Contents

CHAPTER 1

The Margins

This book recovers a style of painting that does not fit neatly into our histories of Greek art but that can offer new perspectives on Athens, its place in the Mediterranean, and the people who lived there. The style has been called crude, awkward, and, on occasion, just ugly (Figure 1.1).[1] Compared to a troubled adolescent, it has been cautiously eyed as an unruly teen yet to attain the stature and poise of mature Greek art.[2] Produced in the region of Athens (i.e., Attica) and generally known as Protoattic, this style, made primarily in the seventh century BC—following the rigorous Late Geometric style of the eighth century (Figure 1.2) and before the refined black-figure technique of the sixth century (Figure 1.3)—can suffer as much from neglect as abuse.[3] Too different in appearance from both, it often becomes relegated to a prelude or an afterword, or ignored altogether. Take, for example, the exhibit *The Countless Aspects of Beauty* at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens in 2018, which showcased art from the Neolithic period to late antiquity, but omitted Protoattic altogether.[4] Perhaps nothing so clearly indicates the challenge in making the style conform as the prevalent label still used in textbooks to categorize and describe much of the seventh-century style made in Attica, and elsewhere in Greece: "Orientalizing." It is just not Greek enough.

The beguiling aesthetics of a regional style whose middle phase is classified simply as the "Wild Style" compels us to look again. And some of the very same authors who critique the style as ungainly also recognize in it something unusual, remarkable, and noteworthy.[5] Exuberance erupts across the surface of the vases (Figure 1.4).[6] With several hands and workshops active, and a variety of "personal" styles visible, this art of the seventh century could be seen to mark a watershed in Greek history, as the first time that makers and buyers were confronted with pronounced stylistic choices (compare Figures 1.1, 1.4–1.5, Plates 1 and 2).[7] This is a period, and a phenomenon, that merits scrutiny. And we must look at this pottery again, and more

Figure 1.1. Protoattic amphora from Phaleron attributed to the Group of the Wild Style. Athens, National Museum 222. Photo John Blazejewski / Princeton University, after *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* Athens 2, plate 5.

closely, if we want to understand some of the major developments in Greek culture that took place at the same time as these vases were made and used. Since very few written sources survive, pottery is the best body of evidence for broader investigations of society at a time when the city-state or *polis* developed, new interpersonal relationships formed, and Greek communities engaged with Mediterranean connectivity. But it is a complicated source of evidence, which has been used for social analysis primarily through recourse to the problematic concept of Orientalizing and structuralist models emphasizing elite agency. In this book, I work to loosen Protoattic from an Orientalizing paradigm and to recover the importance of the margins and the marginalized. To do so, the book moves from historiography through a variety of contexts—the cemetery, the workshop, the symposium, and the sanctuary—bringing the historical, geographic, and social margins into sharper focus and looking at how art and people interacted in the construction of subjectivities and communities.

This book aims to intervene in the ways that we use material culture to approach two important areas of study: the Mediterranean and social history. Recent research tends to emphasize the level of connectivity in the early Mediterranean.[8] From a macroperspective, trade and mobility steadily increased in the early first millennium BC and have attracted considerable scrutiny. Extensive and intensive long-distance movement and exchange challenge the traditional boundaries that have been drawn delimiting separate cultures. At the same time, much of this research has underscored the diverse and fragmented nature of the communities on the Mediterranean coastline.[9] It is now time for close (micro-)regional analysis, such as this book offers for Attica, to complement our new models of the Mediterranean and to assess the engagement of specific places with wider Mediterranean currents.[10]

A smaller scale of analysis is also now necessary to put objects more firmly back into the discussion. Surprisingly, material culture has played a relatively minor role in the macroscale approaches that offer histories *of* rather than *in* the Mediterranean.[11] Above all, objects have served as indexes of mobility and intercultural encounters, that is, as evidence for connectivity. The ancient Mediterranean is filling with ships and people, but seems oddly empty of art. Pick up nearly any fat book on the Mediterranean and you are likely to find maps and diagrams rather than pictures of things.[12] This is symptomatic of a move away from interpretations or discussions of individual objects as the geographic scope of analysis has expanded.

Figure 1.2. Attic Late Geometric pyxis. Athens, Agora P 5062. Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

More than simply putting objects back onto the page, I hope to shift the way in which we use objects for social analysis. From tying the appearance of the Wild Style to social disorder, to reading visual subject matter as a symptom of Orientalizing behavior, to parsing the hybridity of an object as evidence of intercultural interaction, objects have been seen to reflect social structure. They become a type of mirror for observing the results of analyses that usually have been performed on the basis of other evidence. The most recent book on Orientalizing veers toward this passive methodology, interpreting objects as "tools" in the hands of social groups.[13] Another way to use objects has been more quantitative. In Attica, this has been especially common in the treatment of mortuary remains and, more recently, of settlement patterns.[14] In all of these trends, the object tends to take second place, serving to confirm a social model or being reduced to a datum point. A richer history of the object is needed that pays attention to shape, iconography, and technique, to producer as well as user, to context, and to the object's role interacting between and among people, sites, and activities, with a degree of agency granted to the object itself. This book aims to change our views of what Greek art looked like and, just as importantly, what it did. It will argue for the mutually constitutive relationship of objects and people in a time of social and cultural instability.

Figure 1.3. Attic black-figure dinos attributed to the Gorgon Painter. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 874. Photo © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

A broader conceptualization of the object affords a place in analysis for the margins and the marginalized in the Mediterranean. One of the legacies of the concept of an Orientalizing style and an Orientalizing period, explored more in chapter 2, has been an obsession with the elite, in Attica and elsewhere.[15] In nearly all studies of seventh-century Athens, particularly those focused on material culture, the elite are the drivers of historical development. As the procurers of imports, the deployers of hybrid art, or the buriers of the dead, they are imagined the agents of cultural change.[16] In fact, no style of Greek art has been so closely associated with the elite as

seventh-century art, with the connotations of luxury and decadence that its Orientalizing label implies. This is one of the traps that Orientalizing sets. With the scope and detail achievable through regional analysis, it is possible to recover a range of objects and contexts that challenge conventional thinking. A regional level of analysis, focus on objects, expansion of the canon beyond "masterpieces," and emphasis on object-person interactions at multiple social levels offers a way to reassess the vase-painting of seventh-century Attica in its Mediterranean context.

Figure 1.4. Protoattic kotyle. Athens, Agora P 7023. Illustration by Piet de Jong. Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

In this book, I deploy "margins" in three ways. I look at historiography to see how periodization occurred and what sites and objects it placed at the margins of analysis. Next, I consider how Attica initially lay outside of the main seventh-century Mediterranean currents but belonged to unexpected networks, and how it gradually entered a more global world. From the geographic margins we move to the social margins, where I develop a framework that accommodates the marginalized as social actors and agents of artistic and cultural change. While these are admittedly three types of margins—historiographic, geographic, and social—they overlap and intersect in interesting and compelling ways. The concept of the "margins" provides a means to look at historiography, geography, and society in tandem. We will see that the marginalization of subelite "Phaleron Ware" (Figures 1.1, 1.6) and of the context of the Phaleron harbor in the periodization process facilitated an association of Protoattic with the elite, and that grappling with the marginal location of Attica in the Mediterranean provides a more accurate understanding of the geographical dynamics that underlie "Orientalizing" and, by implication, their social import.[17] "Margins" offer a challenge to rethink models of a highly interconnected Mediterranean centered on the powers of the Levant and driven by an elite and to reassess the type of objects we use to address questions of style and society. My argument in this book is that a remarkable Protoarchaic style of vase-painting emerged and operated within networks and practices in which the geographic and social margins played an intrinsic but overlooked role, and that this

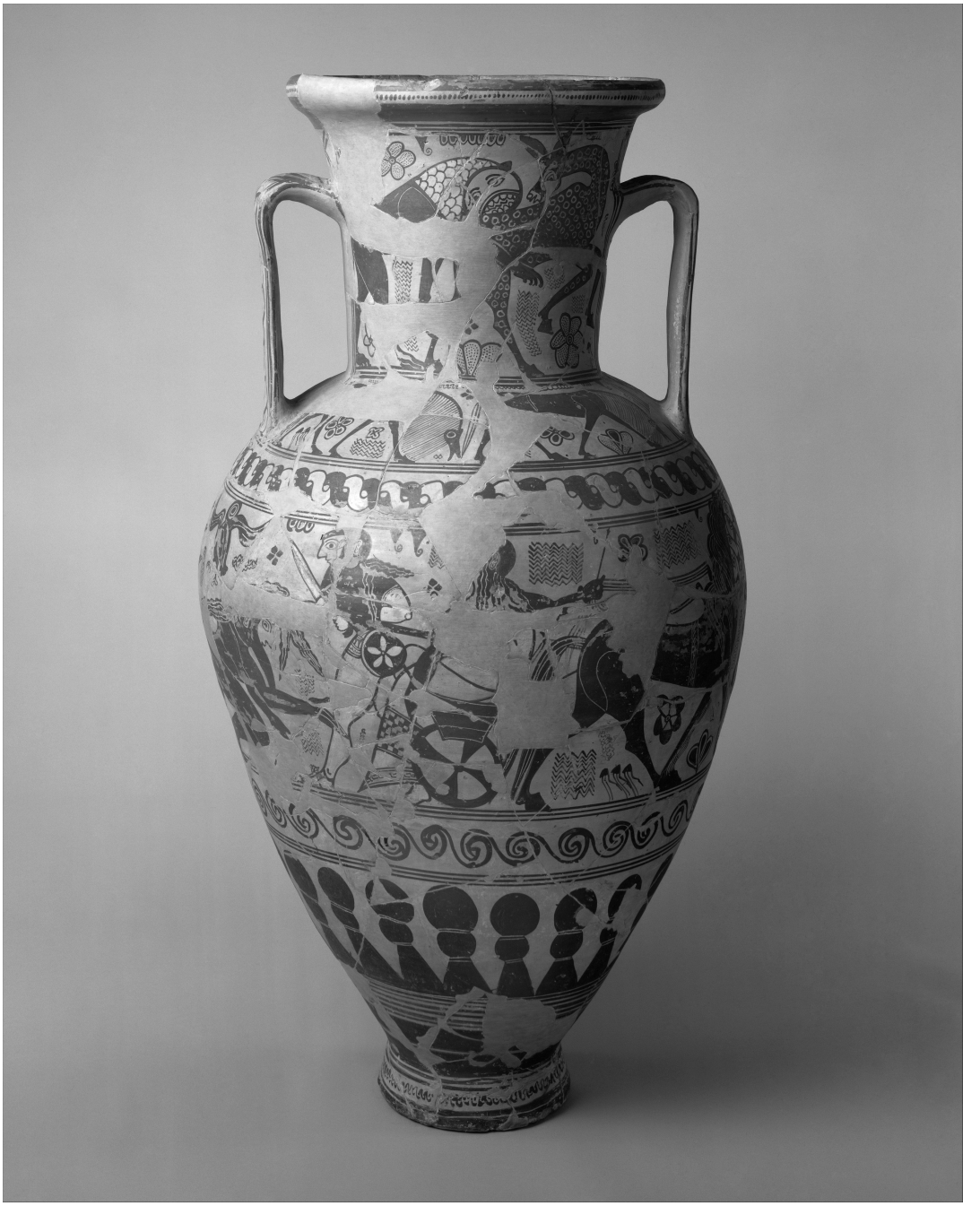

Figure 1.5. Protoattic amphora attributed to the New York Nessos Painter, allegedly from Smyrna. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.210.1. Rogers Fund, 1911.

style had an impact on the way people thought of themselves and connected with one another.

Of these three, the socio(economic) margins probably will be controversial. Interpretations of changes in the Early Iron Age have focused above all on the elite, from Ian Morris's influential model of elite and middling ideologies and his distinctions between *agathoi* and *kakoi*, to Alain Duplouy's more recent formulation of the need for an ongoing performance of elite lifestyle, both of which will be discussed in more detail below.[18] Whereas archaeology as a practice and a discipline often can reveal the mundane and the nonelite, scholars generally maintain that surviving seventh-century material culture, which is not abundant, must belong to the elite or be derivative of the elite. In this book, a wide panorama of the material evidence, including a complete survey of the mortuary remains, reveals an abundance and variety of material that drives new interpretations. Together with the literary record, it suggests a period of social instability and a lack of widespread consensus over the norms for status display; society was stratified but not ranked, and there was an absence of cultural hegemony. The elite were unable to use material culture to assert and normalize an elevated social position—this is what I mean by an absence of cultural hegemony.[19] No doubt some people from the ancient world, perhaps in particular seventh-century Attica, are absent from the material record. They were too poor to deposit a clay vessel, too persecuted to bury their dead in a visible way. But there are others who left simple cups as votives or buried their dead with a few decorated vases in the recently rediscovered, massive cemetery of Phaleron. Such remains do not match the picture of Attica made primarily on the basis of the few spectacular burials in one cemetery, the Kerameikos. Sections of this book draw attention to this type of marginalized evidence that, from a comparative standpoint, seems to belong to a subelite. Yet an argument built merely on trying to identify subelite or nonelite

Figure 1.6. Protoattic Phaleron-type oinochoe from Phaleron (Grave 19), attributed to the Workshop of the Würzburg Group. Athens, National Museum 14957. Photo N. T. Arrington. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

remains would be open to numerous objections. One could always counter, for any object or assemblage, that we are still dealing with an elite social group, but one that was just not engaged in the performance of status in the ways that we might expect. So instead this book attempts not only to find evidence and actors that might qualify as subelite, but also to create a space in analysis for a role for subelite material culture and people. This entails building an approach that gives attention to the process of cultural change from below, to the generative role for mobility and immigrants, to the agency of artists, and to the use of objects outside of social contexts defined solely in terms of status. Creating this space also entails calling attention to how elite-dominated models fail to account for all the evidence.

Our surviving material evidence, as always, is but a small fragment of what once existed, rather than the result of practices of exclusion or social rationing. I do not deny that status and status display and performance were at work in the seventh century, but through attention to historiography, contexts, and a wide variety of evidence, I seek to step outside of the elite/nonelite or inside/outside picture and to develop an interpretive framework stressing the relationship between material culture and the formation of subjectivities and communities, a framework that can accommodate the margins. Going forward, I generally avoid the tempting term "nonelite" because it presumes an impossibly clear definition in economic terms and only serves to reify a notion of the elite. Instead, the concept of the margins and the marginalized recovers a place that was real but that depended on one's perspective and experience.

The remainder of this introduction helps situate the rest of the book in a few ways. First, it contextualizes this book with reference to studies of Greece and the Near East and to broader approaches toward the Mediterranean and "globalization" in order to discuss at greater length what a focus on Attica offers. Then, it examines the notion of style, which has fallen out of favor in much art historical and archaeological analysis, to consider how it is a valid subject of study, while also recognizing its limits and constraints. Next, this chapter moves on to describe the political context of Attica in the Late Geometric period (late eighth century) and through the seventh century and the evidence for social mobility, and discusses how there were multiple vectors for participation in communities at a time when the *polis* was coming into being. Finally, it provides a brief overview of the main characteristics of Protoattic pottery, advocating for the use of Protoattic over Orientalizing/sub-Geometric. A synopsis of the book concludes this introductory chapter.

GREECE AND THE NEAR EAST: THE NEED FOR A (MICRO-) REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The modern flight of refugees to Europe by way of the Greek islands serves as a powerful reminder of the place of the Aegean as a causeway for travel across the Mediterranean. These recent events also unfortunately emphasize differences be-

tween west and east. As much as the Greek islands are stepping stones, they also can become physical barriers and symbols of cultural polarities. Scholarship has not always helped bridge the geographical and conceptual divide. As Edward Said has argued, eastern cultures have been used to create representations of the Other in western attempts to understand itself.[20] Too often, the Near East becomes synonymous with luxury, despotism, decadence, and the exotic. These perceptions have dominated interpretations of the seventh century BC, when Greek communities imported, adapted, and transformed eastern goods and cultural practices in a phenomenon that has been called "Orientalizing."[21]

The so-called Orientalizing style is most apparent in vases and best discerned through a contrast with the preceding Geometric style (contrast, e.g., Figures 1.1, 1.4–1.6 with Figure 1.2). The seventh-century vases are painterly rather than linear and have more abundant vegetal motifs and more varied figural iconography, including specific and identifiable myths. "Orientalizing" applies to more than vases.[22] Metal objects, ivory figurines, and gemstones, too, have received the label "Orientalizing." Indexes include techniques—such as the use of granulation, application of incision, and adoption of terra-cotta molds—as well as iconography—such as the depiction of sphinxes or lion hunts. But the products are not particularly close to any Near Eastern models, and scholars tend to emphasize that they are adaptations rather than copies. The development of the Greek alphabet offers a useful analogy for the transformative process. In the eighth century, Phoenician letters were adopted and supplemented to provide Greek speakers with a new written language, much as "Orientalizing" objects modified non-Greek elements to present a new visual language. The example of the alphabet suggests that the cultural interaction touched on more than art alone. Many scholars perceive a deep cultural indebtedness to and inclination toward the Near East in the Early Iron Age. Greek myths, legends, lifestyles, and more have been traced to the direction of the rising sun. Across the Mediterranean, from Cyprus to Spain, "Orientalizing" often is applied not just to an artistic style but to an entire period (ca. seventh century, but late eighth to late seventh and even early sixth depending on the region) and to a phenomenon of cultural change.[23]

If we want to study more closely this cross-cultural interaction between Greece and the Near East, however, we encounter a serious methodological problem. The very formulation of the research topic reinforces the geographical binary, essentializes cultures, and only cleaves Greece farther from the eastern Mediterranean. Despite being an intercultural research agenda, the framework from the outset posits a unified "Greece" and a monolithic "East."[24] Yet city and regional identities prevailed in Aegean lands at this time. There was no single Greek region or Greek *polis*.[25] Likewise, the Near East, or what people once called "the Orient," was composed of Anatolian empires, North Syrian city-states, Phoenician city-states, the Neo-Assyrian empire, and more. Egypt is generally included in the Near East, even though it more accurately lies to the south of Greece.

A solution that Sarah Morris proposed to the east–west divide was to highlight the continuity of communication between the areas. For her, Greek cities were closely connected to the Near East, part of their orbit and part of their world system. Orientalizing, she wrote, is "a dimension of Greek culture rather than a phase."[26] Only with the invasions of the Persians in the early fifth century did a cleavage between east and west develop, as Greek identity coalesced in the face of an existential threat.[27] This viewpoint productively draws the Greek city-states closer to their neighbors.

Perspectives that focus on the whole Mediterranean increasingly inform analysis of the connections between Greek and Near Eastern cultures and attempt to avoid geographical cleavages.[28] The modern phenomenon of globalization no doubt encourages us to see connectivity in the past, and some studies explicitly address ancient globalization.[29] The term is employed to a variety of ends. Some scholars discuss a growing homogeneity of the first millennium Mediterranean and pay attention to the causes and manifestations of connectivity, particularly trade in commodities and elite interaction.[30] Others, sometimes using the rubric of "glocalization," stress instead the variegated local responses to broader trends as (the sense of) space and time compressed.[31] This approach stems in part from postcolonial concerns with indigenous agency and can frame interaction in terms of cultural clashes, with sharp distinctions rather than uniformity resulting from so-called globalization.[32]

The coexistence of fragmentation and connectivity has been brought to the fore by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (2000), which focuses on microecologies and argues that there was unity in disunity, with the sea the main connector. The authors have received criticism for a lack of attention to change, political structures, society, and culture.[33] But their formulation of a decentralized model of the Mediterranean is powerful, their stress on connectivity and mobility will endure, and their emphasis on economic rather than status motivations heralds an important shift.[34]

The variety and complexity of the seventh-century material record make a regional focus of analysis now necessary.[35] This is particularly apparent if we want to incorporate material culture more explicitly into the Mediterranean. For all the talk of the connectivity of the first millennium Mediterranean, for all the focus on a history *of* rather than *in* the Mediterranean, and for all the discussion of globalization, there is no single Early Iron Age Mediterranean style. The identification of seventh-century regional styles of vase-painting is one of the accomplishments of scholarship. It is possible to distinguish Corinthian from Cycladic, Attic from Cretan, Rhodian from Euboian, and so on. As the styles suggest, all regions of Greece, and indeed of the Mediterranean, had different forms of engagement with Near Eastern cultures and with each other, and different local needs and traditions. Crete produced a very early "Orientalizing" style on pottery and metalwork and seems to have been the destination and home of traveling and immigrant Phoenicians and North Syrians. Rhodes cornered the market in mass-produced Egyptianizing faience products. Distinctive

Spartan lead figurines reveal connections to Levantine models and may reflect the adoption of religious ideas. Corinth exported unguents in distinctive "Orientalizing" vases, where the iconography may be related to the contents of the vessels. The number and types of Near Eastern imports varied across the Aegean as well. The sanctuary of Hera at Samos explodes with imports, while Argos has a mere trickle. Transmissions in material culture also need to be placed alongside other cultural developments with care. Myths or philosophy, for example, may have crossed the Mediterranean in different ways and at different times than artifacts and styles.[36] To treat the whole period and the whole cultural phenomenon with one term with the same implications everywhere risks distorting the evidence. Ann Gunter, for example, has offered an interpretation of Orientalizing as Assyrianizing, which is a model that works well for Cyprus, where communities had experience with the Neo-Assyrian empire but is less effective at explaining art in other Greek regions.[37] We need to examine how specific (micro-)regions engaged with the broader Mediterranean and to elucidate the role of objects and styles in the transmission, communication, and production of meaning, leaving open the possibility for eastern connections all the while contextualizing so-called Orientalizing objects in a broader treatment of material culture and its interaction with human agents.

The recent scholarship on ancient globalization and connectivity stems in no small part from new archaeological evidence, to which this book also responds. For example, where the extent of Phoenician activity once was debated, excavations have provided incontrovertible evidence for early Levantine presence in the far west. In Spain, excavations at Huelva have placed their activity in the ninth and possibly even tenth century, and radiocarbon results at Carthage point to a late ninth century date there.[38] On the southern coast of Crete, a tripartite Phoenician shrine of the eighth century with ninth-century Phoenician ceramics provides dramatic evidence for Phoenician movement and local impact, and tombs from inland Eleftherna include distinctive Phoenician funerary monuments.[39] Burials with Phoenician goods exist at Salamis on Cyprus in the eleventh century,[40] and Kition was under Assyrian control in the late eighth century.[41] Pottery from Cyprus appears at an early date on Crete, in the Dodecanese, and at Lefkandi.[42] At Lefkandi, excavations continue to brighten the Dark Ages. Work in the settlement at Lefkandi has closed a gap between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age by demonstrating architectural continuity from LH IIIC through the Geometric period, with a surprising degree of community organization.[43] At Methoni, archaeologists have uncovered an early trading entrepôt connected to the Near East and producing luxury goods. A remarkable deposit contained 191 incised vases, considerably enlarging the corpus of early Greek writing.[44] Studies of chemical and lead isotopes from Geometric tripod cauldrons at Olympia show that the copper came from Faynan (Jordan).[45] Shipwrecks discovered in the waters of the Mediterranean have clarified how goods were conveyed around the seas.[46] Studies of old excavation material have been no less dramatic than the excavations. At Gordion, it now seems clear that a destruction

level once dated circa 700 actually belongs about a hundred years earlier, with considerable consequences for the possible role of the city in intercultural exchange and for Mediterranean and European chronology.[47] These are just a few highlights of the ways archaeology constantly modifies our view of antiquity. As more material comes to light, museums have disseminated data and viewpoints. Landmark exhibits and conferences on Crete and Cyprus and in Athens, Venice, and New York provided the opportunity to draw together old material and new finds from controlled excavations.[48] Thematic essays from a range of specialists gave useful syntheses and timely interpretations. Two other books have brought together scholars to focus explicitly on the seventh century.[49]

The signs of movement across the Mediterranean tempt one to emphasize connectivity and to speak of globalization—but is that an accurate picture at every local level? A regional approach to this connected world can integrate a place into the early Mediterranean world while remaining sensitive to moments when particular geographical areas, particular nodes and links, became salient. It also avoids creating monolithic entities of Greece and the Near East. Attica provides an appropriate case study for a regional approach for a number of reasons. There are sufficient archaeological data and contexts from the seventh century to examine, which can be placed in dialogue with the literary record. Pottery provides the most abundant and important body of evidence, for it displays the most significant changes in style from the Geometric period through the seventh century and offers the best contexts. Moreover, ceramics, produced in large quantities of nonelite raw materials, are some of the objects most receptive to cultural change. Potters and painters working in the medium continued historical traditions and processes, but the pliable clay also was amenable to imitating and emulating other styles and media. In recent years, much material has accumulated. In addition to the discoveries from sporadic rescue excavations, finds from the Early Iron Age have emerged from the preparation for new metro lines and for the construction of the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Center in Phaleron. Old finds neglected in storerooms have received welcome attention as well, from such sites as the cemetery of Merenda (ancient Myrrhinous), the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia in the Piraeus, and the sanctuary of Zeus Parnessios on Mount Parnes.[50] Giulia Rocco's extensive catalog of Protoattic pottery has gathered much of the seventh-century ceramic material from disparate sites and museums and organized it according to painter hands. Annette Haug has made a comprehensive survey of changes in subject matter. And Annarita Doronzio and Eirini Dimitriadou have examined the settlement data from Athens.[51] Yet when compared to other periods of Greek and especially Attic art, the seventh century, and especially its material culture, has received surprisingly little attention. Attica's Geometric and sixth-century styles have an important place in the historiography of Greek art, but Protoattic has largely been reserved for the connoisseur's eye or for quantitative and spatial analysis.

STYLE: TOWARD AN APPROACH

Discussion of seventh-century Attica (and Greece more broadly) often has relied on an Orientalizing paradigm that emerges from a belief in the existence of an Orientalizing style.[52] That is, the term *Orientalizing* is simultaneously descriptive—capturing the visual appearance of some but not all art of the time—and interpretive—explaining the changes in style through the alleged cultural contact embedded in the descriptive term itself. The presence of an Orientalizing style is taken to be a sign of a person's, group's, or culture's orientation toward the exoticism, power, and luxury proffered by the Near East and symptomatic of a package of cultural change taking place top-down. Few other classifications of Greek art do such interpretive work, and this is what makes Orientalizing so interesting and at the same time so problematic. "Geometric" applied to the preceding eighth century (and earlier) describes only the rectilinear appearance of the pottery; "black-figure" of the sixth century refers to a technique.[53] The methodological move from a description of a style as Orientalizing to an interpretation of a period is more often assumed than demonstrated. While inviting a link between description and explanation/interpretation, the word "Orientalizing" also renders the nature of that link vague. As Nicholas Purcell eloquently put it, "the term appears to exist in a kind of middle voice. It hovers between identifying active and passive participants. Do you get Orientalized? Can you Orientalize someone else?"[54] For these reasons and others, Purcell advocated abandoning the term.[55]

Archaeologists and art historians have long used a concept of style not only to classify but also, at least since Johann Winckelmann, to seek insights on the character of a people and a time.[56] The Classical style of the Greeks, for example, was thought to emanate from their natural environment, religious beliefs, and political freedom. Stylistic differences between periods could be explained through differences in collective mentalities and dispositions. Another strand of art history, exemplified by Alois Riegl and Heinrich Wölfflin, focused more explicitly on the internal evolution of styles across broad tracts of time with a formalist perspective that did not take considerable account of historical contexts.[57] Most art historians now recognize the teleological fallacies and circular reasoning inherent in both these approaches and criticize the way in which they essentialize cultures and distort the historical record. They are aware that style can become a scholarly construct, and as a result, style per se is less a subject of study than it once was.[58] Archaeologists, too, once eager to use style to demarcate cultural borders or to measure communication, have turned away.[59] Some scholars even argue that style does not exist, or at least not in the way that we think it does.[60] Other critics have argued that style is purely relational; it does not inhere in an object but is applied to it by scholars. We identify a set of attributes shared among a group of objects but not held by all of them, and (arbitrarily) use that set to distinguish objects from one another.[61] So

style can do little more than classify according to a scheme that scholarship applies (e.g., Romanesque vs. Gothic); style is in the eye of the modern beholder.

Such skepticism is salutary and draws attention to the distinction that often needs to be made between style as a method of classification and style as a tool for interpretation.[62] But dismissing style or the label Orientalizing cannot sweep away the formal changes that occurred in the Aegean in the seventh century that are most manifest in ceramics and that vary according to region. The juxtaposition of eighth- and seventh-century vases demonstrates that a change in form occurred. Yet clearly seventh-century pottery needs to be approached in a way that, to the degree possible, avoids some of the pitfalls of both style more broadly and Orientalizing more narrowly. In this book, I take a few different approaches to address this problem and to broaden the notion of style at work. Let us define style as an affective mode of making and doing that participates in a system of meaning.[63] The term "Orientalizing" needs to be approached critically, starting from a historiographic perspective that asks why we began to use the term at all (chapter 2) and what the implications have been. Then, expanding the canon and incorporating a wider range of objects will reveal over the course of the book a plurality of styles operative in the seventh century that occur in "high" as well as "low" art. In analyzing these Protoattic pieces, rather than relying exclusively on iconography, which is usually the barometer for "Orientalizing," I devote attention to other aspects of form, facture, and process. Finally, the definition of style used here includes ways of doing on the part of the user, looking at the performative aspects of style and examining the object in its use contexts as an extension of the user's body. The style of a vase could posit a new interaction with the artist, user, and/or viewer, creating new possibilities for the expression of subjectivity and for relations of the individual to the group. At the same time, these uses recursively could make demands and expectations on the production of style itself, affecting its appearance.

This type of analysis aims to probe the relationship between formal (including stylistic) changes and both the production and consumption of vases. Scholars instead tend to focus on one or the other. On the one hand (production), scholars might look at artists and workshop organization or try to deduce the origins of an import or the ultimate source of an iconographic motif.[64] They are interested in identifying individual hands or in using objects and styles to trace cultural movement, usually in terms of passive diffusion.[65] They maintain close attention to objects, emphasizing the role of individual painters, and they tend to assume that boundaries between cultural entities are distinct, identifiable, and stable. On the other hand (consumption), scholars might look at how objects were purchased and used. They are interested in how imports were redeployed in local contexts and how images or motifs were transformed through transcultural exchange.[66] Much has been gained by such approaches, particularly in underscoring the ideological possibilities of objects, but the sharp edge of style has been made blunt.[67] Analyses of consumption tend to leave the object and its problems, contradictions, and diffi-

culties aside, as it becomes a mere tool for social actors to wield.[68] This book tries to bridge the gap between the two approaches and examines style from the perspective of both its production and consumption.[69] It assesses, on the one hand, artists, workshops, processes, and traditions, and, on the other, purchasing groups, display contexts, and users. The aim is to place production and consumption in dialogue and to situate them socially and ideologically. I want to talk about style without resorting either to "communication" (like many archaeologists) or "hands" (like many art historians) in order to show how it participated in processes of meaning-making and how it related to social structure.

One result of this multifaceted approach to style is, I hope, something of a rapprochement between archaeology and art history. Although the topic of style cuts across archaeology and art history, the disciplines interact little over the subject.[70] Interdisciplinarity may have become a mainstay of academic work, but these two fields still seem in many respects surprisingly far apart. Few archaeologists seem to know about the work of Gottfried Semper or Alois Riegl, while ancient art historians do not usually consider style outside of a canon of so-called masterpieces. The chasm between fields did not always exist. The materialist orientation of the earliest archaeologists brought them in close contact with the objects of art history, while a pioneer in art history, Riegl, was inspired in large part by engagement with excavated material. Protoattic pottery offers unique opportunities to draw on the data and theoretical literature from both fields. As a ceramic style, it falls into the more traditional domain of archaeologists, for whom pottery represents the vast majority of surviving evidence. As a ware replete with complex imagery and made by assertive artistic personalities, it demands the arsenal of art historians. From archaeology, I draw on a long tradition of engagement with contexts and assemblages as well as on scholarship about networks and agency. From art history, I draw on the Peircian language of semiotics, Wölfflin's contrast between linear and painterly, and subjectivity.

Other media will enter our discussion, but this is predominantly a book about pottery, which requires some justification. I already mentioned some of the reasons above. It is on pottery that the stylistic changes are most evident and where there is sufficient evidence in terms of the quantity of finds and in terms of the contexts for a relatively fine-grained analysis. They also allow consideration of a range of social levels of use. And in the seventh century it is only with vases that we can speak about artists with any type of precision, making investigation of mobility and subjectivity feasible. Last, but not least, ceramics allow a study of historiography and periodization (chapter 2). Given the complexity of the relations between Greece and the Near East, ceramics are the most abundant and promising source of evidence for an investigation of style, its uses, and its connections to a Mediterranean world. However, this book is not directed specifically at pottery specialists, although I hope that they find some value in it. Instead, I aim to use pottery to address broader art historical, archaeological, and social questions, all the while retaining a focus

on objects. Such an approach would not be unusual for sixth- or fifth-century vase-painting, which have benefited from a variety of methodologies, but Protoarchaic pottery remains the domain of the specialist. Maybe the limited number of figural scenes, the relative lack of textual sources, or the seventh-century's awkward place between the anthropological methods applied to Geometric and Sir John Beazley's methods (see chapter 5) applied to later Archaic render Protoattic less accessible and less relevant. Or it just does not look Greek enough.

ATTICA IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This book is not a historical or political study of the rise of the state, which is a topic of interest to many classicists and archaeologists looking at this time period. But in order to provide some necessary background for the rest of this book, this section will sketch out the history of Attica from the eighth into the seventh century, investigating the cohesiveness of the region, the emergence of political institutions, and the rise of social conflict. It will measure continuity and change from the Late Geometric into the Early Archaic periods.

According to historical sources, the mythical king Theseus united Attica politically, abolishing local council chambers (*bouleteria*) and magistrates (*archai*) and centering political authority in Athens. There is no scholarly consensus about when this event known as a *synoikismos* occurred, with proposals ranging from the Bronze Age to the eighth century, and it is possible that it is a story fabricated much later.[71] Nevertheless, Attica shared a dialect and material culture, and can be considered a region as early as the Protogeometric period (tenth century). And by the end of the eighth century, as the landscape filled in with settlements, Athens emerged as a dominant center, with smaller settlements agglomerated around it.[72] Athens was located in a place ideal for access to, and control over, Attica itself, whereas most of the other major settlements in Attica (Acharnai, Eleusis, Brauron, Marathon, and Thorikos) were located so as to offer access to places outside of Attica.[73] The emergence of Athens as the central urban settlement illustrates the degree to which the region was becoming united and integrated politically, socially, and culturally in the eighth century. Another indication of centralization is the scale and nature of cult activity on the Athenian Acropolis.[74]

In Attica in the second half of the eighth century, an increase in the number of cemeteries, burials, sites, and wells strongly suggests a rise in population as well as prosperity.[75] Many of the settlements were located inland and, together with the production of small ceramic granaries and the frequent depiction of horses, might indicate a landed source of wealth for some families. But ships are represented on vases, too. Iconography seems to indicate some new degree of connectivity with the rest of the Mediterranean, with motifs on gold bands and ceramics demonstrating Near Eastern links.[76] Imports support this view.[77] The style of some objects and the skills necessary for working some materials, such as gold

and ivory, suggest the presence of a few foreign craftspeople. Connections are also attested through the adoption of the alphabet and its use on vases. Attic fine ware itself, however, circulated in smaller numbers than in the previous period (i.e., Middle Geometric).

Some aspects of the seventh-century archaeological record represent a break with developments in the Late Geometric period.[78] In Attica, many sites with eighth-century material have no trace of seventh-century remains, and several wells in the agora were closed. The number of graves drops, the amount of metal and especially weapons in the graves plummets, and beginning in the late eighth century, the burial rate of children rises, who occasionally were interred in their own burial plots or cemetery areas. Unlike many regions, Attica, with a few exceptions, did not invest in monumental urban sanctuaries in the seventh century. Instead, hill sanctuaries and places between communities received most ritual activity.[79] Conversely, cemeteries were comparatively more prosperous than elsewhere in central Greece. Ancient tombs also became a focus of interest in Attica (and elsewhere), with some Bronze Age graves receiving dedications and sometimes cult activity.[80]

The changes in the archaeological record, especially the number of graves, have been explained through a drought and epidemic, a war, or shifts in social structure and ideology.[81] There were probably several factors. It is unlikely that we are simply witnessing the material effects of depopulation, for there are too many reorientations in material practice and settlement pattern for a demographic explanation alone to suffice, and it seems possible there was instead a rise in population. (For example, while the overall number of sites drops, new ones appear.[82]) The demographic explanation also cannot account for the continuing low number of graves in the sixth century, when we know that population size was considerable.

Despite the disruption in some parts of the archaeological record, Annarita Doronzio and Eirini Dimitriadou recently have emphasized settlement continuity and a pattern of increased urbanization into and across the seventh century.[83] The *polis* or city-state is widely conceived now as the result not of a single moment of invention but of a long process of development, which continued throughout the seventh century.[84] There was an urban nucleus focused on the Acropolis, with other more dispersed hamlets in the vicinity.[85] Cult activity not only emphasized a center (the Acropolis) but also knit together the region, with sanctuaries in the city linking to ritual spaces outside of it. The rise in sanctuaries in Athens and Attica, the continuing prominence of the Acropolis in Athens, and the gradual transformation of the region of the later Classical agora, all of which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6, are also signs that the community, its spaces, and its institutions were developing.

Historical sources are not as clear as we would like but attest to the presence of political institutions. There was an *archon*, *polemarchos*, and *basileus*. Such political appointments at first were made on the basis of wealth and birth.[86] We hear that the archonship became annual around 683/2,[87] and former *archontes* comprised the

powerful Council of the Areopagus.[88] Among the political positions were *thesmothetai*, responsible in some way for legal affairs.[89] The function of another group of magistrates called *naukraroi* is vague. Perhaps they were forty-eight people responsible for financing the fleet who, by extension, had some control over the city finances.[90]

The city-state was not just a set of legal institutions, though. Alain Duplouy, Josine Blok, and Paulin Ismard, among others, have put aside Aristotelian notions of citizenship to examine the criteria for belonging in a community and the means of making claims to that community.[91] Ismard has drawn attention to the various types of associations that enabled people to contribute to and engage with a community.[92] Although he focuses on later periods, many of these mechanisms already existed in the seventh century. In particular, *phratriai* ("brotherhoods") were organizations with religious functions that possibly related also to a local regional identity. *Orgeones* may already have been in existence, groups that worshipped minor deities and heroes.[93] *Phylai* (tribes) once may have been tied to a specific region but eventually extended across Attica, linking it together. Citizens were distributed into four tribes, each subdivided into three *trittyes*. Eventually, these groups helped organize participation in the military. *Phratriai* and *phylai* both appear in Drakon's law code of the late seventh century, traditionally dated 621/0, and other groups already may have been in place, too.[94] They offered personal and regional networks that knit people and places together. Pursuing this turn from looking at the *polis* exclusively as a legal institution and toward thinking about the number of smaller groups that composed it, subsequent chapters of this book will consider the conditions for subjectivity and the formation of communities that material culture mediated.

Mobility and connectivity at the regional level contrasts with Attic engagement with the rest of the Mediterranean. Unlike other regions, it took only a small part in colonizing ventures to the west or the Black Sea. But it was not isolated. Attic produce (probably oil and wine) was conveyed far and wide in so-called SOS amphoras, containers for oil and/or wine that are named after the distinctive marks on the neck and that appear at many Mediterranean sites (Figure 1.7, and Figures 3.1, 3.9, 6.17).[95] We also hear of a few military conflicts against Aigina,[96] Megara (over Salamis),[97] and Sigeion in the Troad.[98] The date of the first is unclear; the late eighth century is possible. The others occurred in the later seventh century. The conflict at Sigeion is important for marking a new stage of more intensive and extensive Attic connections with the Mediterranean. The site is located near the mouth of the Hellespont, and Athens fought with Mytilene to maintain its hold. (This is the battle in which Alcaeus famously lost his shield.) Adding to the Panhellenic nature of the event, Periander of Corinth served as arbiter, awarding Sigeion to Athens. The conflict would have required a navy or the use of private ships (cf. Figure 4.30) and demonstrates the city's ability to muster resources, define its territory, and engage with the broader Mediterranean world at least by the end of the seventh century.

Although a small group of people held political power in Athens, unlike several other prominent Greek cities, it did not experience tyranny in the seventh century.

A man named Cylon tried to establish single rule, and the story of his attempted coup provides tantalizing insights on Athenian political and social structures.[99] An Olympic victor and a son-in-law of the tyrant at Megara, he seized the Acropolis around 630 (as early as 640 and as late as 624/3[100]), but he was driven out by a combination of magistrates, leading families, and others. Thucydides qualifies that people resisted the attempted tyranny en masse (πανδημεί).[101] The murder of Cylon's followers in a sanctuary led to the expulsion of the Alcmaeonidae, one of the leading families. While it is hard to know how much to trust the historical sources, they suggest intense competition among some elite families, the presence of some civic institutions, and a variety of actors.

Figure 1.7. Attic SOS amphora, late 8th century, representative of a type that also was produced and circulated in the 7th century. Athens, Agora P 23883. Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

By the early sixth century at the latest, social conflict divided the region. The author of the *Athenian Constitution* describes a long conflict between the many (*plethos*) and the rich.[102] Historians and archaeologists have explained the conflict as a result of wealthy landowners seizing profits and enslaving the poor.[103] Increasing population would have put pressure on the subelite, while new market opportunities would have encouraged the rich to intensify land use and maximize their revenues. Solon (archon in 594/3) was appointed to resolve the disputes, and his poetry describes a situation in which people suffered from extensive debt bondage. Some people had been sold into servitude or fled the region so long ago (i.e., presumably within the seventh century) that they had lost their native dialect. Poor men worked the land with their wives and children in a burdensome sharecropping system. Other people apparently had enriched themselves but were disqualified from civic offices on the basis of their birth, and so were economically mobile but not politically recognized. Solon instituted a number of reforms, including ending debt bondage, changing the qualifications for political office from wealth and birth to wealth alone, and establishing four property classes.[104] He seems to have been responding to mobility that was both social—the newly poor and newly rich—and physical—those who had lost their land or left the region.

IN DEFENSE OF PROTOATTIC

With its focus on pot-person interaction, this is a somewhat unconventional book about ceramics, and an introduction may help clarify material that will be encountered again in more detail. So at the risk of oversimplifying the Protoattic style, an overview of its principal characteristics might be helpful at this point.[105] This section also will explain at greater length why I use a generous definition of the style, employing "Protoattic" to collapse a distinction often drawn between Orientalizing and sub-Geometric.

Figure 1.8. Attic Late Geometric amphora by the Dipylon Master. Athens, National Museum 804. Photo courtesy of Hans R. Goette.

The beginning of Protoattic is often placed circa 710.[106] In a seminal article on Protoattic pottery, John M. Cook explained that it differed from Geometric in terms of shape, ornament, composition, and technique.[107] Shapes became more slim, some vessel forms dropped out from the repertoire, and new ones appeared. Ornaments he designated Orientalizing became more common. The surface of the vase was no longer strictly organized into decorative areas, but displayed "coordinated action." Lines that had been straight started to curve more frequently. Incision and the use of reservation also were employed. Other scholars have emphasized some of these characteristics of the style over others. Robert M. Cook (discussing Orientalizing more broadly) stressed the loosening of composition and the experiments with reservation and incision, and underlined "a freer use of curve and a more organic sense of form."[108] For Theodora Rombos, Protoattic principally heralded the elongation of vase shapes and the introduction of Orientalizing ornaments.[109] For

Figure 1.9. Protoattic amphora by the Polyphemus Painter, or the Polyphemus Amphora, from Eleusis. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum. Photo https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=55630622.

Eva Brann, plant ornament and outline painting were essential components of the new style.[110]

A comparison may help discern some of the changes. The Late Geometric Dipylon Amphora and the Protoattic Polyphemus Amphora are both from mortuary contexts, the first marking a grave, the second holding the remains of a child (Figures 1.8 and 1.9).[111] About a hundred years separates them. When compared to the Geometric amphora, the Protoattic amphora appears slimmer, particularly the lower half of the body. In terms of subject matter, the depiction of the laying out of the dead on the Dipylon Amphora was popular in Late Geometric but fell out of favor in the Protoattic period.[112] Although funerary iconography appeared in Protoattic art, it was much less common. Another popular Geometric theme, battles, also decreased in popularity. Motifs typical of the period on the Polyphemus Amphora include the guilloche, rosettes, hooked rays, and palmettes. The lion hunt can be traced back ultimately to Near Eastern sources, and the heads of the Gorgons resemble metalwork with Levantine connections (Figure 1.10).[113] Coordinated action pervades the scenes, which reveal a new interest in myth and narrative: Odysseus blinds the cyclops (Polyphemus), a lion pounces on a boar, and Perseus beheads Medusa. Figures are rendered with curved and rounded lines, and the techniques of incision and reservation, as well as added white, are employed.

Seventh-century Attic cases with less figuration and less ornate ornament are sometimes relegated to a class of "sub-Geometric" pottery and excluded from analysis of seventh-century material culture.[114] In most cases, though, the usefulness of these categories collapses. A few examples will demonstrate the problem, from a few different angles. The oinochoe in figure 1.6, from the Phaleron cemetery, is decorated mostly with lines and bands and usually would be classified as sub-Geometric. But on the neck, a griffin is in the new style, and the vase has a Protoattic hand assigned: the Workshop of the Würzburg Group. The shape, moreover, finds its closest parallels in Cypro-Phoenician pottery and metalwork (Figure 4.37). So classing it as sub-Geometric and excluding it from a style defined only in Orientalizing terms seems short-sighted. Another example is a vase with a dipinto speaking the name of the owner (Figure 6.8, Plate 14), which we will discuss at length in chapter 6. It transforms Geometric patterns into fish among waves. The manipulation of figure and ornament and the combination of different techniques (outline and incision) are sophisticated, but the vase's closest parallels in terms of shape and most of the iconography are with Attic Geometric rather than any Near Eastern culture. A strict definition of Protoattic only as Orientalizing would have to leave it out, but it is a complex piece that merits attention. The kotyle in figure 1.4 illustrates another dimension to the problem. It seems very "Orientalizing," with the rich, curvilinear vegetal ornament often associated with the term. But most of the ornament cannot be directly traced to Levantine sources, while the shape shows very close affinities instead to Corinth, which is probably the source of most of the ornament, too. So at first it seems Orientalizing rather than sub-Geometric,

Figure 1.10. Gilt silver cup from the Bernardini Tomb, Praeneste, early 7th century. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 61566. Photo © MIBACT. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia—Roma.

but there is not much Levantine about it. Assemblages further demonstrate the difficulties in making sharp distinctions in stylistic categories. The burial of a child in the Kerameikos contained predominantly what one might designate sub-Geometric vessels (Figure 4.17).[115] The amphora that held the remains of the child, however, is attributed to the Group of the Wild Style, which produced much Orientalizing work. In addition, in a pyre associated with the burial lay an ivory figurine of Near Eastern manufacture, which is one of the few imports in Athens in the seventh century. The assemblage, then, seems Orientalizing, but most of the vases are sub-Geometric.[116] These examples should demonstrate the need for a more capacious approach to seventh-century vase-painting than a narrow concept of Orientalizing alone or, worse, Orientalizing versus sub-Geometric.

As these examples also show, despite shifts in subject matter from the eighth into the seventh centuries, often the iconography is not as overtly "Oriental" as the period term leads one to expect. I want to suggest that the most important change from Geometric into Protoattic is not iconography but a change in approach to the

surface of the vase—in the relationship of the maker (and, consequently, also the user) to the object. We see this shift above all in the predominance of a freehand approach, which we will explore, along with the implications for society and subjectivity, in chapter 5.

In terms of shapes, various forms were used, some old, some new. Large and small vases were decorated. Some types are more common, like amphoras and standed bowls, others more rare, like feeders or model granaries. The pots had a variety of uses. In cemeteries, they marked graves, contained the remains of the dead, accompanied the dead, or were deposited near graves. They were associated with burials of the rich and poor, adults and children (see chapter 4). Vases, figurines, and plaques in the Protoattic style also were dedicated at sanctuaries, as we will see in chapter 6. There is less settlement than grave or sanctuary evidence from seventh-century Attica, but the agora well deposits and the morphology of some of the shapes seem to indicate that Protoattic had a domestic function, too. Chapter 6 will explore how such vases were used in the symposium.

John M. Cook in 1934–35 organized Protoattic into a classical tripartite scheme of early, middle, and late. In general terms, the earliest vases may be characterized by the persistence of Geometric forms and filling motifs (Figures 1.1, 1.6). A "Wild Style" with larger figures, expansive brushstrokes, and a fondness for ovoid kraters characterizes much but certainly not all of the work beginning around 680 (Figures 1.5, 1.9, and Figure 2.18 for an ovoid krater). On the latest pieces (closer to 620–610), the use of incision and added purple increases (Figure 1.11).[117] However, Giulia Rocco's study has demonstrated that the evolution is not predictable and the chronology not clear-cut, which is one reason why I avoid giving narrow date ranges in this book. There are unfortunately too few fixed points to establish a reliable scheme for close stylistic dating, with the possible exception of the start of Protoattic.[118] The end of Protoattic is somewhat arbitrary, since the subsequent style of black-figure is really a technique. Some scholars would place the vase in figure 1.11 into earliest black-figure rather than Late Protoattic.[119] Assemblages from a cemetery in the Piraeus also show that outline drawing was popular at the same time as increasing incision, further blurring the end of Protoattic (Figures 4.30, 5.5, Plate 9).[120]

One of the challenges to any close dating is that Protoattic pottery was produced in much smaller numbers than the preceding and subsequent styles (Late Geometric or Archaic). At the same time, it evinces a greater stylistic diversity than either. Artist hands are idiosyncratic, and in some cases identifiable through connoisseurship (Rocco's study of artists divides the corpus into fifty-four hands or groups and their workshops), but do not form stylistic lineages that can be traced over time. Despite their artistic personalities, however, the painters did not sign their works.[121] We will look at this phenomenon in more detail in chapter 5.

Some of the artists may have traveled within Attica and even abroad. Most tantalizing is a vase at Metaponto (Italy) decorated in the Protoattic style but made in local clay (Figures 3.11, 3.12). Painters may have immigrated to Attica as well. There

are close affinities between Protoattic and Cycladic, and in the absence of substantial Cycladic imports, the connections are probably best understood through the movement of people rather than goods.[122] We will also see how strong the connections were between Protoattic and Corinthian pottery, with some affinities again best explained through the circulation of people. Very few of the Attic vases themselves were exported, however, and there was certainly no export "market" as such. Outside Attica, Protoattic has only been found at Aigina, Argos, Boiotia (especially Oropos and Thebes), Megara, Perachora, Thasos, Thera, Kythnos, Delos, Rhodes, Samos, Smyrna, Etruria, and Cádiz. While this list might seem long, the finds usually consist of only a few items, often just one, and there is a notable increase in the later seventh century, and a veritable explosion when it comes to sixth-century black-figure.[123] Finds are more pervasively distributed throughout Attica and concentrate in Athens and its vicinity, where four contexts stand out: Aigina, Phaleron, the area of the later (Classical) agora, and the Kerameikos. Cemetery contexts predominate, which are the most likely to preserve ceramics in the archaeological record and accordingly have received the most scrutiny. This book aims to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the ware by also looking at the sanctuary contexts and the domestic uses of the vases.

Figure 1.11. Late Protoattic or early black-figure amphora by the Piraeus Painter from a grave in Piraeus. Athens, National Museum 353. Photo Giannis Patrikianos. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

SYNOPSIS

Before moving forward, we need to look back. Chapter 2 provides a historiography of Protoattic in order to expose the interpretive frameworks that have been used and that continue to inform our conceptions of the style and the period. The process of periodization has had consequences for how we think about seventh-century

Attica and its material culture and for the types of objects that inform our discussions. We will examine how a style that once was associated with the Phaleron cemetery in Attica and included low-quality objects became associated with a vague, exotic east. Chapter 3 looks closely at this alleged eastern connection and uses style to examine the relationship of seventh-century Attica to the rest of the Mediterranean. Elaborating a concept of "horizons" and using network analysis, it reveals a surprising set of links and nodes in which the western Mediterranean was just as formative as the eastern. Chapter 4 examines the implications of this more capacious view of Protoattic ceramics and starts to more explicitly consider the relationship between style and social status. A complete survey of the burial evidence corrects prevalent views of the invisibility of seventh-century burials and the exclusive agency of the elite. Ceramics that were both decorated and undecorated enabled the engagement of mourners with one another and the mortuary ritual. Innovation in style occurred in nonelite contexts and was appropriated and elaborated in elite contexts. This is a different way of thinking about cultural change and about the role of objects in building communities. Chapter 5 offers another perspective on the relationship between style and society, investigating how the Protoattic style and the artist were mutually constitutive. The contexts of production and consumption and the new techniques and approaches to the vase that the Protoattic style entailed created possibilities for the realization and expression of subjectivity, conceived as an experience and articulation of selfhood and agency, which was not restricted to political identity or citizenship. Chapter 6 explores the relationship between style and subjectivity on the part of the user of the vase in two contexts that have received considerable scrutiny—symposia and sanctuaries. Returning to some of the arguments in chapters 4 and 5, it elucidates the social range of actors, the opportunities for status distinction, and the (few) instances when eastern Mediterranean cultures became salient in cultural practice. At a period of continuing development of the city-state, pottery allowed people to connect to multiple types of communities and to explore subjectivity. The final chapter (chapter 7) offers a summary, considers implications of the book's argument for other regions of Greece in the seventh century and for Attica in the sixth century, and concludes by returning to the Phaleron cemetery and to the controversy over how it might be preserved.

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