site as a snapshot of a living context. And so the premise does not even apply fully to its namesake.

⁵⁵⁵ Cahill 2002, 67-70.

⁵⁵⁶ Fagerström 1988a, 130-31, table 8. The communal hearth or kitchen at Koukounaries is an interesting case and will be discussed below in connection with households and community.

also concludes that most of the hearths discovered from this period belong to domestic contexts and do not simply indicate sacred activity, since hearths and the heat, light, and ability to cook they could provide would have been necessary to the functioning of households.⁵⁵⁷ That we have so few hearths (burnt spots, pits, or otherwise) surviving, need not detract from their importance to the household. Hearths can take on the forms as listed above but also could be portable.⁵⁵⁸ A fire of some sort is important to sustaining the household, but could be as simple as an area where material was burnt to a portable brazier. Hearths, in a domestic context, are for living. i.e., for warmth, cooking, or light. They therefore indicate active use of the space by household members, either to use the hearth and draw benefit from it or to tend it. Storage, in contrast, although it does not preclude regular use of the space, does not necessarily draw the same sort of attention or activity levels as would a hearth.

Light, as Parisinou argues, would have had a profound effect on what activities could take place where. Artificial light sources were a possibility for providing illumination for certain activities and fragments of lamps have been found at Onythe and Koukounaries.⁵⁵⁹ Certain activities would probably have required a more substantial amount of light, e.g.,

⁵⁵⁷ Fagerström 1988a, 131.

⁵⁵⁸ For a summary of the possibilities for hearths and cooking equipment in the classical period, see Foxhall 2007, 235-40. It does not seem unreasonable to think that similar possibilities could have been available in Early Greece (Tsakirgis 2007, 228-29). Parisinou discusses portable braziers as possible light sources for Early Greek houses, citing the portable brazier found at Kastanas (Parisinou 2007, 120; for the brazier at Kastanas: Lang 1996, 265; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 125). Few braziers have, however, been found.

⁵⁵⁹ Parisinou 2007, 220. Onythe: Platon 1955, 300 and Lang 1996, 105. Koukounaries: Lang 1996, 183. For the evidence of Early Greek artificial light sources see Parisinou 2000, 8-19.

weaving. Loom-weights and post-holes suggest the installation of vertical looms at Asine and Lefkandi in the Early Iron Age. Both come from one-room structures and were placed along a wall, probably leaning against it.⁵⁶⁰ It is possible, therefore, that there was enough light from the door in each case. Loom-weights and spindle-whorls have also been found at other sites in domestic contexts, e.g., at Zagora and Nichoria.⁵⁶¹ At Nichoria in Unit IV-1 they were found along a wall. The placement of the possible looms suggests that indoor space, especially along a wall, was used for weaving and that there was probably at least a sufficient amount light from the door to support such activities to be performed.

Storage

Features connected to storage are the most prominent evidence we have of Early Greek domestic architecture besides foundation walls, and therefore it seems to have been very important to Early Greek domesticity. Benches in a number of rooms at Zagora (e.g., H18, H19, H26-27 phases 1 and 2), for example, were used by households to hold large *pithoi* for storage.⁵⁶² Benches elsewhere in domestic contexts were also used for storage, for example, at Xobourgo (unit V), Thorikos (room G), and Vathys Limenaris (House X7).⁵⁶³ Indeed, the conclusion of Fagerström's overview of the benches from the Early Iron Age is

⁵⁶⁰ It is possible that the structure at Lefkandi was more of a workshop than a house (Fagerström 1988a, 133). In either case, however, the point still stands that the activity of weaving inside any structure would have demanded a certain level of light for the weaver to work by.

⁵⁶¹ Parisinou 2007, 220. Asine and Lefkandi: Fagerström 1988a, 132-133. Nichoria: Fagerström 1988a, 41; 1988b. Zagora: *Zagora II*, 229, 230.

⁵⁶² *Zagora I*, 25-26; *Zagora II*, 154.

⁵⁶³ Fagerström 1988a, 136.

that most by far were used for this reason, particularly in domestic contexts.⁵⁶⁴

Christophilopoulou, however, interprets benches in Early Greek houses as multi-functional architectural features.⁵⁶⁵ The term ‘benches’ may not even be an appropriate designation for this group of features, given their variety in shape, dimensions, and construction. They are, in more general terms, raised platforms of varying heights, widths, shapes, and construction, and therefore, likely varying in function and intention as well.⁵⁶⁶ The label should be treated as merely descriptive, and such features should not necessarily be associated with sitting or reclining. It seems reasonable that benches could be as multi-functional as the rooms in which they were located could, and on the basis of the finds and features associated with several benches in domestic contexts in Fagerström’s overview (e.g., holes for *pithoi*, sherds of *pithoi* and other pottery shapes), storage would seem to have been one of the functions.

Other types of storage, for which we have archaeological evidence, included cisterns (e.g., at Telos),⁵⁶⁷ bins for water or possibly grain storage if inside the house (e.g., at Zagora, Nichoria, Vathys Limenaris, and Tsikkalario),⁵⁶⁸ and indoor pits (e.g., at Asine, Smyrna,

⁵⁶⁴ Fagerström 1988a, 133-37. It should, however, be mentioned that the majority of the benches from this period are from Zagora.

⁵⁶⁵ Christophilopoulou 2007, 30. Christophilopoulou’s acceptance of the excavators identification of the benches at Siphnos as “possibly used as beds” is curious (Brock and Young 1949, 8), since the identification rests on the basis of there being no specific evidence of what they were used for and since storage vessels were found in the same room.

⁵⁶⁶ For the data on Iron Age benches, including the dimensions, shapes, and building techniques, see Fagerström 1988a, 134-35.

⁵⁶⁷ Hoepfner 1999, 182-83, although the cisterns may be of a date in the sixth century.

⁵⁶⁸ Fagerström 1988a, 131-2.

Xobourgo, and Nichoria).⁵⁶⁹ It has been suggested that the silos found in eighth century houses in Megara Hyblaia were used for the storage of grain and surplus grain in particular.⁵⁷⁰

Parisinou intriguingly suggests that light sources in general (windows, hearths, and portable light sources) may give us some clue as to the use of certain rooms in Early Greek houses.⁵⁷¹ For example, triangular windows in rooms at Zagora in which there is evidence of storage, seem to be placed and shaped not so much to provide good light to work in, but rather ventilation for better storage conditions.⁵⁷² Rooms with the most amount of privacy (i.e., the least amount of through-traffic according to access patterns) may also have had a very limited amount of natural light, making them ideal places for storage of light or heat sensitive items, such as foodstuffs or oils. This would be especially true in houses with serial access patterns, in which the final room in the series was set far back from the entrance, but also in houses with more complex access patterns, such as House A at Onythe (fig. 6.18) and Building IV at Xobourgo (fig. 6.19), in which evidence of storage has been found in rooms which would have received little to no natural light.⁵⁷³ The storage rooms from phase one at Zagora, as they become divided in phase two, provide even less light and more segregation of storage space.

⁵⁶⁹ Fagerström 1988a, 137.

⁵⁷⁰ De Angelis 2002.

⁵⁷¹ Parisinou 2007, 215-220.

⁵⁷² *Zagora I*, 25; Parisinou 2007, 215.

⁵⁷³ Parisinou 2007, 217. Onythe: Lang 1996, 88; Platon 1955, 300-301. Xobourgo: Fagerström 1988a, 83-84, 136; Hoepfner 1999, 191.

Some mention has been made of *pithoi* fragments above, but a little more should be said. Some *pithoi* at Zagora and Xobourgo from the eighth and seventh centuries stand out because they were decorated with figured relief.⁵⁷⁴ Although many such relief *pithoi* are evidenced at Zagora in the eighth century, the refinement of the decoration seems to increase around 700 BCE, and the majority of the pieces are associated with what is called the Tenian school, after the island of Tenos on which Xobourgo is located.⁵⁷⁵ In fact, most of the figurative *pithoi* of the seventh century come from Xobourgo from building IV, room 5 (according to Kontoleon's plan) in particular, where they were set into the ground in a room suited to storage by access patterns and light conditions (fig. 6.19).⁵⁷⁶ A good example of seventh-century skill and artistry on these *pithoi* is the early seventh century relief *pithos* depicting the head-birth of a deity from Xobourgo (fig. 6.20).⁵⁷⁷ Osborne interprets its rather unusual iconography alongside that of other relief *pithoi* as an exploration of the worlds of the human, the animal, and the divine.⁵⁷⁸ Not all *pithoi* display such artistry; however, such fine or elaborate decorative details on what appear to be vessels meant and used for storage are quite interesting. It leads Hoepfner to suggest that room 5 was used as a store-room that could even have operated as a shop with goods (olive oil, wine, or grain) displayed in

⁵⁷⁴ Zagora: *Zagora II*, 182-83. Xobourgo: Kontoleon 1953, 258-67. On the Tenos-Boiotian group of relief *pithoi*: Schäfer 1957, 67-90; Erwin Caskey 1976, 21-26.

⁵⁷⁵ Coldstream 2003, 213.

⁵⁷⁶ Kontoleon 1953, 258-67. Coldstream 2003, 213. On lighting in room 5 see Parisinou 2007, 217.

⁵⁷⁷ Osborne 1996, 164-67; Hoepfner 1999, 191.

⁵⁷⁸ Osborne 1996, 164-67.

decorative vessels.⁵⁷⁹ Even if the room was not used to display goods, that does not mean that the vessels were not meant for display eventually and simply stored in this location until such a time. These vessels, as both storage and decorative pieces, imply trading or economic interests on the part of the inhabitants or users of the building and a possible domestic and economic function of room 5 at Xobourgo.

The function of the complex structure at Xobourgo is, however, still unclear and has recently been revisited. Kontoleon identifies it as a ‘Thesmophorion’, Themelis identifies it as a burial shrine, others identify it as a domestic building.⁵⁸⁰ Recently Kourou has reinvestigated the building and concludes that it had a cult function because of its location outside of an Archaic wall and supposedly near the front gate of the settlement as well as the nature of some of the finds and structures, which may suggest cult activity (terracotta plaques, “a temple-like structure” that probably dates to the fifth century, and Π-shaped structure).⁵⁸¹ The evidence of the building is rather inconclusive, however, so I tentatively include it here along with the possibility of an economic function for room 5. It may, however, be a site of cult activity.

⁵⁷⁹ Hoepfner 1999, 191. That the light conditions could have been quite poor in this back room or corner (Parisinou 2007, 217) presents something of a problem for Hoepfner’s hypothesis that the room could have operated as a shop with goods on display.

⁵⁸⁰ Kondoleon 1953, 259-63; Themelis, 1976, 8, fig. 2. Those proposing a domestic function include: Fagerström 1988a, 83-84; Lang 1996, 186-87; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 177-78; Hoepfner 1999, 190.

⁵⁸¹ Kourou 2002, 62-66.

Food preparation and consumption

Finds associated with the preparation and consumption of food, namely bones, charcoal (from cooking, partly dealt with above alongside hearths), and certain ceramic types, can also give some indication of the activities of the inhabitants of Early Greek houses. At the very least fragments of cooking and serving ware can indicate that cooking as a component of living took place within a given house, even if we cannot always pinpoint exactly where food was prepared and eaten.⁵⁸² At Zagora, for instance, however, *chytrai* or cooking pots have been found that may indicate that cooking and possibly eating took place in the rooms in which they were found (e.g., H20, H18, H19, H27, H28, and H32).⁵⁸³ It is also possible, however, that such wares could have been simply stored in those rooms and used elsewhere in the house, but when found along with bones or carbon, such as in rooms H27 and H32, a dining or food preparation context seems all the more likely. At Thorikos, similarly, in room J (house H/L, J, G) pottery, carbon, and bones suggests a food preparation and/or dining area.⁵⁸⁴ I am hesitant, however, to be too firm in labelling any given room as a dining room or a kitchen, especially exclusively. The finds are not always that numerous, could represent highly portable artefacts, and could indicate the storage of food related artefacts. Finds related to food consumption and preparation are not exclusive, since finds not related to either activity also occur in these contexts, e.g., storage in Zagora H27, H28, and D1 (table 3.2). I suspect that much of what Foxhall writes about the everyday

⁵⁸² See Foxhall 2007 on the everyday preparation and consumption of food in the fifth century.

⁵⁸³ *Zagora I*, 56; *Zagora II*, 184-85.

⁵⁸⁴ Fagerström 1988a, 128-29.

preparation and consumption of food in the fifth-century Athenian house may very well apply here.⁵⁸⁵ There is the same absence of a dedicated family dining area and kitchen. The lack of established mealtimes or family dining and the unscheduled and unstructured daily eating patterns of household members in the fifth century, as Foxhall argues, would certainly suit the multi-functional spaces of the Early Greek house.

Functional Specialization

What can we say about the functions of rooms in Early Greek houses from the combined evidence of access patterns, room numbers, and finds and features? The limited number of rooms, even in multiple room houses, means that the vast majority of rooms must have been multi-functional to at least some degree. Therefore any assignment of a given function or activity to a given room should probably not be made to the exclusion of other functions or activities, especially those which may not leave traces in the archaeological record. Some activities leave traces in the archaeological record. Drinking and food consumption may be indicated by symposium ceramics shapes, and the remains of meals (for example, bones). Hearths, fire pits, charcoal, braziers, and cooking ceramics could point to food preparation. So-called benches, *pithoi*, *amphorai*, and cisterns could be evidence of storing goods and/or foodstuffs. Weaving is often suggested by loom-weights. Although the manner of deposition and variable patterns of use can make interpreting these traces complex, such archaeological can suggest something about function and activity within and around the house. Many activities, however, that humans do, on a daily basis or otherwise,

⁵⁸⁵ Foxhall 2007.

are not readily discernible in the material record. Beyond human biological functions, like sleeping, we can only speculate about such activities, for example meeting, talking, playing, and singing. We should not, therefore, forget that human activity does not always leave traces in the material record.

The distribution of finds at Zagora supports the observation that functions should not be assigned to the exclusion of other functions. Table 3.2 depicts the types of finds found in the phase 2 occupation level of each room of the four courtyard houses excavated at Zagora. According to the distribution of the evidence for particular activities (drinking vessels, storage artefacts/features, food preparation artefacts, food consumption artefacts, weaving implements, hearths or fire pits) most rooms were multi-functional, playing host to a number of activities performed by members of the household. Some rooms do seem to have a greater degree of multi-functionality than others, although it should be noted here that rooms in the table with seemingly no artefacts or only one type of artefact were subject to very limited excavations, and so we should not put too much emphasis on the lack of artefacts in certain rooms. We should also remember that any of these rooms may have been the site of activities less readily discerned in the archaeological remains. But we can say a few things about the lifestyle of the inhabitants of the houses. Daily life could not have been very strictly regulated in terms of space. It seems that eating, for example, could take place in the same space as weaving or where goods were stored. Sleeping must have occurred somewhere within these houses, and no room seems to have been dedicated strictly to that activity or any other activity for that matter, since all well-excavated rooms show evidence of at least one other activity. Indeed, lifestyle seems to have been spatially quite unrestricted, despite what seems to be an increase in the functional specialization of rooms.

The rooms at Zagora in phase 2, although by and large multi-functional, do appear to become more specialized after the structural changes undergone between phase 1 and phase 2. Around the last quarter of the eighth century, several one-room houses with porches (type 1) or two-room houses with serial access patterns (type 2) in phase 1 become courtyard houses in phase 2 (types 5 and 6) either through amalgamation with surrounding buildings (the house centred around courtyard H21) or through internal subdivision or new building (those centred around H43, H21, and D2-4).⁵⁸⁶ The more complex access patterns and the distribution of finds from the rooms of the four houses in phase 2 (table 3.2) do indicate some increased specialization amongst the rooms, although it is by no means strict. Some rooms appear to be more general purpose including some sort of storage, whereas others appear to be less associated with storage and more with the activities of dining and drinking. Rooms with storage, as Coucouzeli points out contrary to the excavators' assessments, also contain evidence suggesting the preparation and consumption of food (table 3.2).⁵⁸⁷ And rooms without storage also contain such evidence for cooking and dining, as well as drinking, or little to no evidence has been recorded or excavated (table 3.2). Out of this distribution of finds, Coucouzeli reads a division along the lines of kitchen/store versus living/reception, equated with utilitarian versus less utilitarian and in some cases formal.⁵⁸⁸ I see this slightly differently. The emphasis should be put more on storage than on reception. It is the absence of storage that makes certain rooms stand out, rather than evidence in favour of reception.

⁵⁸⁶ *Zagora I*, 14; *Zagora II*, 106.

⁵⁸⁷ Coucouzeli 2007, 172.

⁵⁸⁸ Coucouzeli 2007, 172.

The identification of reception rooms or dining rooms is made as much from the absence of finds as from the evidence of pottery shapes associated with drinking. This specialization, moreover, should not be stated too strongly. The rooms continue to be multi-functional and do not become exclusive in their use. The difference is that they become multi-functional to a lesser degree than they were in their previous incarnations in two-room serially arranged houses. This is perhaps what occurred at Zagora from phase 1 to phase 2. The excavators suggest that the space later divided into rooms H24/25/32 was one all-purpose room, the use of which became more complex in phase 2 when the space was partitioned.⁵⁸⁹ Morris, followed by Christophilopoulou, takes it a step further and writes that the finds in H24/25/32 from phase 1 indicate that several activities (drinking, food consumption and preparation, and storage) all occurred within this one room.⁵⁹⁰ A few difficulties present themselves, however, in the absence of a clear definition in room H25 between the floor fill and the occupation layer, in the absence of separation between the occupation phases for the entire space, and in the lack of reported or reportable finds in H24.⁵⁹¹ In phase 2, the rooms in the now five-room house including a courtyard (H24/25/32/33/40) experienced similar multi-functionality, but with more space for storage.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁹ *Zagora II*, 112.

⁵⁹⁰ Morris 2000, 285; Christophilopoulou 2007, 27.

⁵⁹¹ *Zagora II*, 107-111, 261.

⁵⁹² Cf. Morris (2000, 285), followed by Christophilopoulou (2007, 27), who writes that the three rooms (H24/25/32) whose space made up the original one-room house in phase 1 were dedicated solely to storage in phase 2. That room H25 was used as storage is attested by the finds (see table 6.2), but H25 also contained sherds from drinking vessels (see table 6.2). H24 underwent limited excavation, and no finds are reported (see the absence of finds from H24 in *Zagora II*, 261), so it is not possible to assign a sole function to the space. Also, H32 appears to have been multi-functional, general living space, for which there is no surviving evidence

Few other sites can provide the amount of information about houses that Zagora does because of the degree of its reporting and its abandonment after less than a century of occupation, hence its relative importance in the scholarship on Early Greek society. There are, however, other sites which have not had their houses preserved or recorded to the same degree as Zagora, but where we can still trace changes in domestic architecture over time and interpret the changes by plans and access patterns.

At Eretria, for example, there is a progression in the eighth century from small one-room oval houses to larger one-room curvilinear structures to rectilinear two-room houses with serial access patterns (type 2 or *megaron* houses) at the end of the century and beginning of the seventh century (fig. 6.21).⁵⁹³ At Megara Hyblaia, remarkably uniform one-room houses in the eighth century develop over the seventh and sixth centuries into more diverse multi-room houses with more complex access patterns (fig. 6.15).⁵⁹⁴ In this, the site shares a somewhat parallel, although temporally elongated, development in domestic architecture as Zagora; however, that this movement was a gradual process involving renovation of existing buildings and the construction of new buildings over a long period of time is important to note. Throughout the seventh century, some one-room houses were modified into multiple-room houses, some with courtyards, while others remained as they were. Some new one-room houses were built as well as some multi-room houses. In the

specifically for storage, although that does not cancel a storage function out, it does suggest a more multifaceted use of the space.

⁵⁹³ Morris 1998, 16, 18, fig. 5.

⁵⁹⁴ Morris 1998, 23; De Angelis 2003, 17-32.

sixth century multi-room houses become more standard.⁵⁹⁵ The changes did not occur as rapidly nor as uniformly as they seem to have at Zagora in the eighth century, and may therefore speak to different or at least less immediate needs, desires, or capabilities on the part of the inhabitants to change their domestic space.

While we do see a movement toward more complex access patterns at a number of sites, it is necessary to be reminded again that most Early Greek houses, even in the seventh and sixth centuries, are relatively modest one-room houses.⁵⁹⁶ The numbers of different house types, as shown in Nevett's charts, indicate that such changes as are seen at Zagora in the expansion and increased specialization in houses, should not be taken as standard development. Even at individual sites, as Morris points out, old and new designs often existed side by side at the same site, citing as examples the existence of oval and rectilinear houses at Miletos ca. 750, the gradual conversion of houses at Megara Hyblaia in the seventh century, and the combination of rectilinear and curvilinear architecture at Lathouresa in the seventh century.⁵⁹⁷ Moreover, although there does seem to be a trend toward more rooms and more complex access patterns in houses at those sites at which we can track changes in domestic architecture, not all sites parallel the changes that took place at Zagora, Megara Hyblaia, and Eretria.

⁵⁹⁵ See De Angelis 2003, 17-32, figs. 7, 9-13, 16-18 for charts documenting these changes in domestic architecture at Megara Hyblaia from the late eighth century to the end of the sixth century.

⁵⁹⁶ Nevett 2003, 17-18, fig. 3.

⁵⁹⁷ Morris 1998, 22-23.

Kastanas in Macedonia, as has been already pointed out above, underwent what seems to be the opposite changes as Megara Hyblaia and Zagora. At that site, an eighth-century multi-room house with single units accessed from the outside was remodelled in the seventh century into attached smaller two-room units (fig. 6.1).⁵⁹⁸ Later in the sixth century the whole complex was leveled and replaced by two-room detached houses. The houses at the site of Tragilos, also in Macedonia, underwent a similar transformation.⁵⁹⁹ We may say, along with Morris and Lang, that the evidence from these sites is reflective of regional differences, but what does that really mean?⁶⁰⁰ It seems that if we believe that changes to the physical space of the house occur alongside a change in the inhabitants' needs or desires, whether they be familial, social, economic, ideological, or otherwise, that in different places at different times, different needs and desires would surface requiring different changes. It appears, then, that the changes in housing at Kastanas and similarly at Tragilos reflect their own social, political, ideological, or economic context. It also appears that the development of Greek domestic architecture was far from uniform and that similarities and differences in the development of domestic architecture between sites may reflect or be linked to broader social and economic trends that do not hit each region or site in the Greek world evenly at the same time.

That having been said, multi-room houses with more complex access patterns do begin to appear in the late eighth century with more regularity and we do see a spike in our,

⁵⁹⁸ Morris 1998, 46; Lang 1996, 108; 2005, 22-23.

⁵⁹⁹ Lang 2005, 22-23.

⁶⁰⁰ Lang 2005, 22-23; 2007, 189-90.

albeit limited, pool of evidence in their numbers in the seventh century, when they come close to equaling the number of one-room houses.⁶⁰¹ Unfortunately the specific development of most of these houses is difficult to trace for reasons involving archaeological practice or site history as discussed above; we can, however, still use their plans to study access patterns. These may give us some insight into how the division of space in these houses may have affected or reflected the lifestyle and activities of their inhabitants. In enhancing the possibility of functional specialization within a house, did more physical division of space also mean formal division between household activities and/or between household members? Can we see in the division of space the creation of gendered spaces in the household and/or strictly or exclusively functional spaces?

Gendered space? Dining Space?

Coucouzeli presents an interesting but highly speculative scenario for the living use of houses and rooms in Zagora in phase 2, based on a comparison with houses in modern Islamic cultures. As discussed above, Coucouzeli sees a specialization in room function in the modified courtyard houses in phase 2 at Zagora involving the separation of the activities of the household from formal dining and drinking spaces used for the reception of guests. She takes this segmentation of domestic space as the separation of household activities and household members on either side of the courtyard, namely the separation of women from

⁶⁰¹ Lang 1996, 106; Nevett 2003, 17, fig. 3. Such houses can be found throughout the Greek world, e.g., at Aigina, Corinth, Koukounaries on Paros, Kalabektepe at Miletos, Vroulia on Rhodes, Syracuse and Megara Hyblaia on Sicily, and Dreros, Kavousi Kastro and Onythe on Crete. For a thorough account of multi-room houses known to us from published excavations, see the houses listed under *Mehrraumhäuser: Hof- und Korridorhaus* (Lang 1996, 95-97) and *Pastas- und Prostashauser* (Lang 1996, 98-101). Although Lang categorizes multiple room houses by layout and thus differently from Nevett, who does so by access patterns and room numbers, the resulting types overlap here.

men and non-kinsmen in particular in a scenario imported from Classical Athens.

Coucouzeli does not see this as a firm distinction between genders, but rather as “a more flexible and complex division, where both gender and kinship were important” citing Jameson and Nevett on the lack of a strict division between men’s and women’s quarters.⁶⁰²

The point seems to be missing, however, which Jameson and Nevett make, that such divisions seem to be based more on ideals and ideology than reality.⁶⁰³ Thus to seek such divisions archaeologically may be a flawed approach. Such an identification, moreover, requires that we attach gender to given functions or activities in order to claim that spaces were gendered and the evidence, when pushed, simply cannot support such associations. The finds of two loom-weights (each in a different house) does not make female space and a household living in a courtyard house does not make a Classical *oikos*. The evidence, limited as it may be, is more readily explained in other ways, without importing the *mores* of Classical Athens and its idealized *oikos* into eighth-century Zagora.

Morris, who also equates the beginnings of divided space with the beginnings of gendered space, does not go so far in his interpretation as to suggest that something akin to the fifth century Athenian *oikos* was in existence at Zagora in the eighth century.⁶⁰⁴ Instead he associates the beginnings of the ideology of the *oikos* in the segmentation of space, connecting dark and secure storage areas with an abstract notion of the ‘feminine’. This is

⁶⁰² Coucouzeli 2007, 173, citing Jameson 1990a, 1990b and Nevett 1994, 1995, 1999. Similarly, Westgate (2007, 235) and Fusaro (1982, 29) suggest that courtyard houses reflect a greater degree of control over women or greater formal distinctions between household members.

⁶⁰³ Jameson 1990a, 100; 1990b, 186-92, 104; Nevett 1999, 37-38, 71-2.

⁶⁰⁴ Morris 2000, 280-86. Similarly, Christophilopoulou 2007, 30; Langdon 2008, 266.

not an entirely convincing interpretation of the division of space either, as it seems teleologically inspired as part of a search for the origins of the Classical *oikos*. But it does take into account the importance of storage at Zagora, both at the site in general and in the renovations of the late eighth century. As I argued above, the functional specialization of rooms at Zagora in the eighth century seems to operate more around the presence or lack of storage more than any other factor, including evidence of drinking or serving vessels. I shall return to this shortly.

Other scholars have also seen in the limited increase in functional specialization the creation of gendered space in seventh century and identify dining rooms on the order of fifth or fourth century *andrones* from Athens or Olynthos. For example, at the site of Thorikos, the distribution of the finds in house H/L, J, G suggests that room J, whose finds consisted of pottery, carbon, and bones, was a food preparation and/or dining area, whereas G with its benches and pottery was a store room (fig. 6.22). I agree with Fagerström's assessment here that room G is not a dining room as originally suggested by the excavators, but a storage room.⁶⁰⁵ The original interpretation of this room as a dining room on account of its benches, as Fagerström points out, is based on the idea of the later symposium and its reclining participants. Benches in Early Greek architecture and domestic architecture in particular, however, have been shown to be much more connected to storage than to any banqueting or ritual context.⁶⁰⁶ Benches were likely multi-functional, as Christophilopoulou suggests; it is,

⁶⁰⁵ Fagerström 1988a, 128-29, citing *Thorikos III*, 12.

⁶⁰⁶ See p. 269; Fagerström 1988a, 133-37.

however, less likely that such multi-functional features could on their own represent the practice of communal dining.⁶⁰⁷

This idea has similarly led others to assign the misleading label of ‘*andron*’ to specific rooms in Early Greek houses. Hoepfner, for example, identifies specific rooms at Zagora that were created by the eighth-century renovations as *andrones*, comparing their creation with that of *andrones* supposedly created at Xobourgo much later in the fifth century.⁶⁰⁸ He similarly identifies particular rooms at Vroulia as banquet rooms.⁶⁰⁹ It seems reasonable to suggest that there was some sort of communal drinking or comensuality going on in the eighth and seventh centuries which was important culturally and socially in the community and which could perhaps be called early or proto-symposia. Certainly fine pottery in drinking shapes and the iconography on such vessels strongly suggest a cultural practice of communal drinking or feasting, and it is a practice expressed culturally through the poetry of Early Greece.⁶¹⁰ What I question, however, is the identification of rooms as *andrones* in Greek domestic architecture of the eighth century and the idealized gender division, and the fifth-century Athenian social, cultural, and political function it implies. The

⁶⁰⁷ Christophilopoulou 2007, 30.

⁶⁰⁸ Hoepfner 1999, 168-69.

⁶⁰⁹ Hoepfner 1999, 197.

⁶¹⁰ There is significant literature and debate concerning the advent of the Greek symposia as it came to be as we recognize it in form, style, and location from the fifth century in Athens. Whitley presents a balanced picture of the evidence for early symposia and their existence as a cultural practice in the eighth and seventh centuries (2001, 204-13). For early evidence of so-called symposium shapes and iconography in pottery and the literary evidence for symposia, see Murray 1993, 207-213; 1994. For possible locations of symposia in the late Archaic period, see Lynch 2007.

identification of any of the rooms at Zagora or Vroulia in the eighth or seventh century as *androne*s is overly eager and misleading given the state of the evidence.

Even if *androne*s were built in pre-existing houses at Xobourgo in the fifth century, that does not mean that changes to pre-existing structures in Zagora in the eighth century were done for the same purpose, as tempting as it may be to draw a parallel. While I think that assigning the label and function of *andron* to newly created or remodelled rooms at Zagora is premature, a more general parallel could be drawn between those rooms and the ones in the fifth century at Xobourgo and Athens, or in the fourth century at Olynthos: houses were adapted to suit the inhabitants' needs and desires, which seem to have included more domestic space, more complex arrangement of space, increased (although still limited and not strict) functional specialization, and perhaps the possibility of entertaining non-household members.

A major difference between the creation of *androne*s, as has been argued for Xobourgo in the fifth century (rightly or not), and the structural changes at Zagora in the eighth century is the importance of storage space in the resulting houses. All of the remodelled houses that have been thoroughly excavated at Zagora have either increased storage space or made it more specialized, while possibly separating it from areas where guests might be received. This suggests that the changes and the increased functional specialization had as much to do with storage as it did with receiving guests in the domestic environment.

Trade, economy, and prosperity?

The modestly increased functional specialization in multiple-room houses of the eighth and seventh centuries may be connected much more with storage and the developing

economy of both community and household than with any ideology of gender division or banqueting. We know that the community at Zagora in the eighth century was engaged in exchange of some sort, that is, trade or even piracy. The headland on which Zagora is situated is not well suited to agriculture, being far from the fertile valleys on Andros, but it did afford a readily defensible position, which the inhabitants strengthened with a wall where the headland is accessible by land.⁶¹¹ Access between the settlement and the sea, although not easy, was possible through tracks down the slopes. These would have led to the bays to the north and south of the settlement, of which the northern bay has evidence of eighth-century activity in pottery sherds and a wall of similar construction to those in the settlement. This hints at the probable sea-faring or trade purpose to the community, which may have felt the need for protection from sea-faring raiders. The presence of imported pottery and other artefacts, although modest, from areas of Aegean and Greek mainland (e.g., Euboea, Tenos, Attica, Corinth, and Chios) and from the Near East suggest trading contacts or at least access to wider trading networks.⁶¹² It is possible, as some have suggested, that the site was settled by Euboians as a trading station for merchants heading or returning from the east and that it was abandoned with the lessening of Euboian economic power at the end of the eighth century.⁶¹³

⁶¹¹ On the geography of Zagora and surrounding area, see *Zagora I*, 6-12.

⁶¹² *Zagora II*, 241. Coldstream 2003, 211.

⁶¹³ Descoedres 1973, 87-88; *Zagora II*, 241; Coldstream 2003, 210-13. The Euboian connection is suggested by a statement by Strabo about Euboian dominance over Andros, Tenos, Keos, and other islands (10.448) and somewhat more substantially by the predominance of Euboian pottery at the site.

Storage facilities in the houses at Zagora connect this wider economic world of trade to the household.⁶¹⁴ The decisions to further subdivide the physical space of the house seem to have been made toward increasing or adapting storage space or separating it from areas where guests may have been received.⁶¹⁵ As mentioned above, storage appears to be a primary concern across many Early Greek domestic structures. Many of the rooms at Vroulia may also be identified as storage rooms.⁶¹⁶ At Megara Hyblaea silos located in three eighth-century houses were possibly connected to trade in surplus agricultural produce, indicating a potential role for the household in such ventures.⁶¹⁷ At other sites in different time frames we also have evidence, besides signs of storage, of burgeoning household economies tied to wider trade networks.⁶¹⁸ For example, in a multi-room courtyard house at the site of Euesperides in Cyrenaica, there is evidence of a murex-dyeing workshop.⁶¹⁹ The large quantity of storage *pithoi* and *amphorai* at the site of Xobourgo on Tenos may also indicate trade connected to households, but only if we can identify the site as domestic.⁶²⁰ It

⁶¹⁴ While some of the *pithoi* fragments found at the site may represent the use of *pithoi* for collection of rain water, they probably only make up a fraction of the fragments, since many of the fragments are found indoors. Cambitoglou et al. suggest this usage as a possibility, since there are no natural springs or evidence of wells at the site (1971, 9).

⁶¹⁵ *Zagora II*, 154; Morris 2000, 285; Ault 2007, 260.

⁶¹⁶ Morris 1992, 193-95, fig. 47.

⁶¹⁷ De Angelis 2002.

⁶¹⁸ See Lang 2005, 27, on the “Economic Sphere.” For households and the economic participation members of the household for the Graeco-Roman world more generally, see Saller 2007.

⁶¹⁹ Gill and Flecks 2007.

⁶²⁰ Fagerström 1988a, 136; Hoepfner 1999, 191. Kontoleon reports that the floor in room 5 “κατέχεται πλήρως σχεδόν” [was filled almost fully] with sherds of large *pithoi* and *amphorai*, although just how many

appears that Early Greek households, in different times and places, participated in or belonged to the wider economic world of the Mediterranean. The changes we see in housing at different times and places likely reflect the economic participation and success of those households.⁶²¹ Thus the increased complexity of access patterns and the increased functional specialization of rooms may have changed in tandem with economic growth at certain sites at certain times, as they seem to do at Zagora through the eighth century.

The expansion and increased functional specialization of domestic space at Zagora is related to the particular economic situation at that time of the households within that settlement within the overall economic climate of the Greek and Mediterranean world. Therefore, we cannot say that the expansion or increased functional specialization of houses at Zagora represent a stage in an overall evolutionary development in Greek housing toward the houses of the Classical period. Instead, we can say that they represent what can happen to the physical space of the household when the economic situation of the household and community is on the rise. More storage may be needed to be incorporated into the home. The resources to expand the house may become available and the desire to display one's success may rise. The increase in storage does not imply, however, that Zagora was wildly successful. The material assemblage is not evidence of a wealthy, extremely prosperous community, and the increase must be seen in relative terms. The expansion of houses may

vessels these sherds represent is not suggested (Kontoleon 1953, 260). It seems, however, that a large amount of storage vessels was more than a household would have needed for purely domestic consumption. This abundance, however, may also support Kourou's interpretation that the structure was not domestic but had a cult function (Kourou 2002, 65).

⁶²¹ Lang also considers a role for the economy in the structural changes at Zagora and elsewhere in Early Greece (2005, 19).

also be related to population growth, as Green argues, which could also be linked to economic prosperity and an increased ‘quality of life’.⁶²² The evidence of storage, however, seems a primary consideration, although an increase in household members and a need for more dedicated storage space could certainly be two sides to the same coin.⁶²³ The abandonment of the site after only a few generations may likewise indicate changes in the economic situation in the Cyclades at the end of the eighth century and into the seventh.⁶²⁴

Consider, in comparison, the gradual development of houses of the site of Megara Hyblaia. Some houses are renovated from one-room houses into multiple room houses with more complex access patterns and the possibility of increased functional specialization, while

⁶²² Green 1990. For household and house size, economic activity, and quality of life see Morris 2005a; 2007, 226-30; Scheidel 2007, 70-72. More generally on demographic and economic interests, see Laslett 1981, 355: “All economic losses or gains - in earning power, earning opportunities, possession or control of productive resources - may have demographic consequences, encouraging or discouraging births or marriages, raising or lowering mortality.”

⁶²³ There is much written on the population and rates of population increase in the Early Greek world (e.g., Snodgrass 1971, 364-67; 1980, 18-24; Morris 1987, *passim*; 1992, 79; 2002, 24-29; 2007, 214-19; Sallares 1991, 85-91; Osborne 1996, 74-81; Whitley 2001, 98-99; Hall 2007a, 78-79, 114-15). In general see, Scheidel 2007, 42-60. The consensus seems to be that there was a population increase, the size and scope of which remains unclear. It seems reasonable that an increase in population could be related to an increase in house sizes. The use of house sizes in the demographic data, however, can complicate the picture here, since what I am trying to understand are the reasons behind changes in house sizes, and they do not necessarily increase in tandem with household size, especially where the household may be involved in increased economic activity requiring storage space.

⁶²⁴ The abandonment of Zagora can probably be linked to the abandonment of similar nearby sites in the Cyclades in the seventh century: Xobourgo on Tenos, Agios Andreas on Siphnos, Koukounaries on Paros. This series of abandonment of sites may indicate changing economic and cultural conditions in the region, perhaps a slow-down of the activities which sustained the settlements (Coldstream 2003, 213) and/or a change in settlement priorities, namely a decreased need for defense and an increased need or desire for easier accessibility (Osborne 1996, 200). Either way, the abandonment or movement of the settlement would be tied to a changing economic climate in the region.

others remained the same.⁶²⁵ The uniformity originally seen at the site in the late eighth century gradually diminishes over the following centuries. The gradual changes in houses at Megara Hyblaia are very much unlike the changes seen at Zagora, where the houses were built and abandoned within the space of a century and where the changes to the houses occurred all around the same time. Such differing rates of change (and the differing rates of economic growth and decline they may indicate) may be supported by Whitley's point about social diversity in Early Greece.⁶²⁶

I do not suggest by this that regions or settlements were isolated with limited exposure to the wider Greek or Mediterranean world, but rather that they could be interconnected and part of a wider Mediterranean world without experiencing the same economic effects and the same measure and manifestation of success. There were, as Morris puts it, winners and losers in the wider economic world of the ancient Mediterranean.⁶²⁷ On a larger scale the economy of the Early Greek world underwent significant transformation and growth, particularly between 700 and 500 BCE, but the manifestation of such transformation and growth was neither homogenous nor static.⁶²⁸ Winners do not always remain winners, and losers do not always remain losers. Regions, cities, and households, although interconnected, experienced different rates of success at different times. The

⁶²⁵ Morris 1998, 23; De Angelis 2003, 17-32.

⁶²⁶ Whitley 1991a; 2001, 90.

⁶²⁷ Morris 2005b, *passim*.

⁶²⁸ Morris has identified modest growth through the Early Iron Age which accelerates in the Archaic and Classical periods, Morris 2004, 728-33; 2005a; 2007, 230-31. On economic growth, see also Osborne 2007, 300-1; Bresson 2007, 210-11.

changes in housing likely reflects the involvement and success of the household and the settlement in the wider economy. Therefore, the commonality we see in the *changes* made to houses (towards more complex access patterns and increased functional specialization of space) can probably be attributed to a common need and/or ability to subdivide or expand the physical space of the household as part of its economic involvement and success.

Conclusion

The evidence of Early Greek domestic architecture is neither abundant nor clear. The numerous interpretations of the evidence, whether of foundation walls or finds and features, allude to the paucity of the evidence and the difficulty of interpreting it. But the same array of interpretations also alludes to its potential for, if not answering, at least investigating questions of society, culture, and economy. Although attempts to trace the development of Early Greek housing can be dubious on account of the disparate nature of our evidence across several sites of different time frames, there are still a number of points to be made from the evidence of domestic architecture about society, households, and kinship. Not all of them are necessarily positive conclusions, but they all do cast light on the situation regarding kinship in Early Greece.

There appears to be no difference in kinship perceivable between agglomerated or detached houses in Early Greece. Despite a possible comparison with Bronze Age agglomerated settlements on Crete which may have been inhabited by co-residential kinship groups, the houses in agglomerated settlements in the Early Iron Age and Archaic periods do not seem to be structured alongside any principle of kinship, at least not one that is discernible in the evidence. Despite the interesting but ultimately flawed and unconvincing

argument that a large kinship group on the scale of a tribe or clan inhabited the so-called Heroön at Lefkandi in the tenth century has been made by Coucouzeli, there seems to be no evidence for large kinship groups co-habiting the same space. This is not to say that such groups could not have existed, but that there is no trace of them in the archaeological record of Early Greek housing.

A radical differentiation between houses at the same sites is not visible. The extremes of wealth do not appear to be so vastly disparate. There are, however, some differences discernible between houses at places like Nichoria, Eretria, and Oropos, but the meaning of these differences should not be too hastily connected to Homeric society or an aristocracy. The use of the term aristocracy seems overstated when applied to the largely modest settlements of Early Greece. We can also see some differentiation in size and complexity of ground plans between houses at, for example, Zagora and Megara Hyblaia in the eighth and seventh centuries; however, this differentiation may have less to do with an already established social order and more to do with the establishment of social and economic order.

The limited but increased functional specialization and in some cases expansion of houses seen at certain sites at different times from the ninth through the eighth centuries is likely an indicator of the economic participation and even success of the households inhabiting those spaces. With increased participation in a strong economy, the storage space in the house would probably have to increase in tandem with the amount of surplus goods or foodstuffs needing to be stored. The ability would also have increased to expand the living quarters into perhaps a more comfortable arrangement or one that allows more space for the entertaining of guests. The changes in housing reflect the changing economic situations of households and communities, the winners and losers, the waxing and waning of the economic

situation of the household, community, and region. Such changes would have been felt differently in different times and places, and this is reflected in the somewhat confusing picture of Early Greek domestic architecture, which is on the one hand mostly made up of one-room houses, and on the other diverse across sites at any one given time. Despite being interconnected as part of a larger Mediterranean world, different sites developed in different ways (e.g., Kastanas as compared to Zagora), and any one snapshot of the Early Greek world at a point in time would show diversity in domestic architecture and settlement alongside the social diversity that Whitley argues must be recognized in Early Greece.⁶²⁹ It seems less likely, therefore, that changes to the domestic environment in Early Greece were part of some longer term development toward the Classical *oikos*. It is also less likely, then, that the development of the family followed a similar overall trajectory across the Early Greek world. It is possible that a number of ideas about kinship could have existed in tandem with social diversity, both among sites and regions, but also among households. This complements the approach of this study to investigate kinship through kinship ideas and not through universal criteria. Such ideas, from the evidence of domestic architecture, will be taken up in the final chapter of this study alongside the evidence of genealogy and burial practices.

⁶²⁹ Whitley 1991a.

Table 6.1: Six types of Early Greek houses according to Nevett

type	description	example
1	one-room houses, no fixed internal divisions, usually elongated, usually with one entrance, sometimes had porchs	<p>House O at Emporio (Boardman 1967, fig. 26)</p> <div data-bbox="740 426 1362 663" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"> <p>Image removed because of copyright restrictions.</p> <p>The information removed is a plan of house O at Emporio (Boardman 1967, fig. 26).</p> </div>
2	elongated, multiple-room houses, entered on one of the shorter sides, with internal divisions creating a series of rooms entered one after another	<p>House I at Emporio (Boardman 1967, fig. 24)</p> <div data-bbox="753 856 1375 1094" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"> <p>Image removed because of copyright restrictions.</p> <p>The information removed is a plan of house I at Emporio (Boardman 1967, fig. 24).</p> </div>
3	elongated, multiple-room houses, entered on one of the longer sides, with internal divisions on either side of the room into which one entered, could create a series of rooms on either side	<p>Kavousi Kastro Building A (Haggis et al. 1997, fig. 2)</p> <div data-bbox="753 1333 1375 1570" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"> <p>Image removed because of copyright restrictions.</p> <p>The information removed is a plan of Kavousi Kastro Building A (Haggis et al. 1997, fig. 2)</p> </div>

4	multiple-room houses, rooms entered separately by doors facing outwards in multiple directions	<p>The central large house (level 8) at Kastanas (after Lang 1996, fig. 130)</p> <div data-bbox="756 331 1377 569" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"> <p>Image removed because of copyright restrictions.</p> <p>The information removed is a plan of the central large house (level 8) at Kastanas (after Lang 1996, fig. 130).</p> </div>
5	multiple-room houses, rooms entered separately off of a central space	<p>House A at Onythe (Platon 1955, fig.1)</p> <div data-bbox="756 808 1377 1045" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"> <p>Image removed because of copyright restrictions.</p> <p>The information removed is a plan of house A at Onythe (Platon 1955, fig.1).</p> </div>
6	multiple-room houses, access patterns 'composite' of above types, especially a combination of transitional open spaces and series of rooms	<p>Zagora House D6-8 (after <i>Zagora II</i>, plan 6)</p> <div data-bbox="740 1283 1360 1520" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"> <p>Image removed because of copyright restrictions.</p> <p>The information removed is a plan of Zagora House D6-8 (after <i>Zagora II</i>, plan 6).</p> </div>

Source: Data from Nevett 2003.

Table 6.2. Evidence associated with certain activities in Late Geometric II at Zagora

<i>house (by courtyard)</i>	<i>rooms</i>	<i>drinking vessels</i>	<i>storage artefacts/features</i>	<i>food preparation artefacts</i>	<i>food consumption artefacts</i>	<i>weaving implements</i>	<i>hearths or fire pits</i>	<i>brief comments concerning function</i>
house around H33	H24		X					limited excavation, storage bench probable
	H25	X	X		X			storage, general living space
	H32			X	X	X		general living space
	H33							courtyard
	H40	X						ante-room to H40, little function of its own
	H41				X	X	X	general living room, emphasis on food preparation
house around H43	H26		X					storage room
	H27	X	X	X	X		X	storage room, general living space
	H43							courtyard
	H42		X					limited excavation, difficult to determine function
house around H21	H19	X	X	X	X	X	X	very multi-purpose, general living space
	H21							courtyard
	H22	X		X	X		X	possible dining function, some cooking
	H23	X						reception room, parallel with H22
	H28	X	X	X				general living space
	(H29)							limited excavation
house around D2-4	D1	X	X	X				general living space
	D2							courtyard
	D3							limited excavation
	D4							courtyard
	(D5)		X					limited excavation

Source: Data for the house around H33 from *Zagora II*, 107-17; H43 from *Zagora II*, 118-28; H21 from *Zagora II*, 79-106; D2-4 from *Zagora I*, 13-16; *Zagora II*, 71-73.

Figure 6.1: Changes in the large central house at Kastanas (after Lang 1996, figs. 130-34)



Figure 6.2. Site plan of Zagora (*Zagora II*, plan 1)

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because of copyright
restrictions**

The information removed is the site plan of
Zagora (*Zagora II*, plan 1).

Figure 6.3. Zagora area H in late Geometric a) phase 1 and b) phase 2 (after *Zagora II*, plan 12b, c)



Figure 6.4. Zagora area D in late Geometric phase 2 (*Zagora II*, plan 6)

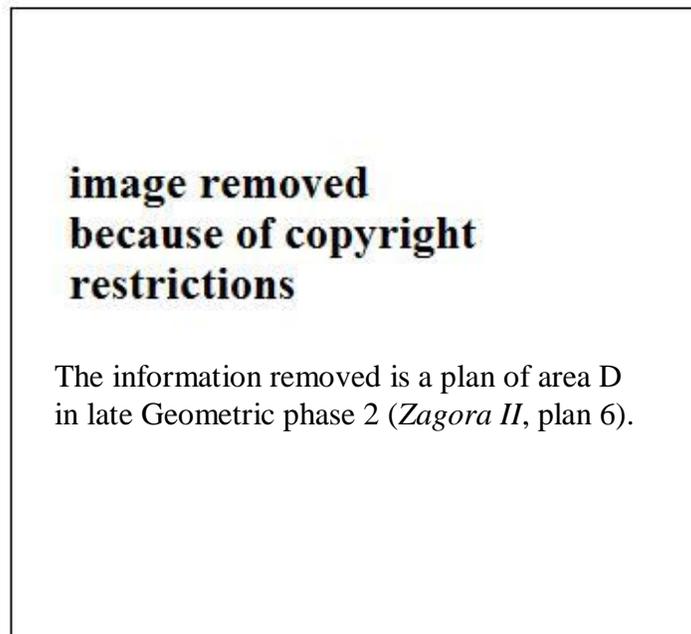


Figure 6.5. Detached houses at Nichoria (*Nichoria III*, fig. 2-10a,b)

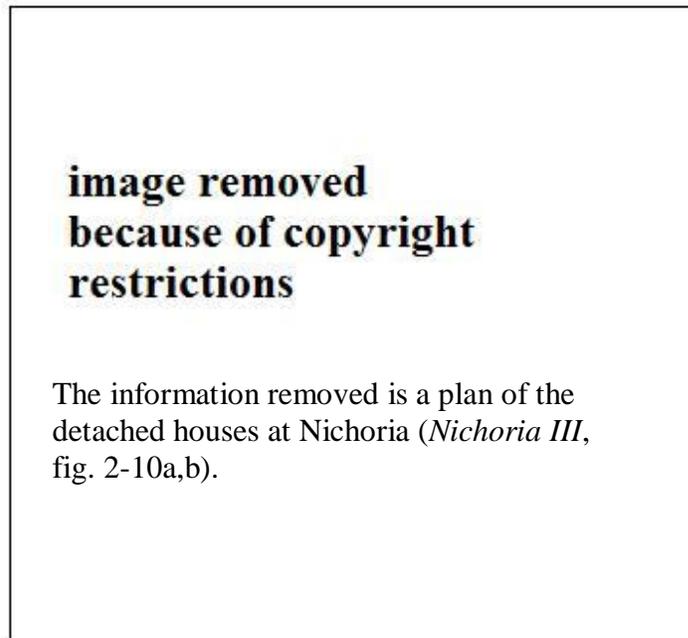


Figure 6.6. Detached houses at Koukounaries (Schilardi 1983, fig. 3)



Figure 6.7. Detached houses at Emporio (Boardman 1967, fig. 4)

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because of copyright
restrictions**

The information removed is a plan of the detached houses at Emporio (Boardman 1967, fig. 4).

Figure 6.8. Compound at Oropos (Mazarakis-Ainian 2006, fig. 10.9)

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because of copyright
restrictions**

The information removed is a plan of the compound at Oropos (Mazarakis-Ainian 2006, fig. 10.9).

Figure 6.9. Agglomerated structures at Vrokastro: upper site (Sjögren 2003, fig. 60)

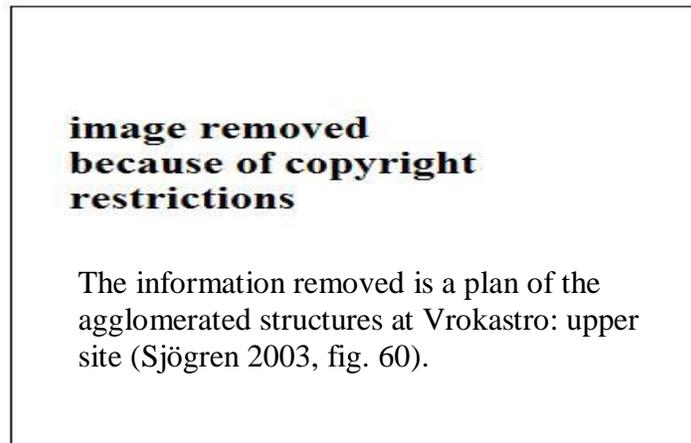


Figure 6.10. Agglomerated structures at Vrokastro: lower site (Sjögren 2003, fig. 59)



Figure 6.11. Agglomerated structures at Phaistos (Sjögren 2003, fig. 28)

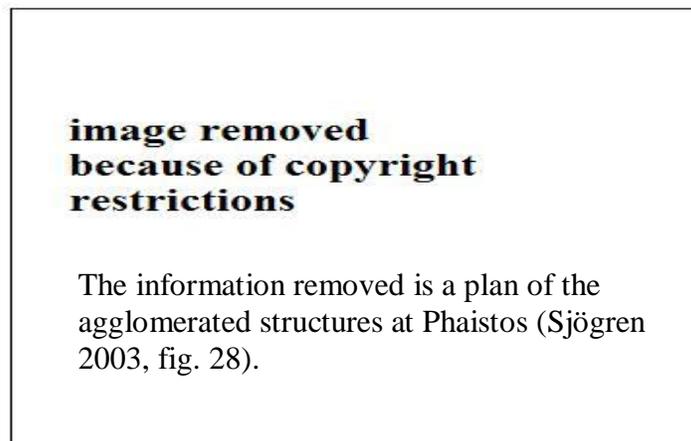


Figure 6.12. Rows of houses at Vroulia (Lang 1996, fig. 64)



Figure 6.13. Proposed Archaic plan of Euesperides (Gill and Flecks 2007, fig. 22.2)

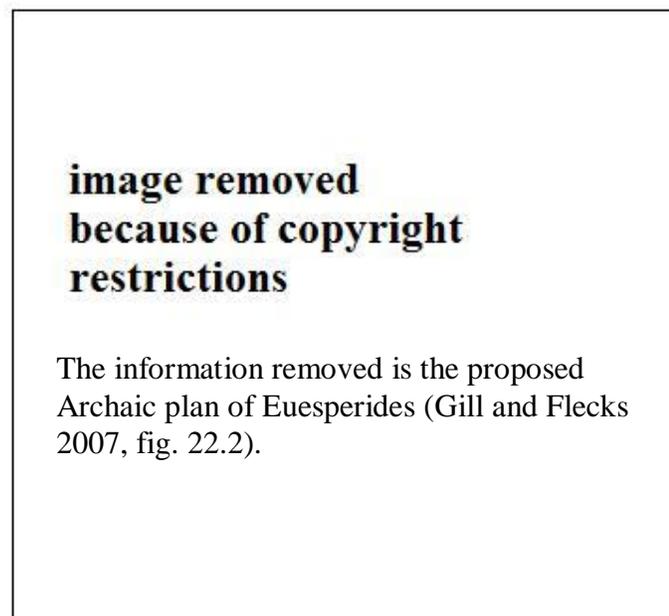


Figure 6.14. Agglomerated structures at Prinias (Sjögren 2003, fig. 20)

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restrictions**

The information removed is a plan of the agglomerated structures at Prinias (Sjögren 2003, fig. 20).

Figure 6.15. House in block 18 at Megara Hyblaia in a) the seventh century and b) the sixth century (after *Megara Hyblaea I*, plans 11, 12)

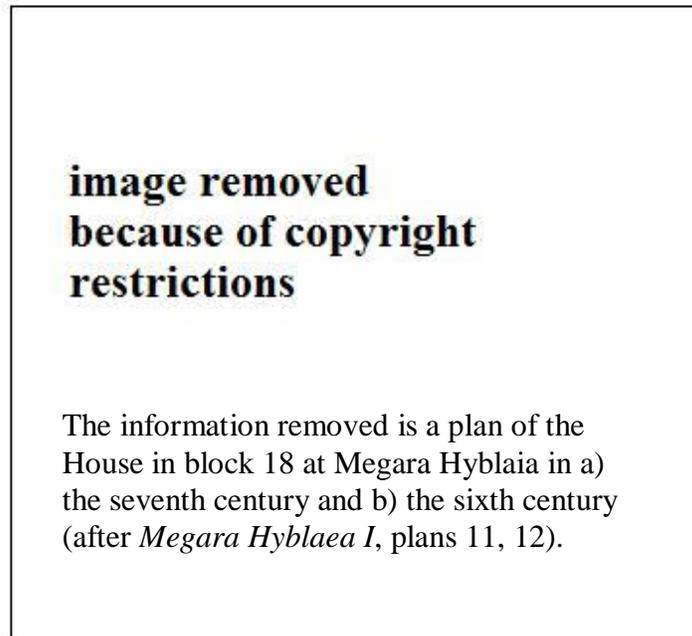


Figure 6.16. Figure 6.16. Changes in a house at Miletos (Kalabaktepe) during the seventh century (Morris 1998, fig. 9)



Figure 6.17. Domestic architecture at Old Smyrna in area H a) from the last half of the seventh century and b) from the sixth century (after Akurgal 1983, fig. 19, fig. 30)

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restrictions**

The information removed is a plan of the domestic architecture at Old Smyrna in area H a) from the last half of the seventh century and b) from the sixth century (after Akurgal 1983, fig. 19, fig. 30).

Figure 6.18. House A at Onythe (Platon 1955, fig. 1)

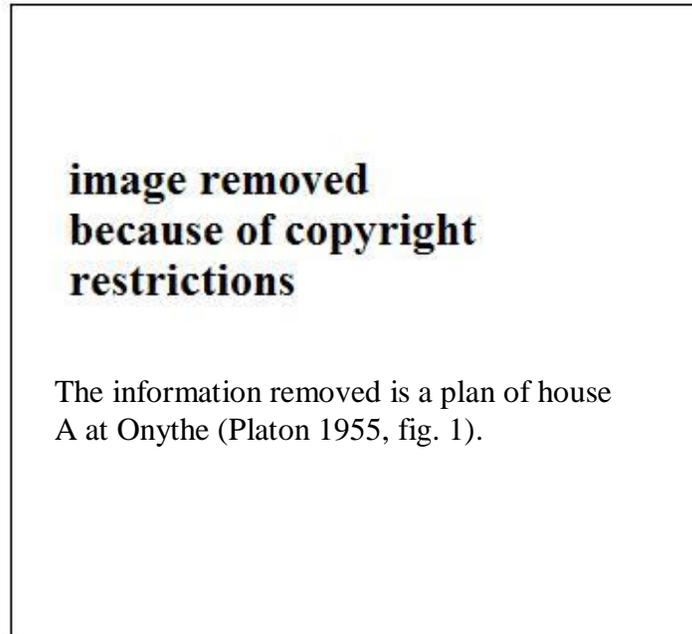


Figure 6.19. Multiple room structure at Xobourgo (Kontoleon 1953, plate 1)



Figure 6.20. Relief *pithos* from the multiple room structure at Xobourgo (Kontoleon 1953, fig. 9)

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restrictions**

The information removed is a photograph of a relief *pithos* from the multiple room structure at Xobourgo (Kontoleon 1953, fig. 9).

Figure 6.21. Changes from curvilinear to rectilinear houses at Eretria (Morris 1998, fig. 5)

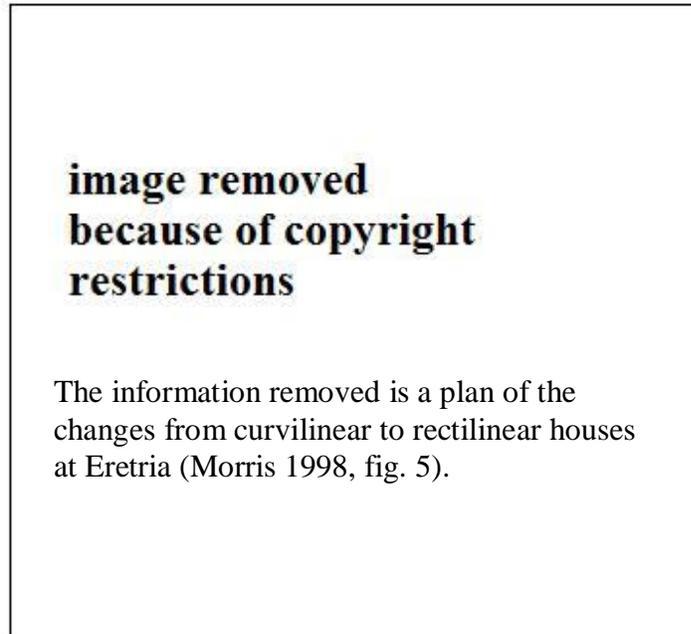


Figure 6.22. House H/L, J, G at Thorikos (*Thorikos III*, plan 2)



Chapter 7: Early Greek Kinship Ideas: A Concluding Synthesis

Following the methodology of kinship ideas as presented in the introduction to this project, in the preceding chapters I have looked to Early Greek expressions of kinship such as they survive in Early Greek genealogies and in the material culture of Early Greece, namely burials and domestic architecture. The two parts of this project fall into a rather traditional disciplinary divide: the study of texts and the study of material culture. This divide was not intended to maintain appropriately decaying academic boundaries, but rather to better combine the evidence. I have structured the project in such a way as to consider each evidentiary type in depth with its own challenges and demands and to apply the appropriate interpretive tools. In this way, I have tried to maintain as large a degree of independence as possible and not to allow either to become inadvertently a handmaiden to the other and thereby determine the framework in which the other would be interpreted.

What remains to be done, however, to complete the project and use both evidentiary types to discuss kinship and kinship ideas is to tie the findings from the preceding parts and chapters together under the theme of kinship. Therefore this concluding chapter presents a synthesis of the evidence of Early Greek kinship ideas from a variety of sources. It should be noted that these ideas cannot be fully disentangled from one another, only identified and explored within a larger package of interrelated ideas that made up the conception and expression of kinship in Early Greece. This interconnectedness may become evident in the interconnectedness and flow of the accompanying discussions. The first major broad overlapping and interrelated kinship idea I discuss is *blood and biology*, the understanding of biological relatedness. The second broad idea is *generational households*, households over

one, two, or three generations. And the third idea is *descent*, the vertical time-dimension of the Early Greek understanding of biological relatedness.

Blood and Biology

There is an understanding of biological relatedness in Early Greek culture that is often expressed in terms of birth or blood. Such an understanding is based on Early Greek conceptions of procreation and sex, and should not, of course, be conflated with a biological understanding of kinship based on modern science or on modern absolutes. And while there was a special status seemingly afforded biological relatedness, we cannot assume it was the basis of the whole conception of kinship or that the expression of it necessarily meant literal blood relatedness. Nor can we assume precisely what social significance (with regard to duties, privileges, affection, identity, etc...) it carried, without investigation of the context of its articulation.

The very structure of genealogies, as expressions of ancestry or descent relationships, is fundamentally biologically derived. Whatever structure it may take, it is based on an understanding of biological procreation, namely the idea that *x* comes from *y* or that *y* produces *x*. Genealogical thinking and ordering was a way of organizing information and relationships not only between humans, heroes, and gods, but also between abstractions and ethical concepts.⁶³⁰ For example, the genealogical relationships given to Conflict in the *Theogony*; she is the child of Night and mother of such related concepts as Labour, Hunger, Pain, Lies, and Ruin (*Theog.* 216-22). This biological metaphor of reproduction also went

⁶³⁰ See my comments and references on p. 136-38 and note 248.

beyond the genealogies of divinities or personifications of concepts and was applied to relationships between abstractions to express causal relationships between closely understood things.⁶³¹ For example, in Solon and Theognis, *koros* [excess, greed] breeds *hubris* (Sol. 6.3, Thgn. 15), or in Pindar, *hubris* is the mother of *koros* (*Ol.* 13.10). Motherhood here is a metaphor of biological relatedness, where probably no specific personification is intended beyond the metaphor. The important point is not that *koros* is a goddess, but that it gives rise to or causes *hubris*, or vice versa in Pindar's version.

Genealogical organization is concerned with causal relationships through the recounting of origins, from what or from whom something or someone has arisen. This can be seen in the transmission of aetiological myths and etymologies as genealogical information. For example, the legendary origins of peoples are included among the genealogies of the prose mythographers (e.g., the origins of the Dryopes in Pherekydes [*FrGrHist* 3 F 8]) and the origins of things or cultural practices (e.g., in Hekataios, the bringing of writing to Greece [*FrGrHist* 1 F 20] or the discovery of wine [*FrGrHist* 1 F 15]).

The interest in origins can also be seen in the language through which kinship is often expressed in Early Greek genealogical material. The notion of being related by blood, *haima*, often accompanies the notion of generation (as in *that from which one is made or generated*). For example, this is what we see in what appears to be a stock phrase from the genealogies of Glaukos and Aineias in Homer: ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι (I claim to be from such generation and blood) (*Il.* 6. 211; *Il.* 20.241). Kinship expressed in such terms reveals a biological understanding and appreciation of how

⁶³¹ See Abel 1943.

people are related that is rooted in the idea of from what or from whom something or someone has arisen. As Patterson demonstrates, *genos* in the Homeric epics usually indicates this origin.⁶³² Bourriot's thorough philological study of the terms *genos* and *genea* in Early Greek poetry as a whole has shown the meaning of *genos* to include birth, origin, generation, and, by extension, race, stock, family, and lineage.⁶³³ The six times *genos* appears in the Homeric genealogies illustrates this semantic range well. Three times it means origin or birth (*Il.* 5.544; *Il.* 14.126, 133), once it means lineage (*Il.* 6.209), once it means descendant (*Il.* 21.186), and once it means generation, as in generated from the gods, referring to a monster who is not part of the lineage (*Il.* 6.180). *Genea* in the Homeric genealogies conveys ideas of generation (as in the action of generating or producing), race, stock, and by extension family: birth (*Il.* 14.112); generation (*Il.* 6.146, 149); family in the sense of race or stock (*Il.* 6.211; *Il.* 20.203, 241; *Il.* 21.187; *Od.* 15.225); descendants or offspring in general (*Il.* 21.191); a line or lineage (*Od.* 16.117); or an individual's generation thought of as a whole, genealogy expressed alongside the idea of blood (*Il.* 6.151; *Il.* 20.214).

Both *genos* and *genea* express ideas of kinship such as birth, generation, and family as in race or stock. The meanings race, stock, family, and lineage extend from the idea of a group of things with the same generation, and are, in Early Greek poetry, applied not only to individual humans, but also to whole races, types of people, animals, and even concepts. When used in this extended classificatory sense and applied to humans in Early Greek poetry,

⁶³² Patterson 1998, 1-2, 48-49.

⁶³³ Bourriot 1976, 240-69.

the *genos* seems to indicate the group of dead men from which someone has arisen.⁶³⁴ As stated above in my discussion of the terms *genea* and *genos* in the use and purpose of genealogies, it does not indicate contemporary active, living social groups based upon blood and biology in Early Greece.⁶³⁵

The terms *phylon* and *phrētrē* and their uses in Early Greek poetry have been similarly examined by Roussel and by Donlan, and have likewise been found not to indicate corporate kinship groups in Early Greece. *Phylon* as a term in Early Greek poetry is broad and classificatory. Like the extended meanings of *genos* and *genea*, it indicates generic class or family, as in a type of people, animal, or thing.⁶³⁶ Only later in Greek history does *phylai* (note the difference in gender) indicate civic divisions and only in communities that became *poleis*, belying its roots as a principle of pre-*polis* civic organization.⁶³⁷ As Hall points out, only once communities had an idea of themselves and their civic boundaries could they divide themselves internally into approximately equal tribes.⁶³⁸

Phrētrē, unlike *phylon*, *genos*, and *genea*, is not used in generic sense; it always seems to indicate a specific group.⁶³⁹ That the term is etymologically related to the term for the Indo-European and Greek term for brother is not necessarily an indication that this term

⁶³⁴ Donlan 2007, 36.

⁶³⁵ See my comments and references on p. 128.

⁶³⁶ Roussel 1976, 161-64; Donlan 1985, 295-96; 2007, 31.

⁶³⁷ See Hall 2007a, 188-90.

⁶³⁸ Hall 2007a, 188.

⁶³⁹ Donlan 2007, 31.

was used to denote kinship by Early Greeks.⁶⁴⁰ Etymological connection does not necessarily mirror historical development. In Classical scholarship, *phrētrai* were traditionally interpreted within a nineteenth-century tribal framework, for example, by Glotz, who associates them with aristocratic kinship groups.⁶⁴¹ Roussel, as part of the dismantling of the tribal paradigm, interprets *phrētrai* as groups of neighbouring families, which probably served as a pools for military recruitment.⁶⁴² Donlan, however, proposes that the term *phrētrai* indicated groups of *hetairoi* and that *phyla*, where the term *phylon* was not used generically in Homer (only twice: *Il.* 2.362–63; *Il.* 2.668), meant a subdivision of *phrētrai*.⁶⁴³ Andrewes suggests the opposite, that *phrētrai* were subsets of *phyla*.⁶⁴⁴ Lambert is uncertain, in the absence of evidence, what role *phrētrai* played in political organization in the early *polis*, but does argue on the basis of the antiquity of the term's linguistic origins (possibly dating back to the Mycenaean period) for their longevity.⁶⁴⁵ Whatever the case may be, it is not clear from the evidence in Homer that groups called *phrētrai* were based on kinship, despite the term's etymology, either in Homeric society or in the reality of Early Greece. It is probably the case that we have become too entangled in a philological problem, reading Early Greek social or political divisions out of two passages in Homer as if they could

⁶⁴⁰ See Roussel 1976, 95-98; Lambert 1993, 269 on the etymology of the term. See also, Donlan 2007, 31, who dismisses the etymological background as immaterial.

⁶⁴¹ Glotz 1930, 14-15, 17.

⁶⁴² Roussel 1976, 113, 117-22. Similarly, De Sanctis 1912, 41-48.

⁶⁴³ Donlan 1985, 295-98; 2007, 31-33.

⁶⁴⁴ Andrewes 1961, 132-34.

⁶⁴⁵ Lambert 1993, 269, 273.

directly reflect social organization in Early Greece. What time and which community could these passages refer to? Donlan is right, it seems, to call his proposed solution speculative and to set the notion of *phrētrai* within a “web of ‘amiable relations’ formed by neighbors and kin.”⁶⁴⁶ By doing so, he at least sets the problem within the broader context of Early Greek society that goes beyond Homeric society.

That there was a different understanding of biology than our own, can be seen in the non-biological elements, elements which are absurd to modern biology and which are perhaps laughable to us but not to Hekataios, who claimed that the stories of the Greeks were ridiculous and goes on to include the birth of the vine from a dog, supposedly in the same work (*FGrHist* 1 F1, F15).⁶⁴⁷ The world of Early Greece clearly had a different appreciation of what is ridiculous as far as biological procreation is concerned. Bonnard’s discussion of biological theories in philosophical texts from the Pre-Socratics to Aristotle, reveals a concept of biological paternity different from our own and yet rooted in an understanding of the body.⁶⁴⁸ There are several examples of distinctly biologically ‘unsound’ ideas of reproduction and birth expressed in Early Greek genealogies. Being earth-born (γηγενής) is one of these. Some gods are said to be this, for example, Tityos in Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F55). Whether this is a biological metaphor or a non-biological understanding of birth is not clear, since Ge or Gaia (Earth) certainly plays a role in genealogies of the gods. The myths of autochthony of individual humans or of whole peoples, however, definitely move away

⁶⁴⁶ Donlan 2007, 32.

⁶⁴⁷ See p. 38.

⁶⁴⁸ Bonnard 2006, 125-30.

from metaphor into a more direct understanding or belief that some humans originate from the earth in a particular region itself, for example, the autochthony of Pelasgos, told in the *Catalogue of Women* but disputed by Akousilaos, or the autochthony of the Thebans, a whole people who were born from serpent's teeth sown by Kadmus, as told by Pherekydes in his genealogies (*FGrHist* 3 F22a, b). These are not standard forms of biological human reproduction, nor are they metaphors for biological processes. They are the result of the belief, or maybe claim, that some humans actually come from the earth. We also see humans giving birth to non-human creatures. In the *Catalogue of Women* (Hes. frag. 10.17-19, frag. 11 [Most]), Doros and his wife bear five daughters who bear non-human creatures: the mountain nymphs, Satyrs, and Kuretes. Such non-biologically sound elements are very much a part of Early Greek genealogical thinking and come alongside biologically understood human male-female reproduction. The Early Greek idea of biological kinship includes the fantastic and the mythical as much as the biologically plausible.

Conducting DNA and genetic trait analysis on burial evidence, specifically, on groups of buried individuals, is our only option for 'testing' Early Greek ideas of kinship as far as modern biology is concerned. As previously discussed, testing can only occur between individuals already grouped by other factors, usually by date, location, and orientation of the individuals buried, whether in groups or in multiple burials, and therefore, hypothesized to be biological related.⁶⁴⁹ DNA and genetic trait testing are therefore means of supporting hypotheses of biological kinship relationships and not tools for discovering such relationships. There are also limitations presented by the often incomplete preservation of

⁶⁴⁹ See p. 166-73.

skeletal evidence and the added difficulties of extraction and contamination of DNA evidence. That having been said, however, there is some evidence of biological relatedness between individuals in burial groups, for example, at the Pantanello necropolis near Metaponto. There, Carter has proposed that the necropolis was organized into family plots, hypothesizing family groups by investigating the age and sex structure of the group of individuals buried near each other within a similar time period. A few of these groups display biological evidence of kinship (blood type and epigenetic traits). The make-up of the plots along with the location and suggests household sized groups over one or two generations, something which is suggested by other burials and by domestic architecture and leads into the next broad kinship idea.

Generational Households

Generational households, that is, households over one, two, or even three generations, can be seen archaeologically in residency and burial patterns, which suggest small residential groups with small numbers over a few generations.⁶⁵⁰ The numbers and age and sex structure of burial groups in Early Greece suggest a kinship idea of generational households. The burial enclosures suggest this, such as the Geometric enclosures in the Athenian Agora and in the North Cemetery at Corinth and the Protogeometric enclosure at Nea Ionia, as well as burial clusters, such as those at Pithekoussai and at the Pantanello Necropolis near

⁶⁵⁰ We might call these truncated descent groups, but I think the term loses something of the horizontal dimension involved in residency and the make-up of the household, which operates alongside the vertical dimension of loss and growth over time as generations overlap generations.

Metaponto.⁶⁵¹ Even at Vroulia, where a notion of descent seems to lie behind successive cremation burials, the number of cremations in each spot over the fifty-year period during which the site was occupied, suggests not long lineages but households over one or two generations.⁶⁵²

If we compare this to what is seen at the necropoleis at the Italian sites of Osteria dell'Osa and at Pontecagnano, we can see how descent groups might be reflected in the mortuary record of a site.⁶⁵³ At Osteria dell'Osa there is evidence of possible descent groups in the systematic grouping of burials over a long period of time and patterns in the burial goods that suggest that group identity began to take precedence in later periods of the necropolis. At Pontecagnano, in the Orientalizing period, distinct elite burial groups have been observed, which drew connections to different areas of Italy through burial goods and which used the same locations for burial over centuries. Neither this sort of patterning in burial goods nor the organization of the burials over time to reflect lineages can be seen in the grouping of burials in Early Greek necropoleis.

Early Greek houses also suggest rather small residential groups as opposed to large ones, for example, descent groups on the order of clans or tribes. Domestic architecture is primarily made up of one-room houses, only some of which at different times at different

⁶⁵¹ See my conclusion on burial groups above p. 212. Athenian Agora: Young 1939. Corinth: *Corinth XIII*. Nea Ionia: Smithson 1961. Metaponto: *Metaponto Necropoleis*.

⁶⁵² See p. 186. Morris 1992, 179, 186-89.

⁶⁵³ For discussion and references, see p. 209. Osteria dell'Osa: Bietti Sestieri 1992. Pontecagnano: Cuzzo 2003.

sites were renovated into or replaced by multiple-room structures.⁶⁵⁴ Within settlements, whether made up of detached or agglomerated structures, houses appear to have operated independently of one another with their own food preparation, food consumption, and storage areas.⁶⁵⁵ Some, especially those that increase in size or in complexity of access patterns, exhibit evidence of economic participation, especially storage for surpluses. Day-to-day life in Early Greece was lived out within and around these small independent structures.

The household over one, two, or three generations is the kinship idea we see in both burial customs and in domestic architecture. They thus appear to have been the kinship idea by which society was largely organized. This is not to say that Early Greek society could not also be organized by other means, but, that as far as kinship is concerned, generational households are what we see in the evidence such as it is. I do not mean to suggest the idea of ‘primacy’ of the household over other forms of kinship or social association, since the word ‘primacy’ implies polarity or competition between social identities or associations, which I do not see as necessary or useful here. Instead, I am suggesting that the archaeological and textual evidence points to kinship organization along the lines of generational households and does not point to kinship organization based on large corporate descent groups or clans.

Evidence of large corporate descent groups is lacking in genealogical material, in the mortuary record, and in the domestic architecture of Early Greece; it seems to lie only in the

⁶⁵⁴ The only structure that has been suggested to be the residential space of a larger kinship group is the Heroön at Lefkandi, which Coucouzeli argues was the dwelling space of a clan (Coucouzeli 2004). This is a difficult structure to interpret, and Coucouzeli’s suggestion is less convincing on the basis of finds and features (particularly the rich burials within the structure) than those posited by others, including a communal gathering space or solely a funerary structure. See p. 250 and note 530.

⁶⁵⁵ See p. 249-50.

pseudo-kinship, civic groups and texts of the fifth and fourth centuries, and possibly in archaic Italy.

So what did the household look like? How was it formed? Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence is not particularly enlightening on this subject. From the differences between burials of men, women, and children, we can see that children were considered different. But up to what age this is true, is neither clear nor probably uniform across region, settlement, or even household. That members of the household shared domestic space to a greater extent than modern North American families is clear from the predominance of one-room houses, and access patterns that were either serial (one room leading into the next) or radial, branching out from a common space. In general, Early Greek houses had very few rooms indeed. The division of the house into gendered space in Early Greece is not well founded archaeologically, and detectible only in a very abstract sense.⁶⁵⁶

The evidence of marriage in the Early Greek world is also very limited. Beyond multiple burials and domestic architecture through which marriage may be approached obliquely, and some iconography, the evidence is primarily textual. Homeric marriage is well-covered territory in classical scholarship, but it is difficult to ground in any sort of Early Greek reality.⁶⁵⁷ In fact, marriage has been one of the features of Homeric Society that has been used to argue for its non-historicity.⁶⁵⁸ Langdon, however, has recently considered the iconographic evidence of male-female relationships in Dark Age Greece, of which marriage

⁶⁵⁶ For this abstract sense, see Morris 2000, 280-86; Langdon 2008, 266-67.

⁶⁵⁷ E.g., Lacey 1968, 39-44; Weinsanto 1983; Patterson 1998, 56-62; Lyons 2003; Langdon 2008, 286-90.

⁶⁵⁸ Snodgrass 1974.

is of course a major part.⁶⁵⁹ Looking at the themes of marriage in Dark Age art and poetry (including Homer), she makes a convincing, if at times teleological, case for the increasing masculinization of marriage and the household (represented by the ‘hearth’) and increasing female disenfranchisement in the developing Greek *polis* society in general. Langdon shows this, for example, in the visual motif of the male-female couple. Themes and representations of divine marriage and fertility are present in Near Eastern art and art influenced by Near Eastern models. They are not, however, themes picked up in Geometric art, and images of conjoined couples as well as fecundity and nudity have an otherness about when compared stylistically and thematically to Geometric art. Geometric art has very little iconography that can be related to fertility and procreation.⁶⁶⁰ In it women are mourners and maidens, and fully clothed at all times. The imagery of abduction, as seen on ritual objects, Langdon argues, enters Greek art in tandem with the imagery of maidens, and together they become dominant themes in the expression and ideology of male-female relationships.

In the genealogical material, marriage or male-female relationships are not expressed for their own sake, but in the context of reproduction following the biological structure of genealogies. The *Catalogue of Women*, for example, is full of “vigorous marriage beds” and women giving birth. The element of female-male relationships that is important to express in the genealogical material is not as much the joining of two people or the protection or achievement of status or the securing of property and land or sexual fulfillment, as it is

⁶⁵⁹ Langdon 2008, 223-33, 263-91.

⁶⁶⁰ Langdon 2008, 286.

procreation.⁶⁶¹ This interest in procreation perhaps is to be expected, since the important thing about genealogies was to reveal from what (and from what kind) someone or something had come.

Alongside marriage and procreation, parenthood and the raising of children is also part of the expression of kinship in the genealogical material. In the *Catalogue of Women*, for example, there are references not only to child-birth, but also child-rearing (e.g., Hes. frag. 30.1-3 [Most]). There are also references to parents rearing children who are not their own, whether it be that they are the offspring of the man's wife by a god or a non-biologically related child (e.g., Hes. frag. 117.6-7 [Most]). The act of raising a child, as with siring it or giving it birth, seems to be an important component of kinship. Kinship bonds could perhaps have been seen in some cases to have developed over time through actions by not just determined by biological parentage and birth.⁶⁶² Bremmer stresses, for example, the importance of the maternal uncle and grandfather in fostering in Greek mythological stories.⁶⁶³ Although this is the realm of mythology, it seems probable, given the changing nature of the household and the realities of human life at any time, that non-biologically related children could be found in the Early Greek household, through adoption, fostering, or

⁶⁶¹ Good wives, however, are sometimes counted among the good fortunes or domestic success of an ancestor. See the discussion on domestic success below, p. 327.

⁶⁶² Carsten's study of the Malay provides an interesting and perhaps relevant anthropological example in which kinship is regarded as emerging over time through actions, rather than as based once and for all on birth (1995).

⁶⁶³ Bremmer 1983.

step-parenting.⁶⁶⁴ Therefore, we should be careful of putting too much stock in the terminology of blood and biology and seeing it as the primary determinant of kinship in Early Greece.

The phrase ‘in the halls’ is used abundantly in the *Catalogue of Women* in conjunction with bearing or raising children (e.g., Hes. frag. 10.51, 41.32, 117.6 [Most]), and may suggest an idea of a physical and conceptual household in which a wife bears the children and they are raised. It may, perhaps, be a simple poetic stock phrase, a meaningless holdover preserved from the world of oral poetry. The phrase should certainly not be read as if it reveals a reality we should or as if it could be sought in the archaeological record or reconstructed as Rider recreated Dark Age houses out of descriptions in Homeric poetry.⁶⁶⁵ We might, however, consider the term more abstractly as an indicator of the importance of physical space in the conception of the household. The significance of the hearth in antiquity is well attested. Even though the lack of a hearth is the norm for ancient Greek houses, the concept of the hearth is so dominant in the ancient literature about the household that it once led scholars to anticipate the hearth archaeologically in domestic architecture.⁶⁶⁶ ‘In the halls’ may be a similar concept, a stock phrase not directly reflected in the material record, but referring to an important cultural idea. ‘In the halls’ as it appears alongside the bearing

⁶⁶⁴ On adoption in Classical Athens, see Pomeroy 1997, 122-23. The types of sources (inscriptions and forensic court speeches) Pomeroy uses in this discussion, however, are not available for Early Greece, so a similar discussion is not possible for the period in question here.

⁶⁶⁵ See p. 233 and Rider 1916, 211. On the archaeological record and poetic references to halls, see Morgan 2009, 62 on the rarity of aristocratic halls and the display of elite wealth and power instead through the ability to command resources within the religious sphere.

⁶⁶⁶ On the hearth and the conception of the hearth, see Jameson 1990a, 192-95; 1990b, 105-6; Foxhall 2007.

and raising of children, may be related to material culture not as an oblique reference to a certain physical structure, but as an expression of the importance of the physical space of kinship - the location, the house, the home - to the ongoing formation of the household and the achievement, maintenance, and expression of its success.

Such success may be seen in the archaeology of houses in Early Greece. As previously mentioned, the archaeological evidence suggests that most Early Greek houses were modest one-room affairs. Although, overall, houses increased in size on a Braudelian scale from the eighth to fourth centuries BCE, this growth is uniform neither across the Greek world nor across settlements.⁶⁶⁷ In the Early Greek world, some houses were modified to create larger or more complex domestic spaces with more complex access patterns and limited functional specialization; others did not. The motivations behind the changes in some houses toward larger sizes and/or complexity in access patterns seem to have been to increase storage space, to include space for receiving visitors, and to provide a modest level of functional specialization (never reaching exclusivity) for these two activities. These motivations can be linked to participation and success in the domestic economy, which for the Early Greek world was rooted for the most part in agricultural surplus. The accumulation of surplus for trade would have required storage, and economic activity probably required relationship building with other members of the community. It is possible also that the size of the household grew along with its economic success. This success probably also enhanced social status and encouraged modification of the physical space of the household to reflect

⁶⁶⁷ On economic growth in Early Greece, see Morris 2004; 2005a, 107-25, esp. fig. 5.1; 2007, 230-31; Osborne 2007, 300-1; Bresson 2007, 210-11.

that status and the household's role in the community. The display of such social and economic success probably would have fed back into the ongoing success of the household. In this way, through possibly increasing population through family size and by promoting the significance of the household physically, the changing household membership and the physical house itself not only reacted to economic and social developments, but also contributed to changes in the social environment.⁶⁶⁸

That the changes were not uniform suggests that there were winners and losers in this economic development, and probably increasing social stratification based on wealth at such sites, at least during certain periods of times. Although the disparities between Early Greek houses in size, complexity, and quality are not vast enough to suggest immense social and economic differentiation, the seeds of the social differentiation we see between elite and non-elite in the Archaic period, for example, in the poetry of Theognis and Solon, perhaps lie here. Social differentiation and changes in familial status, wealth, and domestic success can, however, also be seen in the recounting of ancestors in Early Greek genealogical material. Besides heroic deeds, important ancestors are associated with economic and domestic status. This largely means the following in genealogical material: a good wife, a house, and agricultural wealth. This is expressed, for example, in Diomedes' genealogy in the *Iliad*, which is dominated by his father's story, how upon moving to Argos, he received a well-born wife, set up a house, and held lands rich in produce (*Il.* 14.121-24). Just as the stories of monster killings, great battles, and foundations of cities and peoples, stories of economic and

⁶⁶⁸ As Souvatzi reminds us, "The household is constructed by as much as it constructs and reconstructs any social environment. It is a producer of change rather than merely a response to it" (2008, 32).

domestic success differentiate ancestors as special, talented, and of high social standing and reputation, and so provide a testimonial to one's own quality or worth. Such connections with the past lead us to the idea, expression, and importance of descent in Early Greece.

Descent and the Importance of Ancestors

Descent is the vertical time-dimension of the Early Greek understanding of biological relatedness. It is rooted in the idea that *x comes from y* or that *y produces x*, and is a predominant part of generational and genealogical thinking. But descent is not simply a matter of biological relatedness or the claim to such relatedness. Descent carried social significance in the Early Greek world through linking the present with the legendary and distant past.

An interest in descent, or an importance placed upon it does not necessarily mean kinship groups based upon descent. For example, the seven early civilizations that Trigger investigates in his comparative work *Understanding Early Civilizations* had kinship systems that were characterized by descent.⁶⁶⁹ Not all, however, placed the same type of social significance upon it: four were characterized by patrilineal descent groups, two by endogamous groups or demes, and one by non-corporate descent. The last example is ancient Egypt, which “did not have, beyond the nuclear family, any kinship unit that possessed land, political power, or a sense of corporate identity.”⁶⁷⁰ The idea of descent was,

⁶⁶⁹ Trigger 2003, 167. Trigger compares the civilizations of ancient Egypt, ancient Mesopotamia, Shang China, the Aztecs and peoples of the Valley of Mexico, the Classic Maya, the Inka, and the Yoruba.

⁶⁷⁰ Trigger 2003, 167. See also O'Connor 1990, 12-13.

however, important. Ancient Egyptians had terms for loose kinship groups, such as household (*mhwt*) and kindred (*3bt*), but used identical words for lineal and collateral relatives with differences made only between male and female relatives.⁶⁷¹ They did track descent relationships, which were important for inheritance claims, and worshipped ancestors in funerary cults and in household veneration.⁶⁷² Descent was significant; it was just not the basis for kinship organization or social differentiation along the lines of corporate groups acting as groups.

There seems to be a similar picture of Early Greece developing. This can sometimes be difficult for us to see, however, because our perceptions of its kinship system have been coloured for so long by tribal theories influenced by the misinterpretation of key kinship terms like *genos* and *phylon*, by a nineteenth-century understanding of the Early Roman *gens*, and by the civic ‘kinship’ groups of later centuries.⁶⁷³ The evidence of burials, households, and genealogical expressions of descent point to a kinship system that was focused from its earliest times in the Protogeometric period on the household and the individual.

There is an idea of descent discernible in Early Greek burials that connects the recently dead to the long dead, a connection perhaps predicated on the notion of like produces like. Descent was probably the idea behind the re-use of tombs, burying the dead near or in pre-existing mounds, or layering later burials on top of earlier ones. Such burial

⁶⁷¹ O’Connor 1990, 10-11; Trigger 2003, 183.

⁶⁷² O’Connor 1990, 14.

⁶⁷³ See my discussion on tribal models in the introduction to this study, pp. 7, 17. See also C. J. Smith 2006, 65-113, 114-43.

customs tap into a biological model of descent, whether or not the dead were related to one another biologically. In the case of burial in and around pre-existing mounds, especially those in prominent locations (e.g., in the Kerameikos), the idea of descent seems similar to that we see in Pindar's telescoping genealogical statements about the ancestors of the victors he praises.⁶⁷⁴

Burials organized by an idea of descent, however, occurred on a small scale in Early Greece, connecting the members of a household over two to three generations. For example, at Vroulia, the layered cremation burials, some of which were intended from the beginning to be used continuously and with a concentration of burial goods in the earliest burial, were made over only an approximately fifty-year span. The burials cannot, however, given the short time span, be strictly linear, and they probably represent several family or household members being associated in death with an honoured founder and the past through an idea of descent, as in tendrilled genealogies. The reuse of graves in the Argolid in the Geometric period and the clustering of mounds in the necropolis at Pithekoussai reveal a similar expression of descent over a few generations, probably the relationships of a generational household.

As discussed in chapter four, the evidence of Early Greek genealogy as a whole does not suggest a strong connection between genealogy making and kinship groups such as clans or tribes, or elite families as is often assumed.⁶⁷⁵ There is little evidence of an aristocratic practice of creating lengthy genealogies. We need not assume automatically that Early Greek

⁶⁷⁴ See p. 121.

⁶⁷⁵ See p. 122-24. For examples of this assumption, see note 223.

genealogy was a form of family tradition or propaganda. Kinship ideas can be expressed or exploited by any number of parties, from states, and ethnic groups to individuals. Indeed what seems to be the case in Early Greece is the use of genealogies by individuals for social recognition and *poleis* or ethnic groups for territorial claims or expressions of alliances or animosities as ‘natural’ products of kinship. It was in these ways that descent was the basis for social differentiation.

The important element of story-telling in Early Greek genealogies meant that they conveyed not only relatedness, but also the deeds, exploits, and greatness of figures in the distant legendary past.⁶⁷⁶ A simple claim to have had great ancestors who did great things was not the entire point of genealogies or descent burials. For the state or ethnic group, great genealogies were often a retrojection of the current situation in internal politics or international relations, or an expression of common ancestry and, therefore, ethnicity or alliance. The key to genealogical thinking for the individual, was the idea that a man, by being of the same lineage, is the same kind or type of man as those who performed such deeds and exploits and were great in the past. As in the biological metaphor discussed above, like produces like. For the individual and perhaps his household, the expression or re-iteration of such ideas contributed to establishing and upholding social status, following Duploux’s theory of continual individual self-promotion in the attainment and maintenance of elite status and social and political power.⁶⁷⁷ Genealogies as expressions of an

⁶⁷⁶ The alternation of story-telling and the recounting of descent or ancestry relationships is present throughout almost all early Greek genealogical material, with the exception of a very few late cases from the fifth century, which may represent a change in genealogical tradition or the way genealogical material was recorded in the writing of history.

⁶⁷⁷ Duploux 2006, *passim*.

individual's lineage could be tools of social recognition. To express such a genealogy is to say: *I come from this, therefore I am this; the elite apple does not fall far from the elite tree.*

The Early Greek interest in descent lay in competition, identity, and status through the idea of inheritance. Its important was not so much in inheritance of property, land, or even citizenship in this period. How does one inherit the physical property of a god or a hero? How does a dead man inherit property through association with a long deceased individual under a funerary mound? The inheritance of land is a key element in charter myths expressed as ethnic or political genealogies, but not in individual genealogies. Descent-based citizenship was a worry of the fifth century and beyond, when the difference between citizen and non-citizen was of primary concern and parentage was key in determining citizenship.⁶⁷⁸ The genealogical material of Early Greece does not reveal such a concern; genealogies were not a record of parentage, but of great heroic and divine ancestors.⁶⁷⁹ The inheritance of power might be seen in the genealogies of kings, but this is not so much a charter of right to rule, as it is an abstract proof of illustrious ancestors and unbroken succession giving one the character and, therefore, the right to rule. For the individual and his immediate family, descent from illustrious ancestors proved inheritance not of property or status, but of the character that gave access to status.

⁶⁷⁸ See Manville 1990, 7-12; Lomas 2000, 173.

⁶⁷⁹ Manville 1990, 67-69, 70-92; Lomas 2000, 174-75. Manville, e.g., treats citizenship in early Athens, up until the beginning of the sixth century, as a conception of the relationship between individual and community or *polis*, "which lacked any clear judicial definition", rather than a specific category of belonging or status which certain persons possessed within the state or community (1990, 93-4).

The quest or competition for status is supported by domestic architecture in which we can see, as discussed above, the growth of the physical household, the increasing complexity of access patterns, and the increasing functional specialization of space (for reception of visitors and for storage) at some sites and in some houses as related to the economic activity and success of a household. This is reflected in the modest, not vast, differentiation in domestic architecture seen in the Early Iron Age.⁶⁸⁰ As discussed above, we see this domestic economic success set alongside heroic actions and attributed to great ancestors in the genealogical material. There were winners and losers in this economic participation not only between settlements, but also within them. Within communities, certain individuals and generational households, whether or not they were aided by previous generations' good fortunes, seem to have been particularly successful economically. I do not, however, mean to imply that all households initially started at an level playing field or that the communities of Early Greece were fair-play meritocracies or fostered notions of egalitarianism. The situation of earlier generations of the household and their ability to command resources and limit access to others in the community probably had much to do with the success of later generations. After all, the kinship idea that 'like produces like' was probably reinforced by the continuing social and economic good fortune of certain households even while it explained and furthered it. Such households could burn the bridges after them, so to speak, and cut off the path to prosperity for other members of the community. The effect of the economic growth, even if modest, which Morris identifies in the eighth and seventh centuries, was to set up structures for accelerated economic growth in the Archaic and

⁶⁸⁰ See p. 256 above; Green 1990, 44; Morgan 2009, 62.

Classical periods, and in doing so to shape social and political structures.⁶⁸¹ Some generational households were able to transform their success, along with others, into significant social and political power, namely the ability to exert their will over their communities and to rule the developing *poleis*.⁶⁸² These are the families we hear about, although usually at a later stage: for example, the Alkmaionidai and, perhaps, the family of Miltiades and Kimon (called the Philaidai in scholarship, but not in ancient sources) in Attica. These, of course, are the families whose names and exploits survive for us because of the development of written history. There, of course, would have been more.

These families, along with others whose names we do not know, have been interpreted as aristocratic lineages and as having belonged to an aristocracy.⁶⁸³ That such families belonged to a group comprised of other successful and powerful families, which considered themselves different from the rest of the community, is suggested by the later use of such terms as *eupatridai* (the well-sired) and *agathoi* (the good), as opposed to *kakoi* (the bad). It is also suggested by specific groups like the *Gamoroi* (those who shared the land) in Syracuse and the Bakkhiadai in Corinth, a highly restrictive group probably of around 200 families whose exclusivity seems to have been based on an *idea* of kinship (as opposed to an

⁶⁸¹ Morris 2004, 728-33; 2007, 231.

⁶⁸² E.g., see Thomas and Conant 1999, 122-23, on the rise of the Bakkhiadai at Corinth.

⁶⁸³ E.g., Forrest 1966; Momigliano 1971; Arnheim 1977; Snodgrass 1980; Donlan 1980, 1997b, 2007; Andrewes 1982; Murray 1993, esp. 35-54. Cf. the idea of elite groups, although with differing conceptions and applications to Early Greece, in Van Wees 1992; Osborne 1996; Morris 2000; C. J. Smith 2006, 114-43; Duploux 2006; Hall 2007a; Rose 2009. Starr (1992, *passim*, esp. 8) is also not comfortable with the term aristocracy as it is generally and loosely used in Greek history; he, however, instead of dropping the term, seeks to define it contextually.

historical common descent) and endogamy.⁶⁸⁴ While many scholars label such groups ‘aristocracies’, I prefer the term ‘elite groups’ here, since ‘aristocracy’ can carry unintended or misleading associations and implications when not defined contextually. ‘Elite’ represents better the perhaps more porous nature of social stratification that is built, at least in part, on economic success and agricultural surplus and the rather limited differentiation in wealth seen in Early Greek settlements.⁶⁸⁵ Moreover, if not defined contextually, the concept of aristocracy usually implies a static, closed off social category, membership in which is determined by heredity and expressed through wealth and lineage, which may or may not apply to the structure of Early Greek communities. Some do see this type of aristocracy in the Early Greek world, and the idea usually runs that, before the Archaic period, rights were allotted by aristocratic lineage, and power belonged to a restricted class. This apparently changed through reforms such as Solon’s, which allotted rights through social class.⁶⁸⁶ How elite groups sought and reinforced social differentiation, however, may not be so simple as including and excluding simply by birth, i.e., on the basis on kinship and lineage alone.

Elite groups probably did restrict access to status at different points in Early Greece. But they could not have done so through ties to ‘real’ ancestors and lineages that could be

⁶⁸⁴ See Donlan 1997b, 44-45, on the names elites give themselves and give others. See Hall 2007a, 129-31, on the appearance and development of elitist terminology from “incipient socioeconomic connotations” in Homeric poetry to its abundance in Archaic poetry, especially that of Theognis, Solon, and Alcaeus. On the Gamoroi at Syracuse: Murray 1993, 115; Rutter 2000, 138-41. On the Bakkiadai at Corinth: Murray 1993, 53, 146-50; Snodgrass 1980, 92; Thomas and Conant 1999, 123; Hall 2007a, 136-37.

⁶⁸⁵ See p. 256-57. See also Sallares 1991, 205-7 and Hall’s discussion of the emergence of ‘aristocracies’ in Early Greece (2007a, 127-31).

⁶⁸⁶ E.g., Andrewes 1982, 367-68; Funke 1999, 9; Lomas 2000, 173; Lang 2007, 185.

expressed as genealogies. Who would those real ancestors have been? Perhaps they were those who had been successful in trade and agriculture and increased the size and complexity of their houses, but yet remained the nameless inhabitants of Zagora, Megara Hyblaia, and Old Smyrna. But who would have cared about or remembered real ancestors? Who had been keeping track of who was elite and who was not since the Geometric period? This is certainly not the information passed on in Early Greek genealogical material. In genealogies, elite individuals expressed their worth and so reaffirmed their social status, and probably their civic and political status too, not through the real people of the past, but through heroic and divine ancestors, figures who had been heard of, remembered, and talked about, and who were associated with foundations, battles, deeds, and domestic and economic successes.

The notion of kinship, therefore, plays into social and civic differentiation in a much less direct manner. Elite status was not so much determined by birth, but by possession of or the ability to show off character and worth (in the standards of the day), which could be considered a matter of birth and relatedness (like produces like). But that relatedness could be claimed or appropriated, and was largely not provable: just how does one prove his descent from the gods? The answer is: through genealogy, and who could prove him wrong? Genealogies were, as Rose points out, legitimizing tools of social and political power.⁶⁸⁷ This ties back in with Duploux's argument that elite status in ancient Greece was not a matter of birth and hereditary wealth and power, but of prestige continually made and maintained by individuals within a social environment of agonism.⁶⁸⁸ Individuals and their households,

⁶⁸⁷ Rose 2009, 474.

⁶⁸⁸ Duploux 2006, 12-35.

instead, sought and invented the family in ways that would enhance or coincide with their prestige and legitimize their power within the community or the *polis*, and hence, their interest in descent.

Final Conclusions

Early Greek kinship, as discussed in the introduction to this project, has played a key role in reconstructions of social and political change in the developing Greek *poleis*, although it has often been treated more obliquely in the scholarship. It has been my intention, therefore, to study kinship across the evidentiary divides traditional to Classicists, while considering developments and theoretical discussions in other disciplines, where the study of kinship has played a much bigger role. In looking at the evidence of Early Greek kinship such as it is and across disciplinary divides, I have tried to investigate and to dispel, where necessary, some of the myths, assumptions, and holdovers from interpretive models or fill some of the voids concerning kinship and social organization and the formation of alliances, allegiances, and identities connected with kinship in this period. My ultimate aim, however, has been to investigate the evidence and establish an understanding of kinship for this period in order to consider kinship as part of a larger overlapping network of social ideas and forces in the developing Greek *poleis*. This project, therefore, could be considered foundational work for larger questions in Early Greek state formation, society, and culture. An area of particular interest for me has been the relationship between kinship and the state as it was forming in early Greece, for example, as suggested by the notion of ‘focused societies’ (i.e., kinship- and state-focused) or by the interest in descent on the part of states and ethnic groups. Other areas of further exploration might include the concept of kinship as expressed

and reflected in other periods of Greek as well as Roman or Italian history, or the way the reassessment of such concepts of kinship would affect models and terminologies in anthropology.

Further comparative work between ideas and structures of kinship in Archaic Italian settlements and those in Greek settlements could also be particularly interesting at this stage in the scholarship. Since the appropriateness of importing kinship concepts and typologies directly between these cultures has largely been invalidated, we could look to more meaningful socio-political comparisons of kinship ideas and networks in these cultures and in others in the Mediterranean and beyond. A reconsideration of kinship's part in the formation of city-states and in city-state cultures, in which its role and importance are not necessarily the same universally.

This study of Early Greek kinship and kinship ideas, therefore, could be looked at as a collection of overviews of Early Greek genealogies, burials, and domestic architecture all linked by the theme of kinship. It could also be approached as a volume on Early Greek kinship to accompany and challenge the limited current bibliography on the subject. More intriguingly, however, is that it could function as a starting point for the reassessment of kinship as a concept in Classical antiquity and as an aid or impetus for future studies of social and political change (in the Mediterranean and beyond) which recognize the importance of kinship and kinship ideas in both the scholarship and the cultures and societies which it studies.

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Appendix 1: The Genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist

The text of the genealogy of Miltiades the Oikist (FGrHist 3 F2) below, as quoted in Marcellinus' *Life of Thucydides* (Vita Thuc. 2), follows Fowler's edition (AGM Pherekydes F2). The translation is my own.

[Greek text removed due to copyright restrictions.]

Philaos, son of Aias, lived in Athens. (D)Aiklos was born of him, Epilykos was born of him, Akestor was born of him, Agenor was born of him, Oulios was born of him, Polykles was born of him, Autophon was born of him, Philaios was born of him, Agamestor was born of him, Teisander was born of him, Miltiades was born of him, Hippokleides was born of him, in whose archonship the Panathenaic festival was established, Miltiades was born of him, who settled the Chersonese.