CHAPTER 1

Definitions and Reception of the Marginalised in Art and Literature

To properly contextualise the bioarchaeological evidence presented in the chapters that follow, this chapter addresses pertinent issues of terminology and reception. Beginning with a consideration of terminology, key terms that are commonly used in discussions of ancient identity, such as 'disability', 'deformity', 'poverty', 'class', 'status', 'ethnicity', 'ancestry' and 'race', are defined and situated in their original cultural contexts. The focus then shifts to the Greek reception of marginalised persons by surveying the literary and visual evidence for Greek attitudes towards disabled people, non-elite individuals of low socio-economic status and non-Greeks.

DEFINITIONS

Many of the terms and concepts explored in this book are far from self-evident. It is tempting to think that the concept of disability would have an ancient meaning similar to our modern understanding, but they simply do not equate. Indeed, scholars question whether the Greeks even recognised disabled people as a distinct group or class. To address issues of terminology, the sections that follow present definitions for key terms that will be used throughout this study of social marginalisation, namely disability, deformity, poverty, class, status, ethnicity, ancestry and race. Each concept is discussed in detail and situated within its original Greek cultural context.

Defining disability in the ancient Greek world

Today, 'disability' is generally defined as 'any condition of the body or mind (impairment) that makes it more difficult for the person with the condition to do certain activities (activity limitation) and interact with the world around them (participation restrictions)'.[1] However, scholars are divided on the question

of whether there was a word for 'disability' in the ancient Greek world and cannot agree on the corollary issue of whether the disabled were recognised as a distinct minor group.[2] Some maintain that *adunatos*, which is often translated as 'unable', is the closest Greek equivalent to 'disabled'. Walter Penrose supports this position through the assertion that those considered to be *adunatoi* were exempt from military service and given financial assistance in Athens (Lysias 24; Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 49.2; Penrose 2015). Others, like Martha Rose (2003; 2017), argue that there are crucial differences between *adunatos* and our modern word 'disabled', as the meaning of the ancient term is broad and used in situations when something cannot be accomplished: 'Herodotus, for example, uses the same term, "unable" (*adunatoi*), in the context of a group of people who are unable to persuade another group of people (3.138) and to describe ships that had been disabled (6.16)' (2003: 14).

Setting that debate aside, what is clear is that the Greeks did have a series of words that were applied to physical deformities. *Pêros*, 'maimed' or 'deformed', and its variations (e.g. *anapêros*, 'much-maimed') generally refer to any physical appearance that deviates from the norm.[3] Other words that describe physical differences include *aischos*, 'disgrace or ugliness'; *astheneia*, 'weakness'; *ateleia*, 'incompleteness or imperfection'; *kolobos*, 'mutilated'; and *chôlos*, 'mobility impaired' (Rose 2003: 12–13). What these descriptors have in common is that they reflect the conspicuous nature of physical differences, which were extraordinary and 'fell short of bodily or aesthetic ideals' (Kelley 2007: 34). Today, words like 'deformity', 'malformation', 'defect' and their derivatives have ableist connotations when used in reference to persons with disabilities. Throughout this book, these terms are generally avoided, but they do appear in discussions of skeletal material where they are conventional anatomical descriptors.

Defining poverty and socioeconomic status in the ancient Greek world

The concept of poverty is slightly more complex than simply the economic condition of having little or no money or living barely above subsistence level.[4] As Clair Taylor explains, poverty:

> is better conceptualized as (i) a socially constructed category, which has (ii) both a material and a non-material element – that is, it is a social relationship as well as an economic condition – and (iii) it is created and maintained by structural inequalities (for example, status, gender, class) reinforced thorough (iv) a socially embedded discourse which often seeks to exclude, marginalize, or otherwise portray the poor as different from other members of society. Poverty, then, is the outcome of a process that is shaped by social relationship and therefore manifests itself differently in different time and places. Conceptualizing poverty as being the absence of wealth or lack of income simply will not do. (2017: 16–17)

Taylor further distinguishes between two types of poverty: absolute and relative. She defines absolute poverty as 'the lack of sufficient resources to provide basic needs' (2017: 17). Relative poverty is comparative, as it measures poverty levels as relative to the rest of society. In Classical Athens, for instance, it is presumed that the standard of living was relatively high and few individuals lived in absolute poverty. This assertion is supported by stable isotopic studies of diet ($\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$, discussed in Chapter 3) from human remains in three cemeteries from Attica and Athens: the Kerameikos, Plateia Kotzia and Laurion (Thorikos). From these analyses, it appears that the Classical Athenian diet was a nutritious one consisting of high levels of animal protein (meat and/or dairy) supplemented by vegetables, fruits and marine resources. Furthermore, average heights did not appear to be stunted, and there were no incidences of severe malnutrition in the samples, which suggests that basic needs were generally met and most individuals had access to nutritious food throughout the course of their lives (Lagia 2015a; 2015b). One important caveat, however, must be kept in mind when interpreting the results of this study. Although it is argued that the samples in the study represent a cross-section of the Attic population – Anna Lagia (2015a: 122) characterises the samples respectively as the 'upper social strata' (Kerameikos), 'ordinary people from demes of the urban center' (Plateia Kotzia) and 'slaves who worked in the numerous silver and lead mines of the locality' (Laurion) – it is still possible that the poorest individuals in the community were excluded in the sample because they were buried non-normatively. Nevertheless, patterns observed in Athens seem consistent with those of other Classical polities, so it is assumed that most people's basic needs were being met across the ancient Greek world (Taylor 2017: 17–18). For this reason, usage of the word 'poverty' and its variations in this study will refer to relative poverty.

The concept of 'status' is more difficult to define, as it is often conflated with 'class' and 'order'. Following Karl Marx, Geoffrey de Ste. Croix defines class as 'the collective social expression of the fact of exploitation, the way in which exploitation is embodied in a social structure' and a particular class is 'a group of persons in a community identified by their position in the whole system of social production, defined above all according to their relationship (primarily in terms of the degree of ownership or control) to the conditions of production (that is to say, the means and labour of production) and to other classes' (1981: 43). It is class, de Ste. Croix maintains, that underlies social differentiation in the ancient Greek world (1981: 42–69). Following Max Weber, Moses Finley objects to the use of 'class' because he maintains that there is no consensus on how to define it and a Marxist definition is not appropriate for an ancient society. A common example given for its inapplicability is that under the Marxist definition of class, the enslaved and free labourers should belong to the same social class – even though other factors make it plain that they do not – because neither owns the means of production (1973: 48–51). Finley

prefers instead the term 'status', which he claims is 'an admirably vague word with a considerable psychological element' (1973: 51). Both Finley (1973: 45) and de Ste. Croix (1981: 42) agree, however, that 'order' is a useful term to describe the different types of juridically defined groups within ancient populations that possess 'formalized privileges and disabilities in one or more fields of activity, governmental, military, legal, economic, religious, marital, and *standing in a hierarchical relation to the other orders*' (Finley 1973: 45, original emphasis). For Classical Athens and other Greek city states, most scholars agree that there are three orders: citizens (privileged), metics (underprivileged) and the enslaved (unprivileged; Hansen 1991: 86). Some scholars have chosen to refer to these orders as 'status groups' and to use 'status' to denote the 'standing of each group within the resultant social hierarchy, together with its attendant privileges and disabilities, honour or lack thereof' (Hunter 2000: 1–2). It is this definition of status, which incorporates legal rights as well as social standing (Kamen 2013: 14), that will be used throughout this book unless it is qualified (e.g. socioeconomic status, social status). 'Class', however, will also appear in this book, but its use will be colloquial and general to refer to the tripartite division of economic status groups (i.e. upper class, middle class and lower class) that existed in Archaic and Classical Greek polities.

In order to discern a status group's standing in Greek social hierarchy, one must first understand the structure of the social hierarchy, which was predicated on political organisation. Across mainland Greece, political organisation varied over time and among poleis and ethne (see the last section of this chapter for more on ethne), but one perpetual common denominator was social stratification.[5] Beginning in the Early Iron Age (ca. 1100–800 BCE), settlements existed in two forms (Murray 1993: 55–68; Snodgrass 2001; Bintliff 2010: 16–18). The first, the scattered village type, consisted primarily of one-room dwellings. Villages were typically fortified, either in part or in their entirety, and many featured a chieftain's greathouse/communal hall (e.g. Lefkandi on Euboea, Nichora in Messenia and Emborio on Chios). The overall layout of the villages was unplanned and lacking formal organisation. With the exception of chieftains' houses/communal halls, where internal space was separated into rooms for feasting and other communal activities, the majority of the dwellings were small one-room structures. Presumably, the peasants who comprised the social majority did not require differentiated domestic spaces for social or economic purposes, and most daily activities must have taken place outside. The second settlement type was town-like. A town was a fortified collection of the villages previously described, closely clustered, and each village retained its own necropolis and chief (*basileus*), so the town itself was most likely run by a competitive oligarchy (e.g. Athens, Argos and Corinth). Regardless of settlement type, Early Iron Age social organisation was uniform, where 'a small warrior elite with a retinue of independent "yeoman farmers" controll[ed] a large body of dependent

peasantry' and only the elite and middle-class farmers (and merchants) received 'the privilege of formal burial' (Bintliff 2010: 17).

Between 800 and 500 BCE, the city state (polis) form of government predominated across the Aegean mainland and islands. The typical polis was rather small, supporting 2,000–4,000 citizens, and consisted of dependent villages and farmsteads clustered around an urban centre which supported approximately 70–80 per cent of the population. Some poleis, such as Athens, Thebes and Sparta, were territorial states (i.e. *megalopoleis*) that often encompassed other towns in their regions or empires and could support upwards of 40,000 people. Sparta, however, was unlike any of its peers, as it never developed a regularly planned urban centre, retaining instead the close, scattered village arrangement of the Early Iron Age town-like settlement plan (Thucydides 1.10; Hansen and Nielsen 2004; Hansen 2006; Bintliff 2010: 18).

Major social changes accompanied the rise of the city state. The power and influence of the elite gradually and consistently eroded, and was replaced by increasing legal and political rights for free male citizens, including those in the middle and lower classes.[6] In many city states, it is likely that greater rights were extended to peasants because their labour was partially replaced by that of enslaved individuals, who were owned by virtually all free families with the exception of the poorest. By the Classical period (ca. 480–323 BCE), approximately half of the city states in the Aegean region had adopted a 'moderate democracy' where power was consolidated in the entirety of the free citizenry that was created by merging upper-, middle- and lower-class citizens into a single governing body.[7] The other half remained under the control of the aristocracy (in the form of tyranny or oligarchy), kings (especially in the far north of the mainland) or an Early Iron Age model where a large free middle-upper class dominated an equally large unfree serf population (e.g. Thessaly and Sparta; Archibald 2000; Bintliff 2010: 19–20). These systems remained more or less in place until the Macedonian conquests of Philip II and Alexander the Great in the fourth century BCE led to establishment of the Hellenistic kingdoms, signalling the end of the autonomous city state and its concomitant concept of citizen equality (Bintliff 2010: 26).

Defining ethnicity, ancestry and race in the ancient Greek world

Today, we use the term 'ethnicity' or 'ethnic group' to refer to clusters of people who identify with one another and share cultural traits that differentiate them from other groups. Common cultural traits typically include shared language, geographical locale or place of origin, religion, sense of history, traditions, values, beliefs and foodways, among others (Smedley and Smedley 2005). Often, ethnic groups are further bound by kinship and notions of shared descent, which are not necessarily predicated on biological relatedness and are often more important

than actual biological affinity (MacSweeney 2009; Gruen 2013). Although there can be a biological component to ethnicity, ethnic boundaries are not delineated by biology. Instead, they are forged through social interaction. These boundaries are constantly negotiated, and group belonging is not fixed, but contingent upon the conscious choices of individuals (Barth 1969; McInerney 2001). It follows that ethnicity is situational and often political, meaning that ethnicity can become relevant or active (or the opposite) based on the context of specific social situations (Barth 1969; Cohen 1978; Hakenbeck 2007). In responding to social pressures and conflicts, ethnic identity subsequently 'creates group cohesion by clarifying inclusion and exclusion' (McInerney 2001: 59). As a result, ethnicity is dynamic, and ethnic groups are flexible, mutable and usually self-defined (Smedley and Smedley 2005: 17).

Ethnos, the root of our English cognate 'ethnicity', is a Greek term whose meaning evolved over time.[8] In Homeric Greek, ethnos refers to any type of homogeneous group, such as a herd or a flock (e.g. *Iliad* 7.115; *Odyssey* 10.526). By the mid- to late fifth century (e.g. Thucydides 1.18), ethnos means 'tribe', 'nation' or 'people', and specifically denotes an old-fashioned tribal political system that was often viewed as backward or marginal (discussed in detail later). In Xenophon we see a shift in the usage of ethnos, as it becomes an imprecise word equivalent to 'people': 'Of the ethne known to us in Asia, the Persians rule, while Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians are ruled. On the other hand, in Europe, the Scythians are rulers but the Maeotae are ruled' (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.1.10 as translated in McInerney 2001: 56). It is this understanding of ethnos, meaning 'people' or 'community', that becomes predominant in later sources (e.g. Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnica*; McInerney 2001).

Greek ethnicity is best described as 'nested'. Ancient Greeks had at least three distinct ethnic identities: they identified as Greeks, as members of a lineage group (e.g. Ionian) and as citizens of a polis (e.g. Athenian) or residents of an ethnos (e.g. Boeotian; Hall 1997).[9] Greek city states, which existed as autonomous units, developed a Panhellenic ethnic identity by the Classical period that separated them from the 'barbarians' who could not speak or reason in Greek (Hall 1989; Konstan 2001; McInerney 2001).[10] This Panhellenic identity – referred to as 'Greekness' or 'Hellenism' – is defined by Herodotus (8.144.2) as shared language, culture, religion and blood (i.e. hereditary descent).[11] These common denominators should be viewed as general, rather than specific, as regional variations caused Greeks to differ in terms of spoken dialect, cultural customs, religious practices (e.g. regional cults, regional religious syncretism, polis-specific religious festivals) and phenotypic expression (Cartledge 2002). Though still under the umbrella of 'Greekness', these variable traits were seen as signifiers of intrahellenic identities related to lineage groups and/or polis affiliation (Hall 1997).

The two major intrahellenic identities were Dorian and Ionian.[12] This divide was rooted in dialect (Dorian vs. Ionian), religious practices (e.g. the

Karneia was a Dorian sacred month: Thucydides 5.54; the Apaturia was a shared Ionian festival: Herodotus 1.146) and origins (juniority vs. seniority). In terms of origins, Greek tradition states that the Ionians were long established in the Aegean (in some cases, born of the earth they inhabited, like the autochthonous Athenians) before the arrival of Dorian invaders (see the discussion in Chapter 4 about the lack of supporting archaeological evidence for the so-called 'Dorian invasion'). Both groups continually redefined themselves over time (e.g. Crielaard 2009), and Dorian/Ionian distinctions multiplied through the course of the fifth century in response to the Peloponnesian Wars and escalating tensions between the leading Dorian state (Sparta) and the leading Ionian state (Athens). Ionian rhetorical constructs portrayed Dorians as upstart newcomers, while Dorians saw themselves as vigorous and strong in contrast to Ionians, who were weak, effeminate, fond of luxury and too closely tied to Asia Minor (Connor 1993; Zacharia 2008b).

Although Dorians and Ionians were the largest subgroups, there were other groups as well.[13] Among these are the Aeolians, who also had their own dialect. Beyond dialectal categorisations, Greeks were further subdivided based on their localised political community, which typically equated to residency in either an ethnos or a polis. In this context, an ethnos was a regional territory comprised of a people without an urban centre, central government or formal political union. The Achaeans and Aetolians, for example, were organised as ethne (e.g. Morgan 2000; Rzepka 2013). This social system predated, and persisted beyond, the development of the polis, and its people were linked by regional religious practices and kinship. A polis, or 'city state', is a self-governing political unit comprised of an urban centre and its hinterland, and notable examples of poleis include Athens, Corinth and Megara (Just 1989; McInerney 2001; Morgan 1991; 2001; Zacharia 2008b; Beck and Smith 2018). Although the distinctions between ethnos and polis appear relatively straightforward, there were some ethne that contained city states, such as Arcadia, Phocis and Boeotia.[14] In cases such as these, one would not swap an ethnos-based identity for a polis-centric one; rather one's intrahellenic identities would continue to compound.[15] For example, a person from the polis of Tegea in Arcadia would identify as both Tegean and Arcadian, just as Athenians would also simultaneously identify as residents of their respective demes and towns (Morgan 1999; Nielsen 1999; Pretzler 1999; Scheer 2011; Kellogg 2013).[16]

Greek ethnicities were not only nested, but also situational, as shifting sociopolitical circumstances could prompt an individual to assert one ethnic identity over all others. For instance, when regional or inter-polis conflicts arose, city particularism burgeoned, and polis identity superseded all other intrahellenic identities (Osborne 2012; Fowler 2018: 56). However, there was not a clear hierarchy, and city allegiance did not always come first. Thucydides (4.61) provides us with an illustration of how a regional identity became paramount in

his account of the Sicilian Expedition. Around 424 BCE, a Syracusan named Hermocrates urged representatives of the Sicilian Greek city states to prioritise their common interests as Sikeliotai (Sicilian Greeks) above their civic (e.g. Syracusan, Kamarinean) and ethnic (e.g. Dorian, Ionian) identities so that they might repel the invading Athenians (Tartaron 2014).

The complexity of Greek ethnicity is a rich and fascinating topic, but only one facet – Panhellenism – is explored in this book. It is recognised that certain intrahellenic identities could prompt social marginalisation at various times and places across the ancient Greek world. For example, the priestess of Athena Polias sought to bar the Spartan king Cleomenes from the Athenian Acropolis because he was a Dorian (Herodotus 5.72.3), and Paros banned Dorians from the sanctuary of Kore in the mid-fifth century BCE (*IG* 7^5 225; Hall 2003: 32). However, the interest here is to focus solely on the different cultural identities expressed by Greek and non-Greek peoples for the purpose of determining whether non-Greeks experienced social marginalisation during the Late Archaic/Classical period. The primary reason for this selection is because literary and visual sources suggest that there was widespread marginalisation of non-Greeks, and the same cannot be said for the various intrahellenic identities.

By comparison, non-Greek ethnicity is much more nebulous. Definition is lacking from the beginning, as the names of non-Greek groups and the boundaries of their territories are fluid. Although ancient literary sources provide us with the names of non-Greek groups, we do not know if they actually referred to themselves by those names or if they considered themselves to be monolithic groups.[17] We are also acutely aware that the meanings of names can change over time to refer to either different groups or different stages in the history of a single group. As a result, ancient and modern authors tend to use non-Greek names arbitrarily (Bonfante 2011: 9–10). In antiquity, for example, the blanket moniker 'Scythians' was used to describe a variety of different northern nomadic horse-riding tribes (Herodotus 1.215–16; Hippocratic Corpus, *On Airs, Waters, Places* 12–24). It was also used to specifically reference Iranian-speaking nomadic people who, from the seventh century BCE onwards, inhabited the steppes of the Black Sea region and buried their dead in elaborate tombs (Herodotus 4.2–3, 4.5–12, 4.17–27, 4.46, 4.59–76, 4.78–80, 4.93–6, 4.102–7). When we discuss Scythians today, we can offer more details, but our definition is equally enigmatic. Archaeologists define Scythians as:

> [A] union of Indo-European nomadic horse-riding tribes that spoke a language derived from the northeastern branch of the Iranian linguistic family and occupied the steppes from the Black Sea to southern Siberia and into Central Asia . . . Despite the wide geographic distribution of Scythian tribes, their culture revealed astounding consistency. The main archaeological feature of this culture is the so-called 'Scythian

> triad', which comprises a typical weapon, such as the gorytus (quiver) or the akinakes (short sword); specific horse harness; and a unique style of animal art. (Movsesian and Bakholdina 2017: 589)

The problems inherent in the ancient definitions are unresolved in this scholarly one – we still do not know if this collective group existed or what it called itself. In other words, it is unclear whether the disparate tribes we artificially unite under the banner of 'Scythian' would have even recognised or expressed a 'Scythian' identity. Despite their common cultural bonds, they might have asserted an independent, rather than collective, identity, choosing to be divided by difference rather than united by similarity.[18] Since we do not have enough extant information to carefully and precisely define non-Greek groups, their conventional names (e.g. Illyrian, Scythian, Thracian, Carian etc.) will be used throughout this book to denote a group of people with similar cultural markers living at a specific time (e.g. the Late Archaic/Classical period; Bonfante 2011: 9).

Ancestry is often more remote than ethnicity. Loosely defined, ancestry refers to an individual's family descent or origins, but ancestry can have both biological and social dimensions that do not necessarily correlate to one another. On the one hand, components of the biological dimension of ancestry are cautiously gleaned through analysis of biological phenotypes (e.g. biodistance analysis of non-metric skeletal variation) and genotypes (e.g. DNA analysis: mitochondrial DNA to reconstruct maternal lineages and Y-chromosome DNA to reconstruct paternal lineages). The social dimension of ancestry, on the other hand, is centred on narratives of kinship and descent. It is in this dimension that ancestry and ethnicity overlap, as membership in ethnic groups is frequently founded on, and reinforced through, notions of shared descent. Kinship does not always align with genetics because kinship structures are culturally prescribed social practices that have varied across time and geographical space (Brück 2021). As a result, an individual or ethnic group can have an understanding of their origins that is not reflected in their genetic profiles. María Cecilia Lozada provides a poignant example of this dissonance in her discussion of the reaction of the Mapuche Indians in the southern Andes to the results of their participation in the Human Genome Diversity Project:

> The project was designed to collect human tissue samples from a diverse range of modern humans in an effort to analyze and catalog the extent and patterning of genetic diversity. Using ancient mitochondrial DNA (aDNA), the Mapuche Indians were shown to cluster genetically with Amazonian groups, a finding that was at odds with their oral traditions regarding their collective past. In their view, they originated from a more local group with whom they had close cultural affinity. Many Mapuche

> were not only surprised by the genetic findings but also quite upset, and they refused further participation in the Human Genome Diversity Project since initial results discounted their historical narrative. (2011: 137)

As the Mapuche example demonstrates, the construction of ancestral origins can be non-genetic, unquantifiable and strongly rooted in oral and cultural tradition (Lozada 2011).

Narratives of shared ancestry and kinship bonds were of particular importance to the collective identities of ancient Greek peoples (Hall 1997: 20–6; Malkin 1998: 134; Patterson 2010). Increased interest in genealogy is perceptible in the mid-sixth century BCE, and entire social communities used genealogy to situate themselves in space and time, tracing their lineage back to heroic, and often eponymous, ancestors (Hall 1997: 41). According to Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, all Greeks, or Hellenes, are descended from a single male ancestor named Hellen, and each of the major dialectal subgroups likewise descend directly from Hellen. Dorus, ancestor of the Dorians, and Aeolus, ancestor of the Aeolians, are sons of Hellen, while Ion, the forebear of the Ionians, is Hellen's grandson. Perceived ties of kinship could also cement political alliances and valorise requests for aid and assistance. This practice, termed kinship diplomacy, was frequently invoked between Greek colonies and their mother cities, but we also see cases in which broad pleas were broadcast to brethren poleis. An inscription from Xanthus in Lycia (ca. 205 BCE) provides a record of such a request made by an embassy from Cytenion in Doris. Appealing to their shared Dorian ancestry, the embassy asks Xanthus for financial aid to support the reconstruction of their defensive walls that had been compromised by earthquakes (Jones 1999).

In this book, evidence concerning both the social and biological dimensions of ancient Greek ancestry are considered together wherever possible. Primacy is admittedly assigned to biological evidence, as genotypic and phenotypic data are able to uniquely inform us about patterns of migration, gene flow and biological affinity. But the biological evidence is then interpreted through a cultural and contextual lens in order to paint a more accurate picture of human behaviour as well as population relatedness and identity (Lozada 2011).

Although ancestry and ethnicity are often conflated with 'race', these associations are erroneous. Race is not biologically predetermined; it is instead a cultural invention constructed in the context of specific historical, social and political circumstances. The confusion surrounding our modern understanding of 'race' is rooted in the way in which the word has been historically applied. Across the past three centuries, 'race' has had multiple meanings. It has been used variably to denote distinctions among groups (e.g. nationality, religion, ancestry, socioeconomic status, regional identification) as well as biological subcategories within a species (Atkin 2017). Over time, especially in the fields of

anthropology and biological sciences, the result was that 'race' became synonymous with 'subspecies', and its use presumed that humans could be subdivided into discrete groups. We now know that there is no evidence, genetic or otherwise, to support this claim, and the physiognomic differences among humans fall within the range of normal biological variation (Tattersall and DeSalle 2011; Wagner et al. 2017; Fuentes et al. 2019).[19] Nevertheless, this particular understanding of race – the myth of race as biology – persists in the wider culture (Mukhopadhyay et al. 2014: 1–2).

If human biological variation is not indicative of race, then how do we explain differences among groups – especially differences that have been traditionally associated with race? Human biological variation can occur on three levels: species, population and individual. On the species level, humans are genetically homogeneous, especially in comparison to non-human species, because human macroevolution (major genetic changes) occurred approximately 300,000 years ago, and we have been one species with a single gene pool since then. However, microevolution (smaller genetic changes) is a continuous process and the source of biological variations that occur on the population and individual levels. There are four basic forces that influence macro- or microevolution: mutation (alteration in DNA base pairs at a particular location or locus that can be inherited – the only source of new human genetic material), gene flow (exchange of genes between populations through intermating), genetic drift (change in relative frequencies of genotypes in a population caused by random factors, such as group movement in or out of the population) and natural selection (selection for genetic traits that contribute to survival and reproductive success). Natural selection is responsible for the most conspicuous of human biological variation, because it is a mechanism that ensures that genetic forms better adapted to a particular environment prevail over other forms that are less adaptive. For instance, skin colour, which is a complex trait controlled by several genes, derives from the amount of melanin in one's skin. Skin acts as a form of natural sunscreen to shield our exposure to ultraviolet (UV) radiation. UV radiation is necessary for the production of melanin, but too much UV exposure is deadly to skin cells. Skin colour, therefore, is an evolutionary response to varying levels of UV radiation in the different microclimates. People closest to the equator who receive the most UV radiation have the most melanin and the darkest skin colour, while the people farthest from the equator have the least melanin and the lightest skin colour. These adaptions took place long ago, and the process was a gradual one – it is estimated that it would have taken thousands of years for the necessary mutations to accumulate through natural selection. Thus, natural selection and the environment work together to influence the genetic structure of human populations, and many of the adaptive phenotypic traits that have developed in response to environmental stimuli have been historically used as markers of race. Those that are not determined through natural selection enter populations through the processes of

gene flow and genetic drift. Finally, although it is not considered one of the four basic evolutionary forces, culture also impacts evolutionary forces. For example, cultural inventions, such as agriculture and urbanism, alter the environment and impact population genetics, and some cultural conventions restrict mating across groups, such as socioeconomic groups (Mukhopadhyay et al. 2014: 47–68; Relethford 2017; Dunsworth 2021: 185–8).

Even though it lacks a biological basis, race still exists. Race is a culturally constructed classification system that dictates how humans are categorised and treated. Although we tend to view racial categories as fixed and immutable, they are culture-specific and fluctuate over time in response to power disparities and sociopolitical stimuli. Any form of classification reduces complexity and allows for the formulation of generalisations, which can lead to stereotyping (prejudicial or otherwise) and hierarchical arrangements. Race is no exception. It is typically a product of stratified societies and used ideologically to reinforce the legitimacy of the dominant group. There are no universal rules for the construction of racial categories: for instance, not all stratified societies have racial systems; some racial classifications are based on visible differences, like skin colour, while other cultures construct their classifications on the basis of other criteria, such as ethnicity, religion or language; in cultures where racial categories exist, races are not always ranked; and racial criteria and rankings can change over time (Mukhopadhyay et al. 2014: 89–91, 157–72; Gracia 2017). Nevertheless, racial designations can have deleterious effects on an individual's health and well-being. Ranked racial systems often promote the disenfranchisement of some racial categories, which leads to health disparities, such as higher incidence of morbidity and comorbidity and lower age at death. In this context alone, race and biology intersect as 'systemic racism becomes embodied in the biology of racialized groups and individuals, and embodied inequalities reinforce a racialized understanding of human biology' (Gravlee 2009: 54).

Race, therefore, becomes a cultural and structural mechanism for disenfranchisement. The American racial system illustrates not only this, but also how racial categories can change over time. The original system was binary and based on skin colour; one was either White or Black, and these categories were mutually exclusive (a child of a White parent and a Black parent was considered to be monoracial – Black). This changed in the late nineteenth century when Mulatto appeared as a census option for individuals of biracial descent. In the 1890 census, the Black racial options proliferated to include Quadroon (1/4 Black ancestry) and Octoroon (1/8 or less Black ancestry), and other categories were created as well, such as (American) Indian, Chinese and Japanese. Over time, new categories were added and old categories disappeared, but what stayed the same was the racial paradigm. Namely, that there were Whites and Non-Whites, and individuals of racially mixed descent were always placed in the racial category of the lower racial status parent (e.g. a child of an Indian father

and a White mother would be labelled Indian). Race was considered to be fixed and permanent. People who fell under Non-White categories were historically seen as inferior to Whites, and they were kept segregated and disenfranchised through the enactment of laws and other coercive means (Mukhopadhyay et al. 2014: 165–6; Gracia 2017). As a result of widespread systemic disenfranchisement, racial inequality led (and continues to lead) to health disparities, such as higher incidence of cardiovascular disease, diabetes, stroke, certain cancers, low birth weight and preterm delivery (Gravlee 2009: 47).

As one might expect, race was not a straightforward concept for the ancient Greeks. The first complication is a matter of translation. Genos, the Greek word that is most often translated as 'race', is frequently used to reference birth or descent and thus is not actually suitable to be translated as race. Furthermore, genos is sometimes conflated with ethnos and phyle, which can also be used to signify people of shared kinship. As Rebecca Futo Kennedy explains, 'An *ethnos* is usually a group of people who share a government – among Greeks, the *polis* of one's origin is frequently an *ethnos*, while Hellene is sometimes a *genos*, sometimes an *ethnos*, and Ionian can be a *genos*, an *ethnos*, or *phulê*' (Kennedy 2016: 10–11). So it seems that the Greeks did not have a single term to denote the modern concept of race.

The fact that Greeks did not have a word for race does not mean that racial systems were absent in antiquity. Numerous scholars see evidence of racial (and racist) ideology in the ancient Greek world. Benjamin Isaac draws attention to racialised (2009) – or at the very least proto-racialised (2004; 2006) – attitudes that were present in Greek societies, as does Claude Calame (e.g. 2005: 135–56), Shelley Haley (e.g. 2009), Tristan Samuels (e.g. 2015) and Denise McCoskey (e.g. 2019). Most of these scholars point to the Greek/non-Greek dichotomy as the source of racial structuration; however, this approach ignores other nuanced distinctions that could lead to disenfranchisement, such as differences among Greek ethnicities, forms of government (e.g. polis vs. ethnos), gender and citizenship status.

Susan Lape (2003; 2010) and Rebecca Futo Kennedy (2014; 2019) have identified one clearly oppressive construct that rises to the level of racial categorisation in the ancient Greek world: the Athenian metic system. In Athens, race was formulated on the basis of democratic citizen status. Metics, which translates to 'resident foreigners' or 'immigrants', were a group of free non-citizens that included immigrants (non-Athenian Greeks and non-Greeks alike) and their descendants as well as freedmen and their descendants. In addition to having no vote or voice in matters of state, metics were required to pay a special tax and were governed by exclusionary laws that defined and regulated their status (e.g. they were not allowed to own land or a home without special exemption). One of the most poignant laws affecting metics was the Citizenship Law dating to ca. 451 BCE, purportedly introduced by Pericles.

This double-descent law declared individuals were only eligible for Athenian citizenship if both of their parents were native freeborn Athenians who were legitimately married. No child, for instance, of a female metic and a male citizen could become a citizen, even though this had been permissible prior to the law. The law was instated to preserve the purity of Athenian autochthonous descent, and just as language associated with purity is applied to descriptions of Athenian citizenship, language associated with disease and infection was used in reference to metics. As Rebecca Futo Kennedy notes: 'this language of infection and purity was used to segregate all non-Athenians into this category of "metic" that embodied institutional oppressions, dehumanization, and systemic abuses based on the supposed supremacy of Athens over all others – Greek or non-Greeks' (2019).

Even though race intersects with ancestry and ethnicity, it is, as previously stated, a cultural and structural mechanism for disenfranchisement that is closely tied to systems of power. Furthermore, Greek racial classifications were equally discriminatory towards non-Greeks and non-Athenian Greeks. As a result, the exploration of Greek racial ideology (i.e. the Athenian metic system) and its impact on individuals will be discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 3, which focuses on issues related to socioeconomic status, but not Chapter 4, which is concerned with the dynamics between Greeks and non-Greeks and avoids discussion of inequalities among intrahellenic ethnicities.

RECEPTION OF THE MARGINALISED IN ART AND LITERATURE

In order to reconstruct attitudes towards the marginalised in the ancient Greek world, we must first turn to visual and textual sources. However, both lines of evidence can be misleading. Artistic representations, for instance, cannot be interpreted as documentary evidence of actual events, practices or attitudes. Instead, they are constructs composed of conventional types and motifs that are intended to convey messages or values chosen by artists in consultation with their patrons. These messages are culture- and context-specific and multivalent, which complicates their interpretation by the temporally and culturally removed modern scholar. For this reason, careful attention should be paid to all aspects of an artwork, for each detail holds the potential to reveal its meaning(s) (Isler-Kerényi 2015: 562–3). Moreover, Greeks rarely made 'art for art's sake', and even 'their most profound and aesthetically pleasing examples served a utilitarian purpose' (Smith and Plantzos 2012: 5). That utilitarian purpose imbued the art with agency. As James Whitley explains, since Greek works of art were 'created and used for a purpose, they are always entangled within a social and historical web of largely human relations, and they can never be divorced from practical human interests . . . [What matters about the objects is] how they "work" on (or through) someone looking, using, or

touching them' (2012: 582). Understandably, the reconstruction of an ancient artwork's agency further complicates its interpretation.

Literary sources also must be read and interpreted with a critical eye. Ancient Greek authors can be biased by a variety of circumstances such as their socioeconomic status (e.g. the Old Oligarch), political affiliation (e.g. Xenophon), political agenda (e.g. writers of legal speeches) or gender (the majority of Greek authors were male). Moreover, marginalised figures might appear in various works as literary or dramatic devices. For instance, the physically impaired are objects of pity in Attic tragedy (e.g. Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 372, 412, 1033, 1035, 1178; *Philoctetes* 169–85, 225–8, 501, 507) and light-hearted devices of comic relief in comedy (e.g. Aristophanes, *Wealth* 266). The writings of the historians are also problematic. Consider Herodotus, the so-called 'Father of History'. Since antiquity, the reliability of Herodotus' ethnographic digressions has been questioned. Thucydides was one of his first critics. Although he does not mention Herodotus by name, Thucydides (1.21) assures his readers that he does not rely on hearsay or resort to storytelling, and this remark has been interpreted as a critique of Herodotus (Nippel 1996: 127). Also, some modern scholars see a wellspring of ethnocentrism beneath the unbiased veneer of Herodotus' ethnographic accounts. Detlev Fehling (1989) accuses Herodotus of fabricating his informants because he doubts that a non-Greek could provide such Hellenocentric accounts. François Hartog (2009 [1988]), on the other hand, argues that Herodotus' narrative is one of bipolar opposition, and that descriptions of non-Greeks served as a mirror through which Greeks were able to view themselves. The Otherness of non-Greeks was constructed in relation to Greek norms, with the practices of Scythians, Egyptians and Amazons in particular representing the inversion of Greek customs.[20] From this perspective, Herodotus' purportedly ethnographic accounts are structured according to Greek assumptions and categories to the point where his cultural relativism becomes ethnocentricity (Redfield 1985; Gray 1995; Romm 1996; Harrison 1998). But not all scholars share Hartog's view – for example, Rosalind Thomas (2002) calls for the study of Herodotus' writings within the context of fifth-century medical and scientific literature. From this vantage point, Herodotus does not appear to be ethnocentric, but rather one of many Greeks attempting to rationalise human differences. Thomas' position is supported by recent archaeological research. Askold Ivantchik (2011) carefully compared Herodotus' description of the funeral of a Scythian king (4.71–2) to archaeological data derived from excavations of Scythian burial mounds and concluded that Herodotus' description is reliable (see also Kim 2010). Ivantchik rejects Hartog's 'mirror' theory and speculates that Herodotus' source for this passage was most likely a Hellenised Scythian, or at least someone who had a detailed knowledge of Scythian burial customs and Iranian ideology.

Despite the limitations of visual and textual evidence, critical analysis of these sources can help us reconstruct ancient Greek attitudes towards the various

groups under discussion in this book. The sections that follow discuss ancient Greek visual and textual evidence of the contemporary reception of disabled people, non-elites of low socioeconomic class and non-Greeks. The material presented here will inform and contextualise the bioarchaeological evidence in Chapters 2–4.

Reception of disabled people in the ancient Greek world

Literary references to disabled people abound. However, as previously discussed, these sources must be consulted with caution (Bredberg 1999; Roberts 1999: 81). Literary texts are often complicit in the 'ideology of the physical', as they 'embody the prejudices and debilitating attitudes of their own historical moments of production', and thus literature is both 'a utilitarian tool of transformation and a medium for further stigmatizing disability in the imaginations of its audience' (Mitchell and Snyder 1997: 13). For example, disabled characters in Athenian tragedies are viewed with a mixture of pity and contempt, while they are light-hearted devices of comic relief in Athenian comedies (Pütz 2007; Garland 2017).[21] Furthermore, although literary texts in general convey stereotypes and/or popular attitudes towards disabled people, they can be contradictory. If we consider disabled veterans, for instance, they might be praised for their bravery and virtue (Herodotus 6.115; Edwards 2012), but their physical appearance could cause them to be shunned, abandoned by their loved ones, and prohibited from performing religious rites (Sophocles, *Philoctetes*; Quintus Curtius 5.5.5–24; Miles 2003; Edwards 2012).[22] As Christian Laes explains, '[i]n a society where beautiful bodies were very much in favour as a sign of righteous and moral excellence, a conflict could arise between the veteran's deformed appearance and his inner virtue' (2011a: 936).

Like literary evidence, art is also a biased source of information (Weiler 2012; Dasen 2017). Greek representations of disabled people primarily date to the Hellenistic period and respond to artists' increasing interest in imperfect bodies – a rejection of the idealised bodies and forms of the Classical period (Pollitt 1986: 1–16; Stewart 2014; Jenkins 2015). Rather than providing reflections of contemporary realities, the Hellenistic iconography of physical difference was symbolic, and depictions of disabled people were used as apotropaic devices, lucky talismans and introspective stimuli (Trentin 2015: 92–3).

Interpretations of these literary and artistic sources vary widely, and scholars disagree on the issue of whether disabled people were socially integrated or socially marginalised in the ancient Greek world. One position maintains that ancient Greek cities, to a much greater degree than modern ones, were populated by people with a wide array of physical impairments (Rose 2003; 2017; Garland 2010: 178–9), and that 'people with even the most severe disabilities were integrated into communities that accommodated all ranges of ability'

(Rose 2003: 99).[23] Consequently, disabled people were not marginalised as long as they could participate to some extent in the socioeconomic life of their polis (Edwards 1997a: 35). The opposing view asserts that there was a marked distinction between those who were physically impaired and those who were not that often (but not exclusively) resulted in the marginalisation of the impaired (Vlahogiannis 1998: 18; Stiker 1999: ix, 24, 39–42; Penrose 2015: 502).[24] This position is typically supported by ancient Greek religion (Vlahogiannis 1998: 28–33; Dillon 2017: 169–70; Wilgaux 2018), as 'beauty and wholeness were regarded as a mark of divine favour, whereas ugliness and deformity were interpreted as a sign of the opposite' (Garland 2010: 2).[25] Plato reinforces these beliefs in his utopian *Laws* (6.759c), where he states that priests and priestesses should be physically perfect and legitimately born.

To further complicate the issue of social integration, attitudes towards disabled people most likely varied from polis to polis. For instance, the Athenians exempted those with physical impairments from military service and provided them with financial support (Dillon 1995: 30; 2017: 171). Literary evidence suggests that Sparta, on the other hand, did not always recognise physical impairments as an impediment to military service. Herodotus' account of Aristodemus illustrates this (7.229–31, 9.71). At Thermopylae, he contracted ophthalmia, a severe inflammation of the eye. Even though Leonidas acknowledged that Aristodemus was compromised and ordered him away from the battlefield, at home he was branded a coward and was socially marginalised until he was killed while attempting to redeem himself at the Battle of Plataea. Likewise, it seems that Agesilaus, despite his mobility impairment (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.3.3; Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 2.3), received the standard military training as a youth and later became king of Sparta over some of his compatriots' ableist objections (Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 3.7, 30; Penrose 2015; Boëldieu-Trevet 2018). Thus, since literary and artistic sources cannot provide definitive answers to the debate of social integration vs. marginalisation, we turn to bioarchaeological evidence in Chapter 2 to shed additional light on the matter.

Reception of the non-elite in the ancient Greek world

Wealth was unevenly distributed in city states of the ancient Greek world, so the poor were an ever-present component of society (Ober 1989: 192). In Thucydides' account of Pericles' funerary oration, it is made clear that there is no shame in being poor (2.37), but those who take no steps to avoid it have much to be ashamed of (2.40; Morris 2001: 125–6). Poverty was shameful and undesirable for many reasons, but primarily because it caused men to do undignified things and made them candidates for exploitation (Morris 2000: 116). Furthermore, the elite perspective linked wealth with virtue, so the absence of

wealth was viewed as moral inferiority. The poor thus become equated with the 'bad' or the 'base' (Plato, *Gorgias* 478a; Isocrates 7.45; Demosthenes 57.36; Taylor 2017: 32–3). Nevertheless, impoverished individuals in most Greek polities were distributed among the three major status groups: citizens, metics and the enslaved.[26]

Beginning with citizens, it is estimated that 7.5–9% of citizens owned 30–5% of the land in Attica, 70–5% of citizens owned the remaining 60–5% of the land, and approximately 20% of citizens owned little or no land (Osborne 1991: 128–36; 1992; Foxhall 1992; Ober 2018: 20–1).[27] Based on those percentages, it is reasonable to assume that the bottom 20% of the Athenian citizenry was impoverished, especially since land was considered to be superior over all other forms of wealth (Burford 1972: 29). Many of these individuals would have been peasant farmers, who tilled the land of others outside of the urban centre, in the hinterland. Their location, and by extension socioeconomic status, ensured their marginalisation as it excluded them from regular participation in the political, athletic and social activities that were among the privileges of citizenship (Zuchtriegel 2018: 194). The people of the countryside were likewise marginalised in literary and artistic representations. In tragedies, they function as messengers and other minor characters (e.g. Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex*), and in comedy, they serve as the objects of jokes and ridicule (e.g. Menander, *Disagreeable Man*). Furthermore, artistic renditions of the countryside primarily consist of idyllic, bucolic scenes that typically omit labour and those who would have performed it (Osborne 1987: 18–21). A notable exception to this general trend is scenes of grape- and olive-gathering on Athenian vases.[28] Although these scenes show figures working, iconographic conventions indicate that the labourers are individuals of low social status. For instance, on an Attic black-figure amphora by the Antimenes Painter (ca. 520 BCE), four male figures harvest olives (Fig. 1.1). Three of the figures are dressed in loincloths, but the centrally placed figure who is crouching behind the tree is nude. His nudity in this context is an indicator of his low social status (Hurwit 2007), which is also conveyed through the distinctive cap that he and two additional figures (the figure to the right of the nude figure and the figure atop the tree) wear. Rustic caps such as these are often placed on the heads of labourers and servile figures to signify their status (Pipili 2000; Lee 2015: 49).

Other citizens in the bottom 20 per cent would have been employed as manual labourers or craftsmen.[29] Although there is some evidence that members of the aristocracy were engaged in craft production – for example, it has been asserted that the Kleophrades Painter, who began his career briefly before 500 BCE, was a man named Megacles, a member of the Alcmaeonid family (Kreuzer 2009) – the majority of craftsmen would have been significantly lower on the socioeconomic scale. Prejudice against individuals in these

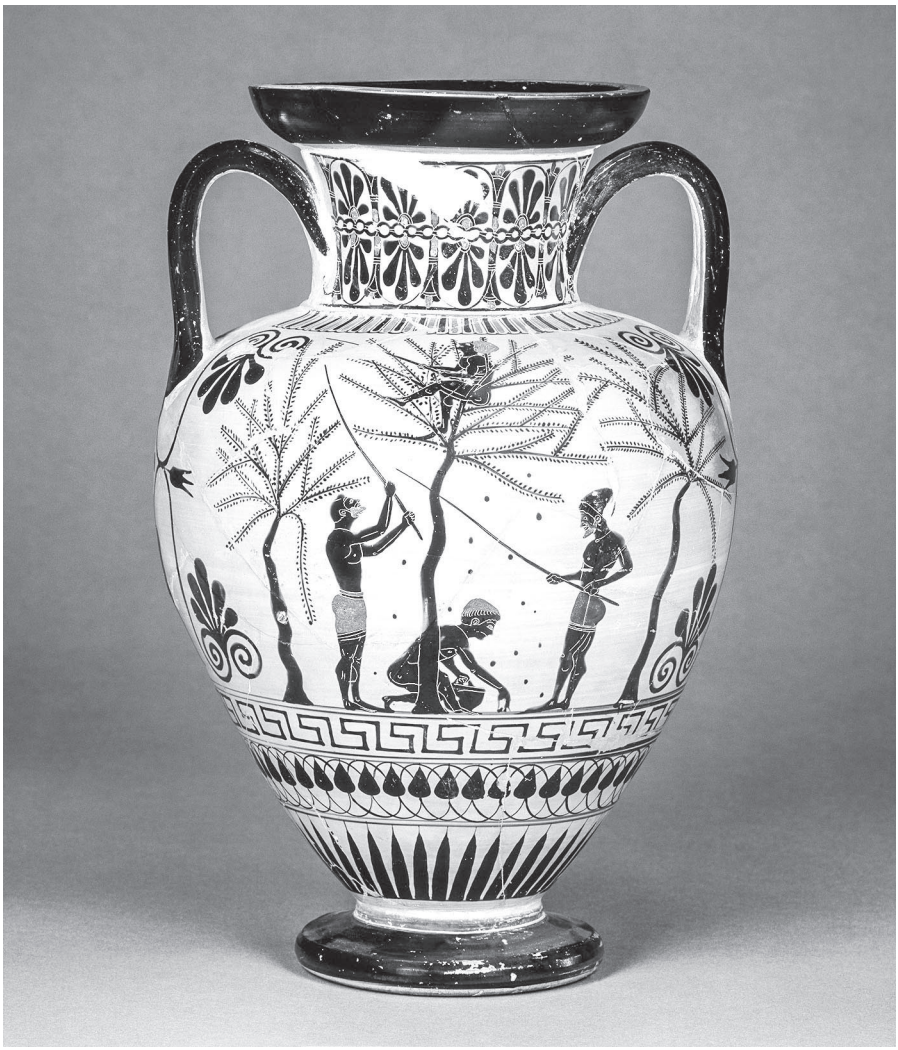

Figure 1.1 Attic black-figure amphora (ca. 520 BCE) by the Antimenes Painter from Athens, Greece depicting a scene of olive-gathering (London, British Museum). Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY.

professions, who were referred to as *banausoi*, was deeply rooted (Ober 1989: 272–7). Xenophon tells us that 'banausic activities are held in complete distain in the Greek cities . . . they spoil the bodies of the workmen and the overseers, because the nature of the work compels them to sit indoors, and in some cases to spend the day by the fire. Softening of the body leads to softening of the mind' (*Domestic Manager* 4.2–3 as translated in Burford 1972: 12). In some

polities, the *banausoi* were denied full citizen rights, and Xenophon again provides us with a possible explanation of the logic behind this:

> Banausic occupations leave no spare time for friendship or the affairs of the city: the practitioners of such occupations are . . . bad friends and bad defenders of the city . . . If during an invasion the farmers and the craftsmen were separated out, and each group was asked whether it would vote for the defence of the country or for withdrawal to the fortresses, the farmers would vote for fighting, whereas the craftsmen would elect to sit still and risk nothing . . . The farmers therefore make the best and most loyal citizens. (*Domestic Manager* 4.2–3 as translated in Burford 1972: 29)

The low social status of *banausoi* is visually conveyed through art. For example, an Attic red-figure kylix (ca. 490–480 BCE) by the Foundry Painter depicts a scene from a bronze foundry (Fig. 1.2). Foundry workers are shown at the oven, resting, and assembling a statue of an athlete (presumably a high-jumper). The

Figure 1.2 Attic red-figure kylix (ca. 490–480 BCE) by the Foundry Painter from Vulci, Italy depicting craftsmen in a bronze foundry (Berlin, Staatliche Museum Inv. F 2294). Photo © bpk Bildagentur/Staatliche Museum/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.

status of these individuals is signified in the same way as that of the aforementioned olive-gatherers; namely, they are engaged in labour, clothed in simple loincloths or nude, and one individual (heating a metal rod in the oven) dons a rustic cap (Lee 2015: 49).[30]

Aside from citizens, other social groups also lived in Greek polities. Aristotle notes that 'it is necessarily the case that city-states contain a large number of slaves, metics, and foreigners' (Aristotle, *Politics* 7.1326a as translated in Garland 2014: 152), and this was most likely true not only for grand and prosperous city states, but also small, agriculturally oriented ones (Garland 2014: 152). The latter two groups mentioned by Aristotle, metics and foreigners, are distinguished by their residency status. Free non-resident foreigners, called *xenoi*, lived in a polity for only a short period of time. In Athens, *xenoi* were required to have sponsors (*proxenoi*) who were responsible for protecting them and attesting to their status if it were ever called into question. Since *xenoi* were essentially visitors, they were not permitted to participate in government or own land and they were not required to serve in the military or pay taxes, with the exception of *xenika telê*, which was a market tax that was assessed if an individual wanted to conduct commercial transactions in the Agora (Demetriou 2012: 204–5). The lack of requisite military service and tax assessment, as well as their length of stay, differentiated *xenoi* from metics.

Metics, which translates to 'resident foreigners' or 'immigrants', were a group of free non-citizens comprised of both Greeks and non-Greeks alike.[31] Metics existed in at least seventy Greek city states (Burford 1972: 35), and their ranks consisted of immigrants (see Chapter 4 and below for more on migration) and their descendants as well as freedmen and their descendants. No Greek polity had anything that resembled an official immigration policy or quota. Immigration was, in fact, generally welcomed, especially in Athens, where immigrants were deemed to be economically beneficial, primarily because of the special taxes they were required to pay, but also due to the money generated by their participation in the economy (Bakewell 1999a; Ober 2010; Garland 2014: 152, 156).

Metics were politically and socially disenfranchised – they had no voice or vote in matters of state, and their actions were governed by exclusionary laws (discussed below). Although it might seem counterintuitive, there were numerous reasons that might compel an individual to leave their ancestral homeland for a place where their rights were severely restricted. These reasons were both positive (relating to the destination, a 'pull') and negative (relating to the homeland, a 'push') and were not mutually exclusive. Positive reasons to migrate might be economic, such as involvement in shipping or the prospect of better trade opportunities, while negative reasons could include sociopolitical instability or land shortage (Taylor 2011: 119–20). Immigrants came from all social ranks – upper, middle and lower classes. However, it was the middle class, primarily composed of merchants and craftsmen, who most likely had the greatest

opportunities to improve their economic situations (Garland 2014: 153–4). Lower-class individuals, especially those who were manual labourers, would not have had the same economic potential, as wages were not particularly high. In fact, accounts from the construction of the Erechtheion state that enslaved and free received the same pay for the same kind of work (Burford 1972: 59).

We know the most about Athenian metics (Whitehead 1977). According to Plutarch (*Solon* 24.2), Solon was the first to permit skilled foreign workers to settle in Attica, in the sixth century BCE, with the provision that they brought their families with them. It is not clear, however, whether Solon's agenda was pro- or anti-immigration, because he also purportedly observed that Athens was 'filled with people who were constantly flooding into Attica from elsewhere in order to find security' (Plutarch, *Solon* 22.1 as translated in Garland 2014: 155). Epigraphic and literary evidence suggests that the reforms of Cleisthenes (ca. 508 BCE) were the first to grant official recognition to immigrants (Aristotle, *Politics* 1275b34–9; Baba 1984; Cecchet 2017), but the word used to refer to them, *metoikos*, does not occur in literature until ca. 472 BCE (Aeschylus, *Persians* 319).[32] Nevertheless, we know that after a statutory period of time (possibly a month, although the exact length of time is unclear), any foreigner seeking metic status was required to register for the right to reside in Attica, and failure to do so could result in immediate expulsion or enslavement. After an individual attained metic status, they were free to reside permanently in Athens, but they had to procure a citizen sponsor to act as their *prostatês* (guardian or patron). The sponsor most likely served as their legal representative and supervisor. Presumably, the sponsor reinforced civic and criminal accountability, because sponsors whose metics could not obey the law would reflect poorly on the reputation of their sponsor. This system was in place until the middle of the fourth century BCE, when the responsibilities of the sponsor were transferred to the courts (Garland 2014: 154–6, 159).

Athenian metics were required to bear certain civic responsibilities and were governed by exclusionary laws that defined and regulated their status. They paid a series of special taxes: the *metoikion*, a regular (possibly monthly) poll tax (one drachma for an adult male and half a drachma for a single female) and the *xenika telê*, a market tax for permission to trade in the Agora.[33] Metics were also required to perform military service (as hoplites or rowers) and participate in the religious life of the city (e.g. the Panathenaea). Although metics could freely take part in economic pursuits – conduct business, make contracts and lend money – they were not allowed to own land or property until the 350s BCE, when it became legal for the exceptional metic to receive land rights (*gês enktêsis*; Garland 2014: 156–8). They also could not vote in the Assembly or serve as a judge/juror (*dikastês*) or a magistrate (Watson 2010: 259).

One restrictive statute that significantly impacted the Athenian metic population was the Citizenship Law dating to ca. 451/450 BCE, purportedly

introduced by Pericles (Patterson 1981; Boegehold 1994).[34] Before the passage of the law, Athenian metics could be granted the right of *epigamia*, or the legal recognition of the citizenship of children born of a marriage between a metic and a citizen (Burford 1972: 36). After the Citizenship Law was enacted, individuals were only eligible for Athenian citizenship if both of their parents were native freeborn Athenians who were legitimately married. No child, for instance, of a female metic and a citizen man could become a citizen. The law was instated to limit access to the resources of the polis and preserve the purity of Athenian autochthonous descent (discussed below; Lape 2003; 2010). A dichotomy was created between the two groups – as noted above, language associated with purity was applied to descriptions of Athenian citizenship, while language associated with disease and infection was used in reference to metics (Kennedy 2019).[35] Twenty years after the passage of the law, high casualty rates associated with the Peloponnesian War necessitated its amendment ca. 430/429 BCE to allow fathers whose legitimate Athenian offspring had died to adopt their children born to metic mothers so that these children might inherit property and preserve the family name. Pericles ironically found himself in this situation, and it was his advocacy that brought about the amendment (Carawan 2008). Later, in the fourth century BCE, restrictions tightened and intermarriage between citizens and metics was strictly forbidden, most likely because the offspring of mixed-status marriages were a perpetual source of anxiety and a threat to the integrity of the Athenian citizenry (Demosthenes 59.16; Bakewell 2008/9).

Although the law was generally not on their side, Athenian metics were still afforded a modicum of legal protection. If a metic was murdered, regardless of the circumstances, the act was treated as an unintentional homicide, which carried the maximum penalty of exile (Lape 2010: 48–9). Even though this seems an unfair and discriminatory law, especially since intentional homicide was punishable by execution, the law most likely represented an improvement in the legal status of metics from no protection to partial protection (Garland 2014: 158). Moreover, by rendering special services to the state, metics could earn additional rights, such as that of *isoteleia*, which meant they could pay the same taxes as a citizen (Garland 2014: 156).[36] Also, around 401/400 BCE, Athens granted citizen rights (not equivalent to citizenship) to the metics and their descendants who helped free the city state from the rule of the Thirty Tyrants (*IG* 2^2 10; Bakewell 1999b; Garland 2014: 160).[37] On rare occasions, metics were naturalised. Even Sparta, the most xenophobic of city states (Thucydides 1.144.2, 2.39.1; Plutarch, *Moralia* 238e), granted citizenship to at least two foreigners – one was a highly valued seer, and the other was his brother (Herodotus 9.35.1). Likewise, Megara naturalised only two foreigners (Plutarch, *Moralia* 826c; Garland 2014: 152). In Athens, naturalisation was more common in the sixth century BCE (Aristotle, *Politics* 1275b36–7; Plutarch, *Solon* 24.4) than in the fifth or fourth century, but

even then naturalisation was uncommon and happened only in extraordinary circumstances. For example, citizenship could be granted in cases of distinguished services rendered to the Athenian people (e.g. extraordinary financial or military aid), such as that of the freedman Pasion who was naturalised in the early fourth century, around 380 BCE. A successful banker, Pasion's generous benefactions to the Athenians earned the right of citizenship for himself and his descendants (Demosthenes 59.2; Carey 1991: 89; Lape 2010: 240–74; Deene 2011).[38]

Part of the impetus behind the strict separation of citizens and metics was the Athenian belief in their autochthonous origins (Loraux 2000).[39] Athenians understood that most other Greeks were of mixed descent (an Athenian and a foreigner, e.g. Euripides' *Ion*), whereas they themselves had originated from the soil of Attica and were pure, indigenous inhabitants of their native land (e.g. Plato, *Critias* 109d; Kennedy 2016: 15).[40] Autochthony was hereditary – the earliest Athenian kings, Cecrops and Erechtheus, were believed to have been born from the earth, and all Athenians were descended from these two men. Although the figures of Cecrops and Erechtheus were well established in Athenian legend and cult in the Archaic period, their artistic representations are not explicitly tied to the ideology of autochthony until around 490 BCE (Shapiro 1998; Cohen 2001: 241). After that point, depictions of the birth of Erechtheus, which took place on the Acropolis in the heart of Athens, became the visual illustrations of the concept of autochthony (Shapiro 1998). An example of the birth of Erechtheus that features both Cecrops and Erechtheus can be seen on a red-figure kylix cup (ca. 440–430 BCE) from Tarquinia (Italy) by the Codrus Painter (Fig. 1.3).

The myth of Athenian autochthony validated and supported Athenian exceptionalism. Autochthony was embedded in public discourse (Loraux 1986: 148–50; Pelling 2009; Kennedy 2016: 15) and provided as an explanation for Athens' rapid rise to power after the Persian Wars. Moreover, autochthonous descent was preserved through the aforementioned Citizenship Law of ca. 451/450 BCE (Clements 2016: 316). In order to perpetuate their autochthony, the Athenian citizenry needed to be 'pure'. To be otherwise was to be 'mixed' and inferior, so interactions between autochthonous Athenians and others needed to be carefully regulated (Kennedy 2016: 13–17).

Athenian autochthony underpinned their superior racial identity and justified their marginalisation of metics (Lape 2003; 2010; Kennedy 2014). As previously discussed, race is a cultural and structural mechanism for disenfranchisement that is used to reinforce the legitimacy and supremacy of the dominant group. Racial categories are culture-specific and fluctuate over time in response to power disparities and sociopolitical stimuli (Mukhopadhyay et al. 2014: 89–91, 157–72; Gracia 2017). In the case of the Athenians, their autochthony united them and served not only as the basis for political equality among citizens, but also for their inherent superiority. As Alan Shapiro notes,

Figure 1.3 Attic red-figure kylix (ca. 440–430 BCE) by the Codrus Painter from Tarquinia, Italy depicting the birth of Erechtheus (Berlin, Staatliche Museum Inv. F 2537). In the centre of the composition, Gaea emerges from the earth and hands the young Erechtheus to Athena as Cecrops (left), Hephaestus and Herse (right) look on. Photo © bpk Bildagentur/Staatliche Museum/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.

autochthony implies 'that the Athenians are an older, purer, and nobler race than other Greeks, and hence natural born leaders of an alliance. They are the chosen people, as it were, favored and protected in their enterprise by the whole host of Olympian gods' (1998: 131). Autochthony, or lack thereof, also provided a rationalisation for the denial of political equality to metics (Lape 2010).

It is undisputed that metics were socially and politically disenfranchised, but there is some scholarly disagreement concerning the Athenian reception of metics. One position is that attitudes towards metics were generally favourable as long as metics abided by the laws, maintained their civic loyalty and stayed out of trouble (e.g. Euripides, *Suppliant Women* 891–900). The orator Lysias, for example, describes the behaviour of model metics: 'Neither my father nor my brothers nor myself ever appeared as prosecutors or defendants in any lawsuit. On the contrary, we conducted ourselves under the democracy in such a way as neither to cause nor to receive offence' (12.4 as translated in Garland 2014: 163). The opposing position, however, maintains that Athenian citizens exhibited perpetual anxiety towards

metics (e.g. Wallace 2010; Bakewell 2013). Even though the Athenian racial system was founded on the supposition that there were natural differences between citizens and metics, Demetra Kasimis (2018) maintains that works by Euripides (*Ion*), Plato (*Republic*) and Demosthenes (57, *Against Euboulides*) demonstrate how metics could masquerade as citizens with relative ease. Far from innocent, any case of mistaken (or fabricated) identity bore the potential to muddy the purity of the Athenian citizenship. As a result, it was crucial that the citizen body define, regulate and supervise the metic population (Kasimis 2018: xv).

Moreover, attitudes towards metics shifted in response to sociopolitical stimuli. In times of war, latent tensions and hostilities towards metics could manifest. Sometimes these would result in persecution, as was the case in Syracuse in south-eastern Sicily ca. 396 BCE when the tyrant, Dionysius I, declared war on Carthage and his subjects responded by expelling many wealthy resident Carthaginians from Sicilian Greek territories. Diodorus Siculus paints a frightening picture of this event, as the Sicilian Greeks terrorised the Carthaginians 'not only by plundering their property, but also by seizing them and subjecting their bodies to all manner of torture and insult' (14.46.3 as translated in Garland 2014: 153). This extreme and pre-emptive reaction also might have been rooted in the understanding that metic loyalties become suspect during times of war. During the Sicilian Expedition, for example, Nicias reported to Athens that their fleet strength was declining because metics were deserting their posts and returning to their cities of origin (Thucydides 7.13.2, 7.63.3). Metic flight must have been a common occurrence, as Aeneas Tacticus (10.8) notes that the movements of citizens and foreigners were typically limited during times of war, and the orator Hyperides (3.29, 33) references an Athenian law (of uncertain date) that forbids metics from leaving Athens during wartime (Garland 2014: 163–4).

The degree and extent of prejudice directed towards the average metic would have been predicated on individual status and identity. Non-Greek metics presumably faced more casual prejudice than Greek ones (Whitehead 1977: 109–14). Xenophon (*Ways and Means* 2.3), for instance, was uncomfortable with the numbers of non-Greeks claiming metic status and thought it inappropriate that citizens were required to serve in the army alongside them (Garland 2014: 162). The servile origins of freedman metics, and even their descendants, could likewise be a source of prejudice, as courtroom speeches reveal that freedmen experienced considerable bias because they were considered to be 'irredeemably steeped in servile blood' (Lysias 13.18, 64; Demosthenes 22.61; Isaeus 6.49; Whitehead 1977: 114–16). Furthermore, poor metics – especially those engaged in professions requiring manual labour – might have encountered more discrimination than their wealthier counterparts (Whitehead 1977: 116–21). Metics, in general, were closely associated with money because what was known about them centred on financial issues. For example, they left their homes for better economic opportunities, and the majority were

middle-class merchants and craftsmen (not farmers). Also, metics could not invest their money in the same manner as Athenian citizens (i.e. in property), so their assets were portable, less visible, and cause for speculation concerning the extent of their wealth (Bakewell 1999b: 10–11). Since metics had a reputation for being wealthy, poor metics were most likely deemed to be flawed in some serious manner. Metics who served as manual labourers or craftsmen almost certainly experienced additional discrimination on account of their occupation, as Greeks held great disdain for banausic employment and those engaged in it (Burford 1972: 12, 29).

The enslaved were another group that routinely engaged in banausic activities.[41] In the ancient world, slavery originated in the Near East long before the period of state formation in chieftaincies and nomadic groups, and the earliest enslaved people were most likely prisoners of war (Snell 2011: 6–7). From the Near East, the practice (with regional variations) spread to Egypt, the Aegean and the rest of the Mediterranean (Lewis 2018a: 93–266). The first documented evidence of enslaved individuals in the Aegean comes from Mycenaean Linear B tablets from Knossos and Pylos dating to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE (Andreau and Descat 2011: 17–19). Mentions of slavery are later pervasive from the works of Homer (e.g. *Iliad* 6.455; *Odyssey* 17.323) onward (Andreau and Descat 2011: 19–30). Although slavery was widespread throughout most of recorded Greek history, there were some notable exceptions.[42] In Greek mythistorical tradition, the earliest inhabitants of Greece, the Pelasgians, were not enslavers (Herodotus 6.137.3), and slavery was not a regular practice in the regions of Locris and Phocis until the middle of the fourth century BCE (Andreau and Descat 2011: 8).

With the exception of Locris and Phocis, slavery was ubiquitous in the Classical Greek world (Harrison 2019). Even the poorest households had enslaved individuals, and essentially anyone could be enslaved – men, women or children, Greeks or non-Greeks – though most of the enslaved were non-Greek. The non-Greek enslaved were procured through military conflict, trade, piracy and coercion, then purchased rather inexpensively – in late fifth-century BCE Athens a slave could be bought for as little as 150 and as much as 1,000 drachmas (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.5; Coleman 1997: 180). The enslaved primarily derived from the regions surrounding Greek territory, ranging from the Balkans to Asia Minor and the Black Sea (Thompson 2003: 3; Braund 2011: 126; Lewis 2015). Most non-Greek enslaved seem to have come from Thrace, Phrygia and the Black Sea region, but almost every ethnic group known to the Greeks was most likely represented in the slave pool (Wiedemann 1988; Coleman 1997: 180–1; Lewis 2011).

Slavery is the most extreme form of disenfranchisement. It represents a relationship of near-total domination, with power entirely vested in the slaveholder. There are three facets of power that a slaveholder wields over the enslaved:

control through the use or threat of violence, control through psychological or influential means, and cultural authority, which has been described as 'the means of transforming force into right, and obedience into duty' (Patterson 1982: 2). At its basest level, slavery is a substitute for death, be it death in war or death as punishment for some criminal offence. However, the prospect of death is commuted, rather than erased, by slavery, and the commutation holds only as long as the enslaved acquiesces to powerlessness. If, for example, enslaved individuals choose to flee or rebel, death is the likely consequence. As a result, the enslaved ceases to exist independent of the slaveholder and becomes a social non-person. To be a social non-person, without personal agency or family ties, is to be socially dead. In this way, the enslaved forgoes a physical death for a social one (Patterson 1982: 1–5).[43]

Social death manifests physically and psychologically. Physically, social death occurs when the enslaved are stripped of their identities, which can be achieved through the changing of their names, physical branding or castration. In order to be identified as enslaved on sight, the enslaved are often required to dress in a prescribed, visually distinct manner, which might include special clothing, headgear, items of adornment (e.g. identifying tags) or hairstyles, including shorn heads. Their physical transformation serves as a constant reminder of the loss of freedom and independence, which has been replaced by utter dependence upon the slaveholder. Psychologically, social death is instituted when the enslaved's social bonds are dissolved. The enslaved are removed from their natal societies and become isolated as they lose their own cultural, religious and genealogical heritage and are unable to pass any of it along to their descendants. Natal social bonds are replaced by those constructed and legitimised by the slaveholder, and often there are structural mechanisms in place that prevent individuals from forming new bonds and social structures in their enslaved environs (Patterson 1982: 54–76).

The two enslaved populations of which we know the most are those of Athens and Sparta. Classical Athens was densely populated, more so than other Greek poleis, and its imperial territory was vast, extending throughout the Aegean islands to the shores of Asia Minor. Therefore, the Athenian form of slavery was probably unique and not representative of other city states, which were mostly smaller and less cosmopolitan. In this imperial centre, the enslaved comprised a substantial portion of the population, but we are uncertain of their exact numbers. Ancient literary sources provide us with estimates of the numbers of enslaved individuals living in Athens, but these sources are mostly Roman, and their tallies are suspect. Modern estimates are also unhelpful because they range widely, proposing that the enslaved could consist of anywhere from 15 to 40 per cent of the population (Rihll 2011: 49–50).

The Athenian enslaved were chattel slaves, meaning that they were bought and sold on market exchanges. Their commodification was underscored by their

subhuman categorisation – Athenian enslaved individuals were referred to as *andrapoda*, or 'human-footed things' (e.g. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.5.4; Wrenhaven 2012: 13–15). The enslaved could be owned publically (e.g. temple slaves, Scythian policemen) or privately (e.g. in households, on farming estates). When privately owned enslaved individuals were introduced to the household, their former identities were obliterated as they were given new names and welcomed with rituals similar to those performed for new brides (Morris 2000: 150).

As previously discussed, most enslaved individuals were non-Greek, which resulted in an enslaved population that was primarily composed of outsiders who were heterogeneous and polyglot (Cartledge 2011: 79). Each slaveholder most likely preferred to acquire a heterogeneous lot of enslaved people, because, as Plato tell us, it was easier to manage enslaved individuals if they came from different cultures and spoke different languages (*Laws* 777d; Rihll 2011: 71). This, of course, prevented them from organising against their slaveholder, which could also be the reason why the enslaved could not form legally recognised families (Golden 2011: 143).[44]

The Athenian enslaved worked in a variety of contexts. As Dimitris Kyrtatas explains, 'slaves were employed by all wealthy and even many poor owners of cultivable land; they worked in mines and quarries, industries and shops, brothels and temples, the stock-breeding mountains and the ships that traversed the seas, in private households and in the public sector' (2011: 95). Many tasks relegated to the enslaved were ones that were deemed to be distasteful, such as domestic chores, manual labour and handcrafts. Interestingly, public slaves were often placed in roles of responsibility (e.g. public executioner, keeping records of state debtors, measuring grain allowances) since they were believed to be less corruptible than free individuals or private slaves because their only personal ties were to the state. Skilled private slaves, however, were also given a remarkable amount of responsibility. It was recognised that these enslaved individuals, especially those that exercised sound judgement, responded to reward better than punishment. They were sometimes permitted to live independently in the urban centre or the Piraeus and were allowed to earn a living. A portion of their wages would be remitted to the slaveholder, and the enslaved individual was permitted to keep the remainder (Rihll 2011: 52, 60–1, 64–5).

The enslaved were afforded little protection under the law. Corporeal punishment was entirely acceptable, as slaveholders (and people who were wronged by enslaved individuals) were entitled to beat and whip their enslaved (Plato, *Laws* 777a–d). The enslaved were permitted to testify in legal proceedings, but their testimony was only admissible if it had been provided under physical torture (Demosthenes 30.37). However, there was a statute that prohibited homicide, and this included the killing of enslaved people (Antiphon 5.48). There was also a *hubris* law, passed by Solon in the late sixth century BCE, which protected citizens and enslaved alike from aggressive, abusive arrogance, especially

in public (Rihll 2011: 51–2, 54; Wrenhaven 2012: 65–71). This law offered the enslaved a modicum of protection, but at the same time, they were not permitted to bring suits against their slaveholders (Aeschines 1.17; Morris 2000: 150).

It seems that third parties could intercede on behalf of abused enslaved individuals. In a letter on a lead tablet found near a well in the Athenian Agora, an enslaved person named Lesis desperately entreats his mother and a man named Xenocles to come to his aid (Jordan 2000; Harris 2004). The letter reads:

> Lesis is sending (a letter) to Xenocles and his mother (asking) that they by no means overlook that he is perishing in the foundry but that they come to his masters and that they have something better found for him. For I have been handed over to a thoroughly wicked man; I am perishing from being whipped; I am tied up; I am treated like dirt – more and more! (as translated in Harris 2004: 157)

In his interpretation of the letter, Edward Harris (2004) maintains that Lesis must have been loaned or rented by his slaveholders to a foundry foreman who is mistreating him. Harris also asserts that Lesis' appeal to his mother suggests that she has some freedom of movement and is most likely a metic, whereas Xenocles could be her paramour or *prostatês*.

If an enslaved person like Lesis was being treated harshly, they were free to seek asylum at the Sanctuary of Theseus near the Agora in Athens. Theseus was deemed to be an appropriate patron of the desperate enslaved, because the legendary founder of Athens was purportedly sympathetic to exiles and fugitives (Plutarch, *Theseus* 36.2).[45] Occasionally, enslaved individuals would be granted permanent asylum inside of a sanctuary, such as at the Sanctuary of Heracles at Canopus in Egypt, where the enslaved seeking refuge were branded with sacred markings to indicate that they were under the protection of the god (Herodotus 2.113.2). But, for most of the enslaved seeking refuge, the objective was to request a change in ownership. By providing the enslaved with recourse to improve their situation, Athenian slaveholders sacrificed a portion of the absolute control they held over their enslaved people. This sacrifice, however, was presumably a conscious compromise made to reduce the numbers of runaways and discourage uprisings (Garland 2014: 146–8).

Despite the opportunity for redress that was offered to the enslaved, attempts to flee were common in the Classical period (e.g. Demosthenes 53.6). Approximately 20,000 Athenian enslaved individuals fled during the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 6.91.6, 7.27.5; Coleman 1997: 180). There were professional slave hunters who would find enslaved persons for a fee, which typically consisted of either a bounty or ownership of the captured individual. Upon their return, runaway enslaved individuals would be taken to the Anakeion, a detention centre for the enslaved, which stood next to the Sanctuary of Theseus. As

part of the intake process, they were most likely branded with a symbol that would mark them as former fugitives. For instance, an enslaved person named Theocritus bore the imprint of a stag that signified his propensity for flight (Athenaeus 612c). Marks such as these would be placed on the shoulder or head of the enslaved individual. The length of an enslaved person's stay at the Anakeion is uncertain, presumably as long as it took for their slaveholder to either retrieve or sell them (Andreau and Descat 2011: 138–41).

For the enslaved, the only guaranteed path to freedom was manumission, and this was apparently common in Classical Athens.[46] Enslaved individuals who were paid could put aside a portion of their earnings to buy their freedom, but manumission was primarily an act of benevolence on the part of the slaveholder. After death, slaveholders often freed their enslaved in their wills, but enslaved individuals were also freed during the life of the slaveholder for extraordinary acts of faithfulness or loyalty. Once the decision was made, manumission was remarkably simple – the only requirement being a public announcement made by the slaveholder (Aeschines 3.41, 44; Rihll 2011: 56–7).[47]

Upon manumission, freedmen could become metics. Demosthenes (36, *For Phormion*) asserts that a person's previous status should not be mentioned upon manumission, and that 'freedom included liberation from a humiliating past' (Rihll 2011: 56). Presumably, this allowed freedmen a fresh start and an opportunity to relocate. Manumission records indicate that most Athenian freedmen worked in the urban centre or the Piraeus, but others clustered together according to their industry. Wool-workers tended to congregate in Melite and Kydathenaion (demes within the urban centre of Athens), farmers were spread throughout Attica, and those engaged in mining lived in southern Attica (Taylor 2011: 130–1). Metic status, however, was not the boon it purported to be, but rather an institutionalised way for slaveholders to perpetuate their dominance over the formerly enslaved (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005: 333). As previously discussed, metics were not entirely free, as they were politically and socially disenfranchised. They were also required to retain a *prostatês*, and in the case of freedmen, the *prostatês* must be the former slaveholder.[48] There were, nevertheless, some freedmen metics who were able to become naturalised citizens, such as the wealthy banker Pasion and his own former enslaved person Phormion (Demosthenes 36, *For Phormion*; Rihll 2011: 60).

Shifting our attention to Sparta, Helots were radically different from the Athenian enslaved in terms of their origins and opportunities. In the Classical period, Sparta was by far the largest Greek polis, as its territory encompassed two regions, Laconia and Messenia (ca. 8,400 sq. km), and was roughly three times larger than the more densely populated polis of Athens. Sparta was also densely populated with enslaved individuals – at the time of the Battle of Plataea, the ratio of the enslaved to Spartans was at least 7:1 (Herodotus 9.10). Some of these were chattel slaves of the same sort as one would see in Athens (Plato, *Alcibiades* 1.122d), but

the vast majority were serf-like Helots. Helots were Greeks who were enslaved as a result of the conquest of their land, and the Spartan Helotry was composed of people originating from Laconia and Messenia (Cartledge 2011: 74–7).[49] Helots were public slaves and described as serf-like for numerous reasons: they were originally conquered rather than purchased; their status was ascribed at birth; and even though a small percentage served in the military or in households, Helots were primarily engaged in agricultural labour on land owned by Spartan citizens. Helots also differed from chattel slaves in that they were permitted limited freedoms, such as the ability to enjoy family lives (which was encouraged because it produced more Helots) in their own village communities and retain their own cultural and religious traditions (Luraghi 2008: 138–9; Kyrtatas 2011: 92).

Although Helots enjoyed limited freedoms, they also endured extreme measures of cruelty. Helots were assigned shameful and degrading tasks, and they were visually set apart by their dehumanising wardrobe, which consisted of a dog-skin cap and animal skins. Each year, they received a stipulated number of beatings, regardless of their behaviour, and any spark of rebellious spirit was cause for execution (Myron, *FGrH* 106 fr. 2). Helots deemed to be particularly dangerous would be summarily rounded up and executed in mass culling events (Herodotus 4.146; Thucydides 4.80; Cartledge 2011: 87). In addition to corporal and capital punishment, public humiliation was another perpetual component of their lived experience. Spartans would require Helots to sing vulgar songs and perform grotesque dances. Helots would also be given undiluted wine, and once they were drunk, they were paraded in front of young men in military messes (Smith 2010: 137). The purpose of this exercise was to discourage overindulgence by presenting Spartan youths with a distasteful demonstration of drunkenness and to reinforce the proper manner in which Spartans should behave (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 28). However, none of these indignities compare to the brutality of the Crypteia, which is described by Plutarch:

> The officials [the Ephors] from time to time sent out into the country those who appeared the most resourceful of the youth [18- and 19-year-olds], equipped only with daggers and minimum provisions. In the daytime they dispersed into obscure places, where they hid and lay low. By night they came down into the highways and despatched any Helot they caught. Often too they went into the fields and did away with the sturdiest and most powerful of Helots. (*Lycurgus* 28 as translated in Cartledge 2011: 85)

The Crypteia was an annual ritual that occurred when the incoming board of Ephors declared war on the Helots so that they could be legally and legitimately killed without incurring religious pollution (Cartledge 2011: 84–6).

Helots were institutionally oppressed in order to discourage open revolt. In actuality, this policy had the opposite effect, as it fuelled the Helots' hatred of

the Spartans and fanned the flames of rebellion. As Paul Cartledge (2011: 87) notes, the Helots had myriad reasons to rebel: (1) they were culturally homogeneous and understood themselves to be politically and socially disenfranchised members of a solitary group, (2) they had a sense of what an independent and empowered future might look like, (3) in Messenia, they were physically separated from the Spartan centre by a mountain chain, (4) they enjoyed 'strength in numbers' over the less numerous Spartans, and (5) the effects of the Peloponnesian War, a massive earthquake ca. 464 BCE and splits within the Spartan ruling class prompted a period of sociopolitical instability in Sparta. These motives served as a catalyst for at least one major Helot uprising in the fifth century BCE (Thucydides 1.101.2) and two failed coups instigated by the treacherous Spartans in the fifth (Thucydides 1.32.4) and fourth centuries BCE (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.3).

Since Helots were publically owned, only the Spartan citizen body could manumit them. Helots were routinely manumitted during the Peloponnesian War, presumably 'to divide and so more easily rule an ethnically homogeneous and potentially rebellious group or groups, and in order to provide a new kind of garrison troops drawn specifically from these Neodamodeis ("New Damos-types")' (Cartledge 2011: 81). Over time, all of the Helots were eventually liberated. The Messenian Helots, and most of Messenia, were emancipated from Sparta with the help of Thebes ca. 370/369 BCE. The Laconian Helots, however, were not fully emancipated until the Roman conquest in either 146 BCE (after the Battle of Corinth, when Macedonia became a Roman province) or 27 BCE (when Augustus reorganised Greece as the province Achaea; Cartledge 2011: 88).

It was clear to the ancient Greeks that not all slave systems were equal. For instance, the Helots of Sparta were very different from the enslaved of Athens. In particular, Helots were prone to revolt, while the Athenian enslaved were not, and for Plato, this was grounds for declaring the Spartan system of Helotage to be quite controversial (*Laws* 776c–778a; Kyrtatas 2011: 91–2). The Thebans clearly agreed with Plato, as they took a strong abolitionist stand by liberating Messenia and its Helot inhabitants from Sparta – most likely because the Messenian Helots were fellow Greeks. However, it seems that contemporary fourth-century views were divided. Aristotle considered slavery to be the 'natural' state of a non-Greek (*Politics* 1254b19–1255b; *Nicomachean Ethics* 1161b6), and he maintained that the institution of slavery was necessary in order to free citizens for intellectual and political tasks. This ideology holds that slavery was good for the enslaved, who derived benefit from being dependent on their slaveholders. The dependency of the enslaved was rooted in their inherent inferiority. The enslaved were deemed to be less than human, as they lacked rationality, and their bodies were best used as tools. Although he himself was an apologist for the institution, Aristotle acknowledges that there

were some critics who disagreed with him and found slavery to be repugnant and contrary to nature (*Politics* 1253b–1255b; Goodey 1999; DuBois 2009: 58–63; Hunt 2011: 40–1; Monoson 2011; Wrenhaven 2012: 139–49).

In literature the enslaved are typically represented from an elite perspective.[50] In Old Comedy, enslaved characters are primarily negative, as they are gluttonous, scheming and untrustworthy (e.g. Aristophanes, *Knights*; Lee 2015: 49), but the trope of the clever, useful slave was also employed for comedic aims (e.g. Aristophanes, *Wealth*; Akrigg and Tordoff 2013). Enslaved characters in tragedy are slightly more dimensional, and there is sometimes an inversion of roles where the enslaved act like free persons and free persons act like the enslaved. An example of this can be found in Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* (52–63), where an enslaved woman steps beyond conventional boundaries to provide her mistress with advice that furthers the plot. It is possible that these dramatic character dynamics mimic the close confidential relationships that some slaveholders were known to share with their enslaved individuals, as revealed to us by law court speeches (e.g. Lysias 1.19–38; Wrenhaven 2012: 112–21).

In art, as in literature, the enslaved are also primarily depicted from the vantage point of the elite. In Late Archaic/Classical Athenian vase-painting, the enslaved are most often represented on sympotic vessels, lekythoi and loutrophoroi (Wrenhaven 2012: 76–7). When they can be identified, the enslaved often represent the opposite of the elite ideal. For example, the enslaved engage in labour/servitude, are of shorter stature than their slaveholders (i.e. hierarchy of scale), are physically distinct (e.g. cropped hair, pointed beards, tattooed, non-Greek physiognomy, large penises, ignoble postures) and wear rustic (rough woollen tunics, goatskin jackets, dog-skin caps, laced boots or sandals, headcloths) or non-Greek dress (Morris 2011: 192; Wrenhaven 2011; 2012: 78–86; Lee 2015: 49).[51] The enslaved continue to embody the antithesis of the elite ideal through the Hellenistic period, when it becomes difficult to differentiate between representations of the enslaved and other members of the lower classes. The depictions are caricatures meant to portray old impoverished figures (possibly enslaved, possibly free) using standard visual tropes such as 'drunken old woman', 'tired peasant' and 'flabby fisherman' (Pollitt 1986: figs 154, 156; Morris 2011: 191).[52]

There are also many instances in earlier vase-painting and sculpture in which the enslaved are difficult to visually distinguish from free figures. This observation applies to representations of enslaved and free craftsmen in workshop settings, but it is particularly evident in Classical funerary art (Oakley 2000; Wrenhaven 2012: 102–7). Johannes Bergemann notes that metics and the enslaved are commemorated on sculpted grave stelae in the same iconographic manner as elites (1997: 146–50). Take, for example, the representation of the enslaved woman on the Stele of Hegeso (Fig. 1.4). The inscription on the stele reveals the name of the deceased, Hegeso, and her patronymic. The sculpted

figural scene depicts an elite matron who is presumably Hegeso, seated to the right in a high-backed chair (*klismos*) with a footstool. Hegeso chooses something from a box (possibly a necklace) held out to her by an enslaved female standing to the left with her head downcast. The enslaved woman's status is subtly delineated by gesture (i.e. downcast head), dress and size, and these distinguishing features are only apparent after careful visual analysis. Compared to Hegeso's elaborate tripartite attire consisting of a long, short-sleeved chiton, himation (mantle) and veil, the enslaved woman is dressed simply – her hair is bound in a headcloth and she wears a long, long-sleeved, diaphanous chiton (the *cheiridôtos chitôn*). Even though Hegeso is seated, she is proportionally larger than the enslaved woman (DuBois 2008: 73–6). One might question why representations of enslaved individuals are included on commemorative monuments for the elite.[53] Although many hypotheses have been proffered (e.g. emotional attachment to the enslaved person), the most likely scenario is that it represents a form of conspicuous consumption. The enslaved woman is a signifier of Hegeso's wealth in the same manner as her fine clothes, furniture and jewellery (Wrenhaven 2012: 107).

Athenians expressed considerable anxiety over not being able to identity an enslaved person on sight. Even though the three social groups discussed – poor citizens, metics and the enslaved – were mutually exclusive, a 'blurring of identities'

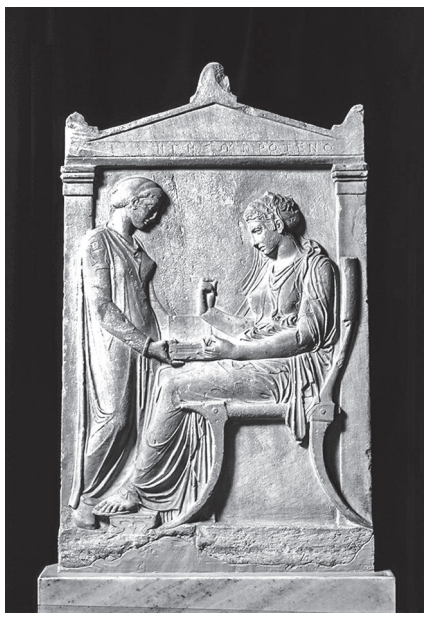

Figure 1.4 Stele of Hegeso (ca. 400 BCE) from Athens, Greece. Photo © Nimatallah/ Art Resource, NY.

could occur on these lower rungs of the socioeconomic ladder (Vlassopoulos 2009: 347). The Old Oligarch, writing in the late fifth century BCE, laments that enslaved were virtually indistinguishable from free in Athens on the basis of clothing, general appearance and demeanour (*Constitution of the Athenians* 1.10). The issue, according to Kostas Vlassopoulos (2009), lies in the unique democratic opportunities of Athens, which extended citizenship to peasants, artisans and shopkeepers (as opposed to city states like Corinth, which denied citizenship to craftsmen). These lower-class occupations were also shared by enslaved people, and the inevitable overlap made it difficult to distinguish enslaved from free. Indeed, the social groups routinely mixed in professional contexts, as T. E. Rihll notes: 'on the Acropolis of Athens and elsewhere, citizens, metics, and slaves worked side by side, receiving the same pay for completion of the same task' (2011: 65). As a result, the only way a free Athenian could broadcast his status was by participating in activities that enslaved persons were barred from, such as participating in civic (e.g. assemblies, courts, religious festivals) and social (e.g. gymnasia, bath houses) aspects of life (Rihll 2011: 50). Acting the part of the citizen, however, was not always the perfect solution. From Attic oratory we know that the enslaved, foreigners, the children of the enslaved and others successfully masqueraded as citizens for periods of time (Lysias 30.2, 5, 27; Aeschines 2.76; Demosthenes 21.149; 59; Lape 2010: 186–92; Deene 2011: 168). There were also cases in which citizens and freedmen were accused of being enslaved (Lysias 30; Demosthenes 29; Scafuro 1994; Vlassopoulos 2009). This blurring of identities, which occurred freely during the lives of the non-elite, did not end with their deaths. It was paralleled in the burial record, as we will see in Chapter 3.

Reception of non-Greeks in the ancient Greek world

In an attempt to understand natural phenomena, Greeks developed multiple rationalising theories regarding the origins of humans and human differences. Hesiod (*Works and Days* 109–81; cf. Van Noorden 2015) asserts that the gods created five 'races' of humans, and he numbered himself among the fifth. For Hesiod and later Greeks (Plato, most notably), these 'races' were sequential generations of people who were born and then destroyed – they did *not* represent the ancestors of diverse human populations (Kennedy et al. 2013: xiii). The Golden race was the first mortal generation created during the reign of Cronus. These people lived among the gods in harmony and without toil. They eventually died peaceful deaths, but live on as 'guardian' spirits. The Silver race, created during the rule of Zeus, was next, and Zeus eventually destroyed them for their impiety because they refused to worship the gods. Upon their deaths, they became the 'blessed spirits' of the Underworld. The Bronze race followed, but they were violent and bellicose by nature, and eventually destroyed one another. They left no named spirits, but eternally dwell in the Underworld. The fourth

race was the race of Heroes. The people of this race fought at Thebes and Troy and now spend their afterlife on the paradisiacal Islands of the Blessed. The fifth and current one is the Iron race, and theirs is an existence of toil and misery.

According to another mythological tradition, most humans derived from a single source. The first people were shaped from clay by Prometheus (Pausanias 10.4.4), but humanity was ultimately destroyed by a flood.[54] Deucalion, the son of Prometheus, repopulated the world with his wife, Pyrrha. They each threw stones over their shoulders, and Deucalion's stones produced men, while Pyrrha's stones yielded women (Pindar, *Olympian* 9.40–6; Apollodorus, *Library* 1.7.2). There were some Greeks, like the Athenians, who removed themselves from this shared lineage entirely and claimed to be autochthonous – born from the earth itself. But for those who traced their origins to the postdiluvian world, it was clear that humans eventually diverged into separate groups and developed unique physical characteristics, languages and customs. What was unclear to them was how these differences developed (Kennedy et al. 2013: xiii–xiv).

Competing, often contradictory, theories were advanced in an attempt to explain human differences. Early theories of foreignness portrayed people who lived beyond the known Greek world (*oikoumenê*) as either monstrous or marvellous, such as the monstrous Cyclopes (*Odyssey* 9.105–39, 9.171–298) and the wise Egyptians described by Homer (*Odyssey* 4.219–32; Kennedy et al. 2013: 3), and this theory persisted through the Roman period. Focusing on the monstrous, or physiologically abnormal, Robert Garland (2016) refers to this phenomenon as 'ethnic deformity', which he defines as the understanding that some subdivisions of humans radically differ from the dominant group (i.e. Greeks). The extreme reaches of the known world were those that exhibited the highest incidence of ethnic deformities. These include Libya and Ethiopia in the south, India in the east and Scythia in the north. By no means are the boundaries of these territories set – Libya and Ethiopia are often confused with one another, as are Ethiopia and India, and what is considered to be India in antiquity actually lies within the borders of modern Pakistan. The physiologically abnormal can be separated into two groups: hybrids (e.g. centaurs, satyrs, sirens and the dog-headed Cynocephali; Herodotus 4.191; Aeschines, fr. 431; Karttunen 1984) and humans with a striking anatomical abnormality (e.g. the Astomi from India, who lack mouths, or the Blemmyes from Africa, who are headless and have faces on their chests; Strabo 2.1.9; Pliny, *Natural History* 5.43–6, 7.25–6). Various hypotheses have been proffered to explain Greek beliefs in these extraordinary peoples. Hybrid creatures, for instance, were probably credible because their iconography was firmly entrenched in the art of Egypt and the ancient Near East. Furthermore, observations of congenital conditions might have served as a mythical genesis of these peoples – for instance, someone born with the fatal condition of anencephaly might have supported the existence of the Blemmyes (the aforementioned people without heads). Perhaps most convincing, however, is the

argument that encounters with people who deviated from the norm provided tangible proof that others with outlandish features could live in faraway lands. For example, persons with dwarfism lent credence to the existence of pygmies (see Chapter 2). In the Roman period, Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 7.1.6) uses this argument himself to justify belief in ethnic deformity. Pointing to the Ethiopians, he maintains that their dark skin is incredible to those who have never seen it (Lenfant 1999; Garland 2016).

The burgeoning fields of science and Hippocratic medicine led to the development of new rationalising theories of human difference and the reconfiguration of old ones (Kennedy and Jones-Lewis 2016: 1–2). An apt illustration of this is the merging of ethnic deformity with the novel environmental theory. Since ethnic deformities are found at the edges of the known world, physiognomic abnormalities were believed to be evolutionary responses to environmental stimuli. Though nameless in antiquity, today this theory is termed 'environmental determinism' and is formally defined as 'the notion that a people's appearance, habits, customs, and health all stem from the land in which that people originates' (Kennedy and Jones-Lewis 2016: 2). In the Hippocratic treatise *On Airs, Waters, Places* (12–24), much attention is paid to the ways in which environment shapes physique and behaviour. For instance:

> . . . the physique of a man and his habits are formed by the nature of the land. Where the land is rich, soft, and well watered, and the waters are near the surface so that they become hot in the summer and cold in the winter, and where the climates are nice, there the men are flabby, jointless, bloated, lazy, and mostly cowards. Lack of eagerness and sleepiness are evident among them and they are stupid and witless. But where the land is barren, dry, harsh, and harried by storms in the winter or scorched by the sun in the summers, there one would find strong, lean, well-defined, muscular, and hairy men. By nature they are hard-working, wakeful, stubborn, and independent. They are fierce rather than gentle, more skilled, intelligent, and warlike than others. The things that grow in a land also conform to the climate. These are the most diverse natures and physiques among men. You will not go wrong if you use these rules as a starting point for further observations. (*On Airs, Waters, Places* 24 as translated in Kennedy et al. 2013: 42)

The two remaining rationalising models – genetic and cultural theories of human difference – are closely tied to one another. Genetic theories are rooted in the understanding that physical characteristics are heritable.[55] An example of this is the belief in autochthony, namely that a people can be born from the earth and that they, and their descendants, are more 'pure' than other human groups (discussed in the previous section). Cultural theories, on the other hand,

maintain that culture and customs (e.g. religious practices, social and political institutions, language) are linked to ethnic identity. In practice, genetic and cultural theories are explicitly connected because moral qualities were believed to be heritable (i.e. genetic), and would result in the structuring of political and social systems (i.e. culture). For example, in the case of the autochthonous Athenians, their customs and culture are derived from their autochtony (Plato, *Menexenus* 237b–238b, 238e–239a). Furthermore, genetic and cultural theories also overlap with environmental ones, especially in the case of the Macrocephali, a people with elongated heads who inhabited the edge of the world in the Black Sea region (i.e. environmental). They originally achieved their unusual head shape through artificial cranial deformation (arguably cultural), but over time the need for human intervention was no longer necessary as cranial elongation had become a heritable trait (i.e. genetic; Hippocratic Corpus, *On Airs, Waters, Places* 14; Kennedy et al. 2013: 53, 65).

Some scholars view *On Airs, Waters, Places*, together with Herodotus' *Histories* and Hecataeus' *Periegesis*, to be the first examples of ethnographic discourse.[56] Greek ethnography, which can be defined as 'thinking about culture from the point of view of an outsider' (Skinner 2012: 16), was a branch of rational enquiry into human nature and difference that was informed by the aforementioned rationalising models of human difference (Nippel 1996: 129; Lo Presti 2012). Demand for knowledge of foreign lands and cultures increased in response to colonisation and prompted a burgeoning of ethnographic texts beginning in the sixth century BCE and proliferating throughout the fifth century (Nippel 1996).[57] We learn the most about non-Greeks from Herodotus, who spends almost half of his *Histories* describing their histories, cultures and practices (e.g. McCall 1999; Hartog 2002; Flower 2006; Munson 2006; Rood 2006; Figueira and Soares 2020). To compile his detailed account, he availed himself of the oral histories of numerous non-Greek peoples and written sources from the Near East (Murray 1996). Even though the organising theme of his narrative is the antithetical relationship between Greeks and barbarians, Herodotus' descriptions are often sympathetic and free from negative stereotypes to such a degree that Plutarch accuses him of being a *philobarbaros*, or 'barbarian-lover' (*Moralia* 857a; Coleman 1997: 196).[58] Herodotus' cosmopolitan perspective was most likely shaped by his own experience as a native of Halicarnassus in Caria. Caria was a region of ethnic admixture, and it is likely that Herodotus himself was part Carian (Georges 1994: 139). His multicultural upbringing allowed him to promote cultural relativism and convey to his audience that differing cultural practices and diverse languages are both comparable and translatable (Munson 2005).

It is perhaps best to conceptualise Herodotus' ethnographic digressions as the products of intercultural communication, and one could convincingly argue that Greek history is one of cross-cultural contact and exchange (Boardman 1994; 1999; Hodos 2006: 4–9; D. Roller 2006; Tartaron 2014; Malkin 2016).

Indeed, as Walter Burkert (1992), Martin West (1997), Martin Bernal (1987; 1991; 2001; 2006) and others (e.g. Morris 1992; Osborne 2009; Coleman and Walz 1997) have demonstrated, what we view as 'Greek' culture was heavily influenced by contact with ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures, especially from the mid-eighth to mid-seventh centuries BCE. However, as the Greeks increasingly dispersed across the wider Mediterranean region, their intercultural interactions increased in frequency, duration and meaning.

Although the Greeks had previously interacted with a plethora of groups through trade and commerce, the dynamics of these interactions undoubtedly changed in the wake of colonisation (J. Hall 2002: 92; Hodos 2009; Vlassopoulos 2013a). The Greek colonial movement has been powerfully described as 'one of the most important cultural encounters in world history' (De Angelis 2016: 101).[59] Beginning in the eighth century BCE, more than 500 Greek colonies were founded along the coasts of the Black Sea, western Anatolia, the Adriatic Sea, Sicily, northern Africa, southern France and Spain (Fig. 1.5; Graham 1983; Hansen and Nielsen 2004).[60] Colonisation left a resounding impact on the population history of the ancient Mediterranean, and its effects were as widespread as they were monumental, ranging from the establishment of Mediterranean-wide trade networks to urbanisation to the spread of the alphabet (Malkin 1994; 2005; Boardman 2014; Rathmann et al. 2019).[61]

By the fifth century BCE, cultural contact and exchange had already been taking place in the Mediterranean for centuries. Intercultural contact was a reality for hundreds of thousands of people on account of long-established 'networks that moved goods, people, ideas and technologies, together with the consequences of Mediterranean-wide colonization and the effects of living under and working for great empires of the East (Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Lydia, Persia)' (Vlassopoulos 2013b: 50). There are many tangible examples of intercultural communication, including the setting of Greek myths (especially those involving the adventures of Heracles) in non-Greek lands (Georges 1994: 1–12), the use of Greek myth by non-Greeks (Erskine 2005), bilingual stelae in Memphis (Egypt), epitaphs of foreigners in Athens (Vlassopoulos 2013b) and Etruscan consumer preferences driving the sixth/fifth-century BCE Athenian pottery industry (Bundrick 2019). Indeed, Herodotus' ethnographic accounts, and most likely his informants, came from zones of cross-cultural contact where individuals and groups exchanged stories, negotiated identities and competed for prestige (Vlassopoulos 2013b). These cross-cultural zones, often termed the 'middle ground', are densely concentrated in areas impacted by Greek colonisation.[62]

Interactions in the middle ground varied in character. Sometimes, the encounters were antagonistic. Historical accounts describe Greeks driving locals from their lands to found Syracuse, Leontinoi and Catania in Sicily and Ephesus in Anatolia, and there is evidence to suggest that locals who occupied the territories surrounding Sybaris and Taris in southern Italy fled the Greek

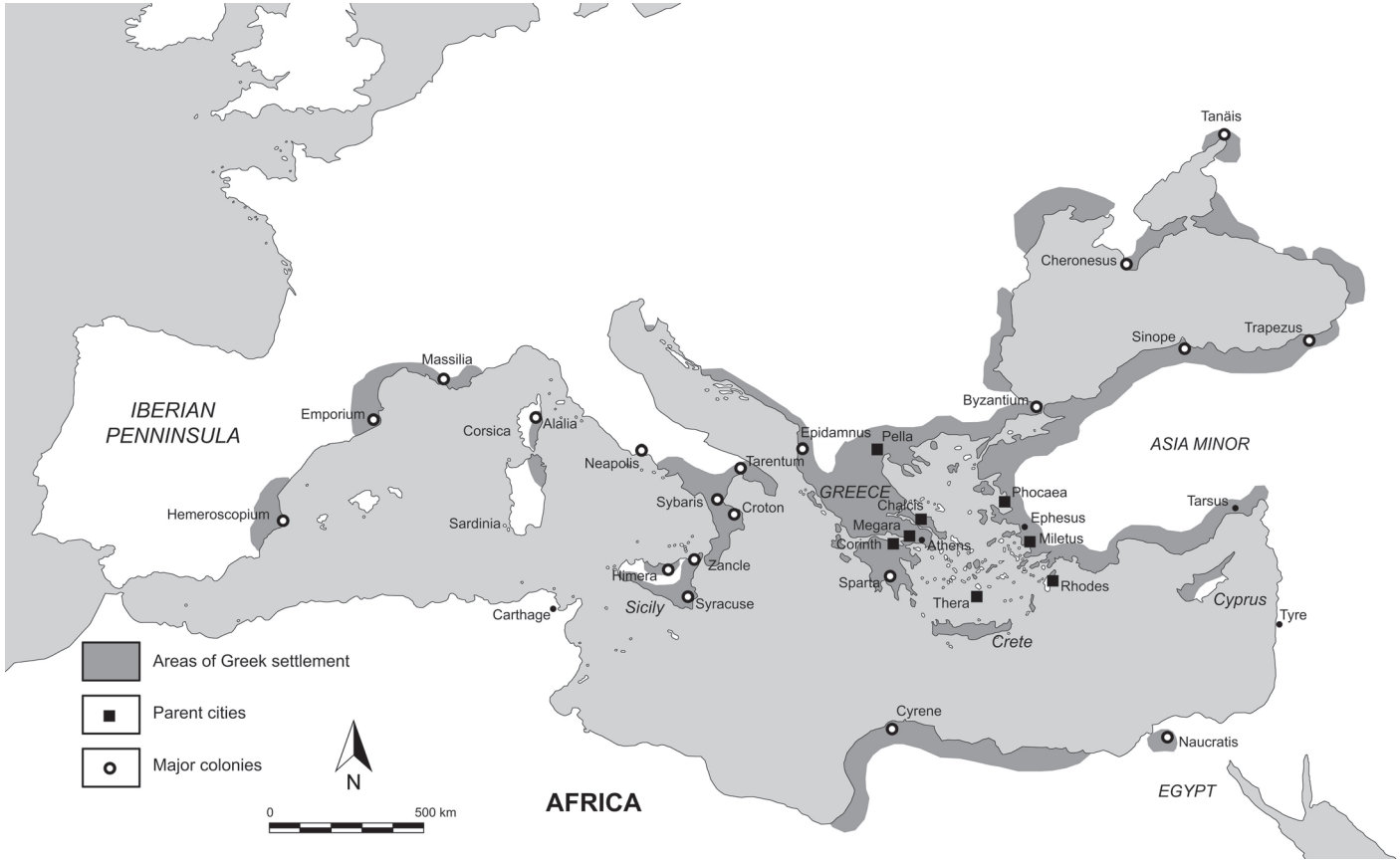

Figure 1.5 Map of Greek colonisation of the Mediterranean. Drawing by D. Weiss.

newcomers (Thucydides 6.3.2–3; Diodorus Siculus 11.76.3; Strabo 14.1.21). There are also tales of exploitation: the Greek aristocracy of Syracuse, called the *gamaroi*, enslaved locals to work their lands (Herodotus 7.155.2), and Greeks themselves were enslaved by locals in Poseidonia in southern Italy and by Scythians, Lydians and Persians in the Black Sea and western Anatolian regions (Garland 2014: 51). In other places, a spirit of cooperation existed. Phocaeans in particular appear to have made the conscious decision to peacefully coexist with locals in their settlements. At Emporium on the coast of north-eastern Spain, Greeks and locals chose to share a circuit wall for the purposes of security, and over time they created a unified state that boasts a combination of Greek and non-Greek institutions (Strabo 3.4.8).[63] A similar situation occurred at Heraclea Pontica, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, where locals offered their labour in return for military protection (Plato, *Laws* 6.776c–d). Megara Hyblaea, on the other hand, was founded in Sicily by settlers originally from Megara who purportedly were granted land by Hyblon, a local king in whose honour they named their new city (Thucydides 6.4.1–2). Finally, local Oscan residents were granted citizenship and were allowed to hold magistracies in Neapolis in southern Italy (Garland 2014: 49–51, 54). The true nature of these cross-cultural encounters, however, is difficult to reconstruct, as the versions we have were recorded by Greek and Roman historians in a one-sided fashion (Antonaccio 2001: 121), and none were penned from the perspective of the local peoples themselves. The direct evidence we do have is archaeological – it is material, epigraphic and architectural (Antonaccio 2003; Hodos 2006).

Unsurprisingly, colonisation significantly impacted Greek attitudes towards non-Greek peoples on a Panhellenic level.[64] It has been argued that the 'consciousness of a common Greek identity' (Nippel 2002: 279) began during the period of colonisation when Greeks came into contact with diverse new cultures.[65] The emergence of Greek identity is described by Irad Malkin as 'a process of convergence through divergence . . . [T]he more the Greeks dispersed, somehow the more "Greek" they become' (2011: 5). Though they were separated by considerable distances, network connectivity allowed Greeks to share common narratives, ethnic genealogy, language and Panhellenic cults (Malkin 2011: 5).[66] It was these connections that made 'a Greek speaking resident in Cyrene in Libya similar not to his immediate Libyan neighbor, but to another Greek speaker living, say, in Massalia (Massilia, modern Marseille), at a distance of hundreds of maritime miles' (Malkin 2016: 286). This does not, however, mean that a Greek living in Cyrene would forsake a regional identity for a Panhellenic one (Antonaccio 2001: 114). As previously discussed, Greek ethnic identity was nested and often depended on context. For example, an individual from Syracuse in Sicily would most likely identify simultaneously as a Greek, a Dorian, a colonist of Corinth, a Sikeliote (Sicilian Greek regional identity) and a citizen of Syracuse (Malkin 2011: 19).

Presumably, conflicts with non-Greek peoples strengthened feelings of kinship among Greeks, which coalesced to form a dichotomous worldview in which all individuals fell into the categories of either 'Greek' or 'non-Greek' (Nippel 2002: 279–93). The precise moment when the Greek/non-Greek dichotomy codified is a matter of debate. Irad Malkin (1998: 268) argues for a ninth-century origin, considering the Greek/non-Greek divide to be a consequence of the Ionian colonisation of Asia Minor. Jonathan Hall (1997; 2002), on the other hand, maintains that it was developed a century later in the Archaic period as a result of the rise to prominence of Panhellenic sanctuaries at Olympia and Delphi and the strengthening of Panhellenic elite interactions through intermarriage and participation in the Olympic Games. Hyun Kim (2013) pushes the date several centuries to the late sixth/early fifth century as a product of the Ionian Revolt, while Benjamin Isaac (2004), an outlier, sees it as a creation of fourth-century philosophers and rhetoricians. Nevertheless, the view held by the majority is that it was crystallised by the Athenians in the aftermath of the Persian Wars (post-480 BCE) as a tool of Delian League propaganda (e.g. E. Hall 1989; J. Hall 1997; 2003).[67]

Large enclaves of non-Greeks did not exist in the Greek mainland during the Late Archaic/Classical period. Small groups of non-Greeks worked and resided in cosmopolitan cities, but this was not a widespread phenomenon. Some of these groups were mercenaries, as Athens employed a Scythian police force, and both Athens and Sparta hired Thracians to serve as light armed auxiliaries in their armies (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.4.12; Wiedemann 1988: 155; Bäbler 1998; Osborne 2000: 34–8). Also, there are accounts of Phoenicians and other non-Greeks (especially Carians, Egyptians and Thracians) in the Piraeus (e.g. Bakewell 1997: 226; Demetriou 2012: 188–229), and Xenophon claims that non-Greeks, including Lydians, Phrygians and Syrians, immigrated to Athens in the first half of the fourth century BCE (*Ways and Means* 2.3). In general, Athens was open to immigrants, who were called metics, or 'resident foreigners'. In Plutarch's biography of Solon, the Athenian lawgiver remarks 'that Athens was filled with people who were constantly streaming into Attica from elsewhere to find security' (*Solon* 22.1 as translated in Garland 2014: 5). The majority of these immigrants were other Greeks who sought to take advantage of the economic opportunities that could be found in Athens. There must, however, have been an influx of non-Greek immigrants as well. For example, Athenian vase potters and painters of the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE sometimes have foreign names, such as Amasis (a Hellenised version of an Egyptian name), Lydos (the Lydian), Thrax (of Thrace), Kolchos (of Colchis) and Skythes (of Scythia; Boardman 1991: 12). Also, the Old Oligarch, writing in the late fifth century BCE, notes that the Athenians set themselves apart from other Greeks by embracing non-Greek customs (*Constitution of the Athenians* 2.7–8). Margaret Miller (1997) finds support for this statement, as she maintains that the Athenians embraced, adapted and appropriated various aspects of Persian material

culture after the Persian Wars. Nevertheless, this admixture of different peoples and cultures – Greek and non-Greek – is unlikely to have occurred in every Greek city state, because Athens' open-door policy was not shared by poleis like Sparta and Megara, which were notoriously restrictive (Thucydides 1.144.2, 2.39.1; Plutarch, *Moralia* 238e, 826c; Garland 2014: 152, 161).

Non-Greeks were referred to as 'barbarians', an onomatopoeic term referring to people who speak unintelligible gibberish – literally 'bar-bar' (Strabo 14.2.28; Coleman 1997: 178). In itself, barbarian (*barbaros*) is a comparatively old term. It has a Sanskrit cognate (*barbara*, which means 'stammering'), and a version of it appears in Linear B tablets from Pylos (ca. 1200 BCE), where it roughly translates to foreigner, specifically 'someone not from Pylos'.[68] At this early phase, the barbarian label is not pejorative, but descriptive, and the same is true when a derivative of it appears in Homeric Greek. *Barbarophonos*, or 'of incomprehensible speech', is used in the *Iliad* (2.867) to describe the Carians fighting for Troy, who either spoke Greek badly (García Alonso 2017) or were deemed especially outlandish and foreign (Ross 2005).[69] However, the meaning of the word shifted dramatically in direct response to the existential threat posed by the Persians at the beginning of the fifth century. After that point, the word commonly appears in Athenian drama as either an ethnic designation or pejorative (García Alonso 2017). Furthermore, dramatic representations of barbarians portray them in a negative light as unsophisticated or unintelligent; lawless, savage and unjust; despotic as well as servile; and effeminate, luxurious, highly emotional and cowardly (Hall 1989: 121–33; Goldhill 2002; Saïd 2002).

While Greeks were united by shared language, culture and religion, non-Greek 'barbarians' were bound simply by what they were not.[70] Collectively, they were the antithesis of Greeks (Shaw 1982/3; Hall 1997: 47; Cohen 2000b; Huang 2010). Whereas Greeks valued moderation, they perceived non-Greeks as lacking control, stereotyping them as over-indulgent, especially with violence, food, drink and sex (Briant 2002; Zacharia 2008b). In comparison, Greeks believed themselves to be superior in terms of strength, virtue, intelligence (Browning 2002: 257–61) and sophistication of language (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 162f; Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 463; Herodotus 4.183; Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 1006; Eubulus 108 KA; Tuplin 1999: 49–50). These negative connotations are particularly evident in art. For example, in fifth-century Athens, Amazons were frequently used to represent the antithesis of proper Athenian women – wild, unrestrained and morally inferior (Hardwick 1990; DuBois 1991; Stewart 1995).

The conceptualisation of the non-Greek as the unrestrained inferior 'Other' provided justification for military conquest and slavery. The Athenian orator, Isocrates, exhorts Athens, Sparta, and even Philip II, to conquer barbarian Asia in order to prevent its prosperity and liberate the Greeks living there (e.g. 5.132; Mitchell 2007: 12; Huang 2010: 563).[71] His younger contemporary,

Aristotle, considered slavery to be the 'natural' state of a barbarian (Aristotle, *Politics* 1254b19–1255b; *Nicomachean Ethics* 1161b6; Lape 2010: 46–50).[72] In the Classical Greek world, the enslaved were ubiquitous.[73] Even the poorest households had enslaved individuals, and the vast majority were foreign.[74] Foreign enslaved persons were procured through military conflict, trade, piracy and coercion, then purchased inexpensively (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.5; Coleman 1997: 180; Lewis 2019). As discussed in the previous section, the enslaved primarily derived from the regions surrounding Greek territory, ranging from the Balkans to Asia Minor and the Black Sea (Braund 2011: 126; Thompson 2003: 3).[75] Most foreign enslaved individuals seem to have come from Thrace, Phrygia and the Black Sea region, but almost every ethnic group known to the Greeks was most likely represented in the slave pool, even sub-Saharan Africans (Wiedemann 1988; Coleman 1997: 180–1; Lewis 2011). Commonly called 'Ethiopians', sub-Saharan African enslaved persons were coveted on account of their general rarity and exotic features (e.g. the Man of Petty Ambition in Theophrastus, *Characters* 21; Snowden 1970: 19, 184–6; Goldenberg 2009; Braund 2011: 126).[76] Nevertheless, the foreign origins of the enslaved were closely linked to their servile status, which most likely served to reinforce Greek notions of superiority. Furthermore, Rebecca Futo Kennedy (2014: 107) notes that ethnic prejudices in Athens must have increased in response to non-Greek freedmen becoming metics and adopting professions of ill repute.

Although it seems counterintuitive, some Greeks claimed descent from non-Greeks. In fact, Plato provocatively suggests that everyone's ancestry might include barbarians (*Theaetetus* 175a), and the mythistory of the Pelasgians supports this (Tuplin 1999: 61). The Greeks believed that the prehistoric Pelasgians were a pervasive non-Greek aboriginal people who lived throughout the wider Aegean region and as far west as Italy, and there was an understanding that isolated groups of them, and their descendants, still existed in the Classical period (e.g. Homer, *Iliad* 2.681–6, 2.819–22, 16.233–6, 17.288–91; *Odyssey* 19.175; Aeschylus, *Suppliant Women* 250–3, 605–24; Herodotus 1.56–7, 2.50, 2.52.1, 6.137–40; Thucydides 1.3, 1.57, 4.109; Strabo 5.2.4. 13.3.3; Diodorus Siculus 5.80.1).[77] The Pelasgians were autochthonous (Aeschylus, *Suppliant Women* 250–3), and Herodotus (1.57.2–3, 58) implies that the Dorians, and later the Athenians, were Hellenised Pelasgian ethne. However, the Pelasgians' relationship with the Athenians was particularly complicated and contradictory. Even though the Pelasgians supposedly instructed the Athenians in matters of architecture, agriculture and religion (Hecataeus, *FGrH* I fr. 127), the Athenians eventually expelled them from Attica (Herodotus 6.137–40). Despite their relative obscurity, the mythical Pelasgians played an important role in Greek culture, as they represented the archetypal non-Greek group. They often served as a foil to the Greeks, and Pelasgian stories usually end with their eviction and disenfranchisement (Laird 1933; Fowler 2003; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003; McInerney 2014).

Beyond Attica, Greek individuals, cities and regions traced their mythical lineages to foreign ancestors who brought Eastern wisdom and knowledge to Greece.[78] For instance, Spartan kings believed they were descended from either Syrians or Egyptians (Herodotus 6.53, 55). Also, major cultural achievements were ascribed to the immigrant heroes who ruled Argos, Thebes and Pisa. Danaus (former king of Egypt, founder of Argos) and Cadmus (Phoenician, founder and king of Thebes) are variably attributed with the introduction of the alphabet (Herodotus 5.58; Ephorus, *FGrH* II 70 fr. 105; Hecataeus, *FGrH* I 1 fr. 20), Danaus purportedly brought agriculture, the rites of Demeter, ship-building and navigation to Argos (Hesiod, fr. 128 West; Herodotus 2.171.3; Apollodorus, *Library* 2.1.4), while Pelops (Phrygian or Lydian, king of Pisa) was the legendary founder of the Olympic Games (Pausanias 5.8.20; Edwards 1979; Miller 2005; Malkin 2015). However, Margaret Miller describes the adoption of immigrant ancestors as a double-edged sword: 'On the one hand, one could enhance one's prestige; on the other, one risked losing caste in a different ideological context, by having one's ancestors characterised as foreigners and barbarians' (2005: 68). Indeed, Plato capitalises on the negative connotations of foreign pedigree, as he proclaims that the Athenians, who were autochthonous, were Greek by nature, while the Peloponnesians and Thebans, who were descended from non-Greeks like Cadmus, Aegyptus and Danaus, were only nominally Greek (*Menexenus* 245c–d; McInerney 2014: 47). Moreover, in Athens the claim that citizens had foreign or servile ancestors was a common tactic used in Attic courts of law and Old Comedy to discredit and malign political opponents and enemies. As previously discussed, those two attributes – foreign and servile – could be interpreted as essentially the same since most of the enslaved in Athens had foreign origins (Lape 2010: 64–71).

There are other indicators that the Greek/barbarian polarity might not have been as rigid a construct as scholars have traditionally assumed. There seems to have been an understanding that positive character traits could be manifest by anyone, and some non-Greeks were admired for their skill and moral character. An Attic funerary inscription dating to the third quarter of the fifth century praises the skills of a Phrygian woodcutter who most likely died fighting for the Athenians during the Peloponnesian Wars: 'This is the beautiful tomb of Manes, son of Orymaios, the best of the Phrygians there ever were in wide Athens. And by Zeus, I never saw any woodcutter better than me. He died in war' (*IG* 1^3 1361 as translated in Vlassopoulos 2007b: 15). Furthermore, literary sources suggest that moral character and ethnicity were not inextricably linked: for example, 'whoever is well set up by nature is well born, even if he's [an Ethiopian]' (Stobaeus, *Anthology* 86.493, attributed to Epicharmus, as translated in Tuplin 1999: 59) and 'if a man is of good character it doesn't matter if he's an Ethiopian, and it is absurd to abuse someone for being a Scythian' (Menander, fr. 612 as translated in Tuplin 1999: 59).[79] Non-Greeks could distinguish themselves in other ways as well. For instance, Herodotus (1.603) recounts barbarian displays of remarkable intellect, and Plato

concedes that conditions favourable to the emergence of philosopher kings might exist in remote barbarian locales (*Republic* 499c). Also, in some extraordinary cases, exceptional barbarians, such as Cyrus the Great, were held out as paradigms worthy of emulation (e.g. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*; Plato, *Laws* 3.694a; Hirsch 1985).

To further complicate the matter, it was not always clear who the barbarians were. Panhellenic identity could be relatively flexible, and the Macedonians and Epirotes provide two cogent examples of this. Both groups lived on the northern edge of the Greek world, and whether or not they were considered to be Greek fluctuated according to sociopolitical circumstances (Mitchell 2007: 204–6). The earliest mention of the Macedonians is in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 7 West) where they are called the cousins of the Greeks. Herodotus (5.22; 8.137.1; 9.45.2) and Isocrates (5.32–4, 76–7) note that the Macedonians are descended from the Argives, and therefore Greek, while Thucydides (2.80.5–6, 2.99.3, 4.124.1, 4.126.3) maintains that only the Macedonian kings are Greek, and their subjects are not. However, in an impassioned speech decrying Macedonian expansion, Demosthenes (9.31) denies that the Macedonians are even remotely related to the Greeks. Although the question of Macedonian Greekness was debated throughout Philip II's rule, it was Alexander's conquest of Asia that 'tacitly settled the issue' (Mitchell 2007: 205; cf. Hornblower 2008: 55–8). Similarly, the Greekness of the people of Epirus was also questioned. In some historic traditions, the area around Dodona is identified as the original homeland of the Greeks (Aristotle, *Meteorology* 352a33–b3), and Dodona itself was an important Greek oracular centre (Herodotus 1.46.2–3) whose status was eventually eclipsed by Delphi. Also, as early as the seventh century BCE, Molossia was thought to be the kingdom of Peleus, father of Achilles (Pindar, *Nemean* 4.51–3, 7.38–40), and the Molossian royal family was believed to be descended from the son of Achilles, Neoptolemus, and the Trojan princess Andromache (Euripides, *Andromache* 1243–6). The Greekness of the Molossian royal family might have been generally accepted in the Classical period, but the status of their subjects was uncertain – in some cases they are considered to be Greek (e.g. Herodotus 2.56.1), in other cases they are unequivocally non-Greek (Thucydides 1.47.3, 1.50.3, 2.68.9, 2.80.5, 2.81–2, 2.99.2, 2.99.6; Malkin 2001b; Mitchell 2007: 205–6).

Even on an individual level, non-Greeks could be difficult to identify. An interesting example of this is conveyed to us by Xenophon (*Anabasis* 3.1.26–31). After Cunaxa, Xenophon argued that the Ten Thousand should return to Greece. All officers agreed with him save for one, a speaker of the Boeotian dialect named Apollonides. In his dissent, Apollonides emphasised that their position was a precarious one and that their only hope was to appeal to the Persian king for safe passage. Given the Persian king's recent deceit, which led to the slaughter of the Greek generals, Apollonides' argument was met with

incredulity. Xenophon retorted, 'This man is a disgrace to his homeland and indeed to the whole of Greece, because he is Greek yet of such a kind as this' (3.1.30 as translated in Harman 2013: 83). At this point, one of the officers denounced Apollonides' Greekness: 'But this man belongs neither to Boeotia nor to any other part of Greece, for I have seen that he has both ears pierced like a Lydian' (3.1.31 as translated in Harman 2013: 83). With no further proof necessary, a man who had heretofore been considered Greek was branded non-Greek and ejected from the group. Xenophon provides no further commentary as to whether or not Apollonides actually was a Lydian. Rather, 'The sight of his ears speaks for itself, declaring his non-Greekness, and outweighs dialect as evidence of identity . . . [T]he conflict between the message conveyed by his accent and that communicated by his ears is not explained, leaving the reader with the suspicion that he has been conveniently scapegoated' (Harman 2013: 83). Effectively, the Greeks could continue their journey home, content in the knowledge that they had removed the barbarian, and his treasonous ideas, from their midst.

By the end of the fifth century, Greek intellectuals were questioning whether 'barbarian' was a useful human taxonomy. Plato argues that the Greek/barbarian dichotomy is a false one, but it does not prevent him from using non-Greek stereotypes on occasion. For example, he contrasts Egyptians and Phoenicians, who are said to love money, with Greeks, who love knowledge (*Republic* 435e–436a), and observes that Greeks and barbarians are enemies by nature (*Republic* 470c). However, Plato also maintains that 'barbarian' is an unnatural category encompassing large numbers of diverse and mutually incomprehensible peoples (*Politics* 262c–263a; Tuplin 1999: 57; Kamtekar 2002; García Alonso 2017: 17–18). Another late fifth-century writer, Antiphon, recognised that barbarians and Greeks, despite their cultural differences, shared common human traits: 'For in nature all of us are equally in all respects created to be either barbarian or Greek . . . For we all breathe through the mouth and nostrils . . . and we weep in pain; and we receive sounds with our hearing; and we see by eye with our vision; and we work with our hands; and we walk with our feet . . .' (Antiphon 87b44a as translated in Tuplin 1999: 59). Yet, these unique examples are the exceptions, and general rejections of a stark distinction between Greeks and barbarians are scarce in ancient literature (Tuplin 1999: 59). On the contrary, stereotypes continued to perpetuate, and there was no movement towards accepting non-Greeks as equals (Coleman 1997: 197).[80]

Greek superiority over non-Greeks was reinforced through visual culture (Lissarrague 2002). After the conclusion of the Persian Wars, battle imagery symbolising conflict and defeat of a foreign foe (e.g. Trojans, Persians, Amazon, giants and centaurs) became standard in Greek art, and the theme was explored in all media (Cohen 2012: 475). Most representations of non-Greeks, however, are found on vases, and the majority of the iconographic evidence dates to the

fifth century BCE.[81] In vase-painting, ethnic identity is not constructed consistently, but there are cultural markers that set non-Greeks apart from Greeks, namely lack of self-control, body modification, dress (including adornment and coiffures) and physiognomy (Lee 2015: 49–51). Self-control, or *sôphrosynê*, was a Greek ideal that is characteristically lacking in representations of non-Greeks. A tattooed Thracian woman on a red-figure column krater by the Pan Painter (ca. 470 BCE) illustrates this.[82] Holding a sword and scabbard, she runs wildly to the right, her hair disarrayed and her breasts and legs visible through her garment – respectable Greek women were never displayed so chaotically (Lee 2015: 51, 84–5, fig. 2.16). The depiction of body modifications, such as male circumcision and tattoos, is another representational strategy to distinguish non-Greeks from Greeks. Various groups across the Mediterranean practised male circumcision, but Herodotus associates it with the Colchians, Phoenicians, Syrians, Ethiopians and Egyptians (Herodotus 2.36–7, 2.104), as visible in a scene of Heracles battling the Egyptian pharaoh Busiris and his priests on a red-figure pelike by the Pan Painter (Fig. 1.6; Lee 2015: 86). Although tattoos were used across the Mediterranean to brand criminals, war prisoners and the enslaved, tattooing is primarily associated with Thracians, especially Thracian women (Herodotus 5.6; Lee 2015: 84–6; Tsiafakis 2015). Thracian women are typically depicted in the mythological context of Orpheus' murder, an example of which can be seen on an Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Phiale Painter, where the arms of the female aggressor are covered in 'V'-shaped tattoos (Fig. 1.7; Lee 2015: 84).

Non-Greek dress and items of adornment varied according to ethnic group and were highly stereotyped. Non-Greek garments differ fundamentally from Greek ones, as non-Greeks don animal skins (e.g. pre-Classical period Amazons, who pair these with short knee-length chitons) and sleeved jackets and leggings (*anaxyrides*) with elaborate patterns, and Greeks do not.[83] Sleeved jackets and leggings are most likely Persian in origin, but by ca. 530 BCE, vase-painters also use them to denote Scythians, Amazons, Trojans and generic non-Greeks (Cohen 2012: 460–4; Lee 2015: 120–6). Non-Greeks were also typified by their belting habits, which were the inverse of Greek practices. Whereas Greek men did not wear belts (with the exclusion of charioteers, whose garment required one), non-Greek men did and vice versa for women – which most likely had the effect of masculinising non-Greek women and feminising non-Greek men (Kurtz and Boardman 1986; Lee 2015: 136–7). Certain styles of headgear could also indicate the foreign origins of figures – Scythian archers wear the *kurbasia*, a cap with a tall crown, which is sometimes pointed, and long flaps to protect the cheeks and back of the neck; the Persian *kidaris* is similar to Scythian headgear, but made of a softer material; and Thracians wear the *alôpekis*, which is a cap made out of animal hide that has an intact tail dangling off the back (usually fox,

Figure 1.6 Attic red-figure pelike (ca. 460 BCE) from Thespiae, Greece by the Pan Painter depicting Heracles battling Busiris and his priests (Athens, National Museum 9683). Photo © Album/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 1.7 Detail of an Attic red-figure Nolan amphora (ca. 450–440 BCE) from Attica attributed to the Phiale Painter, depicting a Thracian woman with 'V'-shaped arm tattoos attacking Orpheus with a sword (Paris, Louvre G 436). Photo © Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

and often accompanied by fawn-skin boots with turned-down tops; Cohen 2012: 469; Lee 2015: 160). Weapons likewise vary among ethnic groups – Thracians, for instance, are depicted with *peltê* (small crescent-shaped shields), Scythians are shown with double-curved composite bows, and Persians carry long bows (Cohen 2012: 469–75). It must be noted, however, that identifying figures as foreign based strictly on their dress can lead to misidentification. A variety of non-Greek headwear can be worn by Greek symposiasts and komast dancers as a form of play-acting the Other (Smith 2010: 182; Osborne 2011: 145–6). Additionally, although all constructed sleeves are Persian in origin, some sleeved garments (i.e. *cheiridôtos chitôn* and *kandys*) were adopted by the Athenian elite in the Archaic and Classical periods, so figures wearing them cannot be identified as non-Greek per se. The same is true of the *ependytês*, a short pullover originally associated with Persians but later worn by Athenians, and the Thracian *zeira*, a boldly patterned mantle appropriated by Athenian men as an equestrian garment in the late sixth century BCE (Lee 2015: 120–6).

Physiognomy is inconsistently used to construct ethnic identity in the visual arts. Thracians and Scythians are sometimes depicted with reddish or light-coloured hair (Lee 2015: 49–51, 84–5, fig. 2.16), while sub-Saharan Africans are often, but not exclusively, shown with furrowed brows, flattened noses, thick protruding lips and tightly curled short hair (Cohen 2012: 466).[84] For the most part, skin colour simply follows vase-painting conventions: in black-figure, men are black and women are white, all figures are the red-orange colour of the vase's clay in red-figure, and in white-ground all figures are drawn with a dark outline and skin the pale colour of the vase's clay (Cohen 2012: 464). Although these are the norms, there are, of course, exceptions. For example, white-ground alabastra attributed to the so-called Group of the Negro Alabastra represent sub-Saharan Africans with black skin, foreign dress (long sleeves and trousers) and non-Greek physiognomy (discussed below; Beazley 1963: 267–9; 1971: 352; Neils 1980; 2007; Osborne 2000: 38–9).[85] Also, on a red-figure pelike (ca. 450–440 BCE) attributed to the Workshop of the Niobid Painter, the Ethiopian princess Andromeda is being tied to a stake in preparation for her sacrifice to a sea monster (Fig. 1.8). Andromeda's skin is rendered in standard red-figure, and she is dressed in the aforementioned conventional 'foreign' dress – patterned sleeves and leggings and a soft cap. The Ethiopian enslaved persons flanking her, however, are outlined in white and represented with black skin. Although Andromeda and the enslaved shared the same ethnicity, it has been suggested that their appearances differ on account of their class disparity (Cohen 2012: 464–8). There are also Athenian sculptural (partially mould-made in the form of heads, often used as drinking vessels during symposia) and plastic vases (vases in the form of sculptural groups) that use black glaze to represent sub-Saharan Africans (Lissarrague 1995). The inconsistent use of skin colour in the visual arts is paralleled in ancient literary sources, where mention of skin colour is often omitted, suggesting that it 'was not the chief component in the construction of difference' (Haley 2009: 33).

The varying use of skin colour as a marker of ethnicity is used by some scholars, such as Frank M. Snowden Jr, to support the notion that classical antiquity was a time 'before colour prejudice' (1970; 1983; 1997; 2010). On the basis of Graeco-Roman visual and literary evidence, Snowden sees no evidence of social marginalisation or prejudicial treatment of sub-Saharan Africans, namely Ethiopians. Instead, he interprets artistic representations of Ethiopians as naturalistic and mimetic, rather than comic or grotesque, and asserts that their literary references have positive and valorous connotations (e.g. Herodotus 1.134, 2.22; Homer, *Odyssey* 19.246–8; Pseudo-Aristotle, *Problems* 898b, 909a).[86] In

Figure 1.8 Attic red-figure pelike (ca. 450–440 BCE) from the Workshop of the Niobid Painter depicting Andromeda tied to a stake by enslaved individuals (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.2663). Photo © 2021 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

his words, 'The approach of Greek and Roman artists in their renderings of the black was evidently in the spirit of those classical authors whose comments on the Ethiopian, at home or abroad, attached no great importance to the color of a man's skin' (Snowden 2010: 250). Furthermore, Snowden notes that Greeks attributed differences in appearance and skin colour to environmental, rather than hereditary factors (e.g. Herodotus 2.22; Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiognomics* 6.812a; Snowden 1970: 2, 172–5, 258; 1983: 7, 85–6, 112; Goldberg 1993: 21; Bérard 2000; Fredrickson 2002: 17).

Erich Gruen's (2011) analysis of ancient literature supports Snowden's position. Gruen focuses on literary representations of non-Greek groups (e.g. Persians, Egyptians), and although individual instances of prejudice and stereotyping exist, he rejects the generalisation that Greeks were xenophobic or ethnocentric. Instead of rejecting or distancing themselves from non-Greeks, Greeks transformed or reimagined them to suit their own purposes and connected themselves to non-Greeks through cultural appropriation. To support this position, he points to numerous cases in which Greeks express admiration for the skills and achievements of non-Greeks. Gruen also finds significance in the Greek desire to closely link themselves to non-Greeks, typically achieved through the invention of kinship relationships (e.g. Danaus, Pelops, Cadmus).

Gruen's monograph, however, has come under intense scrutiny. First, he has been criticised for only considering Greek attitudes towards foreign societies and avoiding the issue of how non-Greeks, as minorities, were treated within Greek society. As a result, he misses subtle indicators of alterity and marginality. For example, Gruen sees the construction of fictive kinship with non-Greeks as the opposite of 'Othering', while 'the motif of the city founded by a hero from a distant land could be interpreted as a strategy for neutralizing the potential danger posed by the "Other" to collective self-definition by incorporating it into the "Same"' (Broder 2011). Furthermore, Gruen – like Snowden before him – displays a narrow view of Blackness. The determination of the skin tone deemed dark enough to be considered black- or dark-skinned is a cultural decision – northern cultures like the Scythians, for instance, might have considered the medium-toned Athenians to be black- or dark-skinned. In the Greek context, even though Gruen maintains that only Ethiopians were understood to have black skin (2011: 202), Egyptians, Colchians and Indians are clearly described by Herodotus (2.57, 2.104, 3.101) and others (e.g. Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiognomics* 6.812a) as having black skin. Finally, Gruen glosses over evidence of prejudice in literature and art. For instance, in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women*, Egyptians are Othered through their Blackness and hypersexuality, but Gruen asserts that their negative depiction is rooted instead in the immoral behaviour of the sons of Aegyptus and does not apply wholesale to all Egyptians (2011: 231–3). Moreover, a passage in Pseudo-Aristotle (*Physiognomics* 6.812a) reads: 'Those who

are too black are cowards, observe Egyptians and Aithiopians. And those who are too white are also cowards, look at women. The color that favors bravery is between the two of them' (as translated in Samuels 2015: 733). Although Gruen dismisses this text as exceptional (2011: 202), it is in perfect alignment with the aforementioned precepts of Athenian racial citizenship, as the author is referring to the medium-toned Athenian male citizen as the paradigm of bravery between the marginalised groups. Likewise, despite Gruen interpreting the juxtapositions of dark-skinned men and Greeks on plastic vases as positive or 'good-natured joking' (2011: 2019), the inscriptions on the vases suggest otherwise, as they label the Greeks as 'beautiful' and degrade the dark-skinned body by sarcastically stating over it 'Timyllos is beautiful like this face' (Samuels 2013).

Research on Greek art also demonstrates the existence of entrenched prejudice towards non-Greeks. There has been an increase in studies of Late Archaic/Classical period visual representations of non-Greeks that explore the images in terms of their own internal logic. Rather than examining these representations prima facie, this approach requires consideration of viewership and display contexts, as well as careful analysis of representations with similar themes in order to understand how composing elements are manipulated across scenes to convey messages. The resulting conclusion is that individuals with sub-Saharan African physiognomy (excluding the mythical figures of Andromeda and Memnon, whose features have been 'Hellenised') are excluded from roles of high status or esteem and are constructed as a negative juxtaposition to the normative adult male citizen (Raeck 1981). In contrast, other groups, such as Scythians, Thracians and Persians, are always denoted as foreign through their dress and other cultural markers, but they also share commonalities with Greeks. Scythians and Thracians are similarly depicted performing many of the same tasks as Greeks (e.g. scenes of arming, departure and battle), and sometimes tasks of lower rank (e.g. minding the horses). Representations of Persians, on the other hand, change over time. From ca. 490–470 BCE, they are often presented as inferior warriors, easily defeated by heroic Greek hoplites. In the 460s, Persian iconography is conflated with that of Amazons, which implicitly feminises them, but from the mid-fifth century onwards, their depictions are more normalised in that they perform actions similar to Greeks (and Scythians and Thracians), such as departing for battle (Tanner 2010: 27–31). Thus, a nuanced investigation of representations of non-Greeks in Greek art reveals that, although depictions fluctuated over time, they were typically portrayed as subordinate and inferior to Greeks (Xydas 2003). This understanding aligns with the prevailing view, which is based primarily on literary evidence, and described by Susan Lape:

> Although this view [that the Greeks were not prejudiced against individuals of different ancestries and ethnicities] may be valid as a

> generalization, it does not accurately reflect all of the ancient evidence. First, the idea that ecological theories of human diversity never yield the hereditarian thinking associated with racism appears to be mistaken. For example, the Hippocratic text *Airs, Waters, Places* treats Scythian ethnic characteristics as heritable, even though these characteristics are said to have been initially formed by climate and cultural practice. More important for present purposes, not all Greeks attributed human diversity to ecological factors: the Athenians understood their exceptionalism as issuing from birth, ancestry, and heredity. (Lape 2010: 34)

This view, which is shared by others (e.g. Hoffmann and Metzler 1977; Sassi 2001: 24, n. 101–2; Isaac 2006), is reinforced by the aforementioned visual evidence, and perhaps the closest to the ancient reality in the Late Archaic/Classical period.

Attitudes towards non-Greeks began to change in the late fourth century BCE in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquest of Asia Minor.[87] Just like the Archaic colonies before them, Hellenistic kingdoms became middle grounds in the East where Greek and non-Greek cultures hybridised in unique and variable ways (e.g. Rotroff 1997).[88] Another similarity between the two diasporas is the way in which sustained cross-cultural contact reinforced bonds of Greekness – this resulted in the development of Panhellenism during the Archaic period, whereas in the Hellenistic period it is perhaps most clearly evidenced by the development of koine Greek (Herring 2009: 130). One would expect that the strengthening of Greek bonds would be accompanied by a parallel reaffirmation of the distinctions between Greeks and non-Greeks. This dichotomy, however, began to fade in the Hellenistic period, and what we see instead is the 'barbarian' stereotype challenged in new ways.

One catalyst for change was probably Alexander's own desire to attain *homonoia*, which roughly translates to 'unity and concord', among the diverse peoples he ruled. This aim is reflected in his policies, which are described as having seven principal features:

> 1) shrewd attention to the welfare of the Persians, 2) respect for the Persian institutions, especially religion, 3) equal distribution of offices among Macedonians and Persians, with the Persians holding the civil positions and the Macedonians, the military, 4) the 'gradual regeneration' of Persia rather than 'progressive degradation', 5) free communication throughout the empire, 6) advocation of the blending of customs, 7) liberal extensions to the Persians of the privileges and advantages of his own country. (de Mauriac 1949: 109–10)

While these policies ultimately sought to forge *homonoia* through equality, they created instead an artificial social structure that fostered enmity among the groups. As conquerors, Macedonians resented social equality with the vanquished, while the Persians, the former ruling class of the Achaemenid Empire, were outraged to find themselves on the same social stratum as minority groups they had traditionally viewed as inferior (e.g. Bactrians, Sogdians, Syrians; de Mauriac 1949: 109–10). Despite initial resistance to these political measures, it is likely that Alexander's policies left a lasting mark on his subjects, transforming relations between Greeks and non-Greeks for centuries to come.

New attitudes towards non-Greeks are manifest in Hellenistic art. Consider, for instance, the dedicatory sculptural group commissioned by King Attalos I (ca. 241–197 BCE) at Pergamum in commemoration of his victory over the Gauls. The original monument (ca. 220 BCE), sculpted by Epigonos, does not survive, but two Roman marble copies are firmly associated with it: the Dying Gaul (Fig. 1.9) and the Gallic Chieftain and His Wife (Fig. 1.10).[89] It is clear from their appearances that the subjects are Gauls. They are recognisable by their bushy unkempt hair and moustaches, as well as the torque worn round the neck of the Dying Gaul. In both cases, the Gauls are represented not as

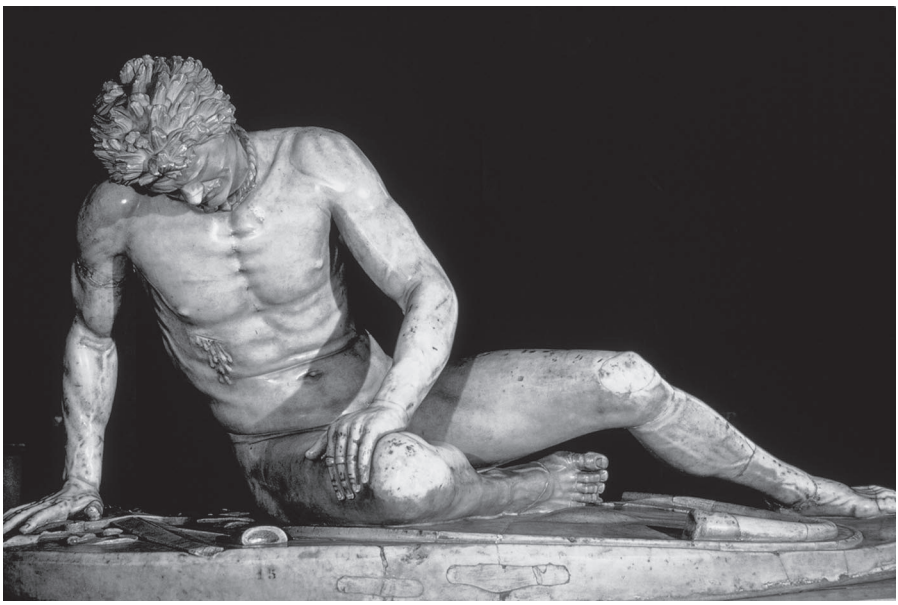

Figure 1.9 The Dying Gaul, a Roman marble copy of a Hellenistic Greek bronze original (Pergamum, ca. 230–220 BCE) attributed to Epigonus (Rome, Capitoline). Photo © HIP/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 1.10 The Gallic Chieftain and his Wife (Ludovisi Gaul), a Roman marble copy of a Hellenistic Greek bronze original (Pergamum, ca. 230–220 BCE) attributed to Epigonus (Rome, Museo Nazionale). Photo © Vanni Archive/Art Resource, NY.

stereotypical barbarians, but as noble, albeit defeated, heroes. The Dying Gaul, identified as a trumpeter by the broken instrument lying on the shield beneath him, has been wounded on his right side. He has collapsed, and painfully braces himself against the ground as blood liberally pours from his wound. The Gallic Chieftain, on the other hand, is a portrait of defiance. He has chosen death for himself and his wife. He has already killed her to prevent her inevitable enslavement, and as he slowly lowers her limp body to the ground, he plunges his sword into his own chest. Interestingly, both the Dying Gaul and the Gallic Chieftain are nude (Pollitt 1986: 85–90; Smith 1991: 99–104; Pedley 2012: 357–8). In Greek art, nudity is described as a costume and functions symbolically (Bonfante 1989). Although male nudity in art has various meanings (Osborne 1997; Hurwit 2007; Lee 2015: 173–82), it is clear that Greeks regarded it as a distinguishing feature of their culture (Herodotus 1.10.3; Thucydides 1.6; Bonfante 1989: 546; Hurwit 2007: 46). Here, the symbolism of the Gauls' nudity is ambiguous – it could be an element of realism, as Gauls were known to shed their clothing for battle (Polybius 2.28.7), or it could be a device meant to underscore the honourable, Greek-like nature of the Gauls, already attested by their depicted demeanour and behaviour. If the latter interpretation is correct, these sculptures represent a profound shift in Greek attitudes towards non-Greek peoples, which could be rooted in a widespread Hellenistic understanding that the fundamental similarities between Greeks and non-Greeks were far greater than their differences.

Having defined key terms that will be used throughout this book and explored ancient Greek attitudes towards individuals with physical impairments, low socioeconomic status and non-Greek ancestry and ethnicity, the focus now shifts to the bioarchaeological evidence. The following chapter discusses the documented bioarchaeological evidence of physical difference in the Late Archaic/Classical Greek world (ca. sixth to fifth/fourth centuries BCE) in order to gain a better understanding of how physical impairment might have affected social integration.

NOTES

1. As defined by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (USA) (2020), 'Disability and health overview', <https://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/disabilityandhealth/disability.html#:~:text=A%20disability%20is%20any%20condition,around%20them%20(participation%20restrictions)> (last accessed 24 May 2021).
2. For a comprehensive discussion of ancient Greek words relating to physical impairments and imperfections, see Samama 2017.
3. For more on *pêros* and its derivatives, see Muller 2018.

4. Note that *penia*, the word for 'poverty' in ancient Greek, has a broader meaning than our modern understanding of poverty, which is primarily socioeconomic. The ancient Greek understanding of *penia* was the absence of *ploutos* (wealth) and can simply refer to individuals who had to work for a living. *Ptôcheia*, on the other hand, is closer to our modern meaning of poverty, as it refers to beggary and destitution and is conceived of as the worst form of *penia* (Taylor 2017: 11–14).
5. Although it has been suggested that Phocis was a poor agricultural state lacking social differentiation, Jeremy McInerney (1999: 187) points to boundary formation and militarisation as evidence of Phocis' social stratification in the fifth century BCE.
6. For more on class in the Archaic period, see Rose 2012.
7. Complete power-sharing with the lower classes was present in Athens and a few other poleis, but it was not the norm (Bintliff 2010: 31). Also, in terms of demography, the most concerted effort towards reconstructing the population of an ancient Greek city state has focused on Athens. For a historiography and appraisal of demographic approaches to Classical Athens, see Akrigg 2011.
8. For a careful treatment of Greek ethnic terminology, see Fraser 2009.
9. Peloponnesian identity was also asserted situationally (Vlassopoulos 2008). Also, for an argument against calling the range of Greek identities 'ethnicities', see Vlassopoulos 2015.
10. Note that Lynette Mitchell (2007) asserts that there was no single genesis of Panhellenic identity, but rather historical moments of its realisation. Also, see Saïd 2001 for a discussion of how the rhetoric of Panhellenism was manipulated to reinforce solidarity and collective identity at various moments from the fourth century BCE to the Roman period.
11. The reference to 'shared blood' in this passage from Herodotus has been interpreted as hereditary descent, as it does not appear that Herodotus believed in a biological definition of ethnicity. As Jonathan Hall notes, 'In attempting to establish an ethnic affinity between Egyptians and Colchians, for example, he pays scant regard to phenotypic similarities (2.104.2), and he attributes the hardness of Egyptian skulls to environmental rather than biological factors (3.12.2)' (1995: 93). For more on Herodotus' construction of ethnicity, see Thomas 2001.
12. For more on the ethnogenesis and changing nature of these groups, see McInerney 2001.
13. For the origins of Dorian, Ionian, Achaean and Aeolian ethnic identities, see J. Hall 2002: 56–89.
14. Note that regional ethnos-based identities are perceptible in Arcadia and Phocis in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE, but a collective Boeotian identity did not likely coalesce until the mid-fifth century (McInerney 1999; Larson 2007).
15. Bintliff (2012) demonstrates that there could easily be multiple subpopulations existing within an ethnos like Boeotia.
16. See Larson 2007 for Boeotian collective identity and Luraghi 2008 for Messenian collective identity.
17. For more on ethnonyms, see Lampinen 2019.

18. Although, note that Denise Demetriou asserts that cross-cultural contact prompted the development of collective identities: 'Being treated by others as a collective group often led Greeks and non-Greek ethnic groups to adopt these larger identities, once they recognized the similarities they shared' (2012: 238–9).
19. See St. Hoyme and İşcan 1989; Smedley and Smedley 2005; Sauer and Wankmiller 2009 for a history of thought and scholarship concerning the identification of 'race' in human remains. For a history of thought and scholarship on 'race' in archaeology, see Challis 2013.
20. Note that there has been some debate over the use of the term 'Other'. For instance, Benjamin Isaac intentionally eschewed its usage in *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* because it 'has in recent decades acquired quite a broad meaning: "Others" include women, slaves, children, the elderly, or disfigured people. It refers to any group that is not part of the establishment, but is placed on the margins or periphery of society, or does not belong to it at all' (2004: 4). For the purposes of this book, Isaac's broad definition fits precisely the topic under discussion.
21. For perspectives on disability in Greek philosophy, see Macfarlane and Polansky 2004; Meeusen 2017.
22. Note, however, that there is no evidence that disabled veterans were categorised in a military, social or economic way in the ancient Greek world (Edwards 2012).
23. Note that not all physically impaired individuals were socially marginalised in the ancient greater Mediterranean region. There are examples of individuals in Egyptian and Near Eastern contexts who, instead of being buried in an isolating manner suggestive of social marginalisation, were interred with relatively numerous and elaborate grave goods, implying that their loss evoked profound grief in their survivors. Analyses of the skeletons of these individuals also reveal that they received additional care throughout their lives, which allowed them to live longer than they otherwise would have (e.g. Boutin and Porter 2014; Boutin 2016).
24. For more on the public mockery and humiliation of disabled people, see Garland 1994; Kazantzidis and Tsoumpra 2018.
25. See Kelley 2007: 42–3 for more on physical impairment as divine punishment.
26. Deborah Kamen (2013) argues that there were not three, but ten different status groups in ancient Athens that are distinguished primarily on the basis of juridical status. In order of ascending status they are ordinary and privileged enslaved individuals, freedmen with conditional freedom, ordinary and privileged metics, bastards (*nothoi*), disenfranchised citizens, naturalised citizens, and male and female citizens.
27. Athenian citizens were divided into four property classes based on the agricultural yield of their land: *pentakosiomedimnoi* (500 *medimnoi* (dry units of measure) or *metrêtai* (liquid units of measure)), *hippeis* (300), *zeugitai* (200) and *thêtes* (less than 200; Patterson 1981: 175).
28. Note that William Thalmann (2011: 82–3) suggests that some of the figures in the harvesting scenes are enslaved.

29. Some sportsmen might have also lived in poverty. Aristocratic athletes and horse owners relied on a supporting cast of others, such as trainers (although these might be the exception, as trainers were often of high socioeconomic status), charioteers and jockeys, to secure their victories, but the roles of these individuals were often marginalised (Nicholson 2005).
30. See Thalmann 2011: 78–82 for a careful reading of the iconography of the Foundry Painter's vase that suggests that some of the figures are enslaved.
31. Metic is the anglicised form; *metoikos* literally means 'a person who has changed his *oikos*' or 'a person who lives with others of the same standing' (Garland 2014: 155). See Fraser 2009: 111–18 for metic ethnics.
32. Note that Watson (2010) and Bakewell (1997) argue that metic status did not originate in Athens until the middle of the fifth century BCE.
33. Failure to pay taxes or procure a *prostatês* likely resulted in fines. For more on these fines (and the evidence for them), see Meyer 2009. Note that Meyer provides a radical reinterpretation of inscriptions previously associated with freedmen alone.
34. See Blok 2009b for ancient literary references to the law.
35. For alternative explanations for the Citizenship Law's inception, see Blok 2009b.
36. Once granted *isoteleia*, metics in the highest tax brackets would, like wealthy citizens, be required to subsidise public works (e.g. dramatic choruses, triremes and gymnasia) and pay a special tax (the *eisphora*) during times of war or public emergency (Garland 2014: 156).
37. The fact that the metics stayed in the city and fought for the restoration of democracy was an extraordinary act, as the Thirty negatively targeted metics when they first came to power ca. 404 BCE. The Thirty, who were seeking to recast Athens after xenophobic Sparta, arrested metics and confiscated their property. Among those arrested was the orator Lysias, whose father had emigrated from Syracuse at Pericles' invitation and lived as a model metic in Athens for thirty years (Lysias 12.4; Garland 2014: 164).
38. For manifestations of 'status anxiety' exhibited by naturalised citizens (especially in the case of Apollodorus, Pasion's son), see Lape 2010: 216–20.
39. Athenians were not the only ones who were believed to be *autochthones*. See Blok 2009a: 251–2 for a list of *autochthones*. For a survey of references to autochthony in ancient literary sources, see Morgan 2015.
40. Note that Vincent Rosivach (1987) rejects the common translation of *autochthôn* as 'sprung from the earth itself' in favour of 'always having the same land' or 'a people which has lived in its homeland since time immemorial'.
41. See Fraser 2009: 103–11 for ethnics of the enslaved. Also see Wiedemann 1988; Thompson 2003: 9–33; Hunt 2011; 2018 for literary and epigraphic sources pertaining to Greek slavery. For a catalogue of Greeks who were enslaved by non-Greeks, non-Greeks who enslaved Greeks, and Greeks who enslaved other Greeks, see Garland 2014: 271–7. Also note that the term 'slave' has been eschewed in favour of 'enslaved' as it reifies that enslavement was imposed upon the individual and not a natural or inherent condition.
42. On the issue of whether ancient Greece was a 'slave society', see Finley 1959; de Ste. Croix 1981: 226; Rihll 2011: 69–72; Vlassopoulos 2016.

43. For critical approaches to Orlando Patterson's concept of social death, see Bodel and Scheidel 2017.
44. See McKeown 2011 for more on resistance among chattel slaves.
45. There were other slave sanctuaries in the Greek world, such as the Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Ithome and the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Taenarum (Thucydides 1.128.1, 1.133; Garland 2014: 147).
46. For more on manumission in the ancient Greek world, see Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005.
47. Around the second half of the fourth century BCE, a different and more complex procedure was instituted for manumission (Rihll 2011: 56–7).
48. See Canevaro and Lewis 2014 for other obligations that freedmen would have towards their former slaveholders.
49. For more on the contested history of the conquest of Messenia, including ancient literary evidence for its reconstruction, see Luraghi 2008: 68–106.
50. For an overview and interpretation of literary texts associated with slavery, see DuBois 2008: 117–217. Also, for a discussion of popular (non-elite) Greek literary traditions (e.g. Aesop's fables, tales of runaway slave colonies etc.) as gleaned from the literature of the elite, see Forsdyke 2012.
51. For enslaved viewers of Athenian vases, see Lewis 1998/9.
52. See Thalmann 2011: 88–91 for a discussion of a bronze statuette of a bound enslaved individual with sub-Saharan African features.
53. For similar 'mistress and maid' depictions in Athenian vase-painting, see Reilly 1989; Oakley 2000.
54. In an effort to merge the mythic traditions, Apollodorus (*Library* 1.7.2) states that it was Hesiod's Bronze race that was destroyed by the flood.
55. For a summary of Greek theories on eugenics, see Galton 1998.
56. Although Edith Hall (1989: 49) denies that the *Odyssey* is ethnographic, themes of cultural contact, conflict and colonisation are all prevalent. See Malkin 1998; Dougherty 2001; Hartog 2001; Skinner 2012: 55 for more on ethnography in the *Odyssey*.
57. Thomas Harrison, however, argues that 'the institution of slavery was a major factor in fostering a discourse on the differences among foreign peoples' (2019: 37) and that the non-Greek enslaved must have served as ethnographic informants.
58. An example of Herodotus' neutrality is his statement that Egyptians call everyone who speaks a foreign language 'barbarians' (2.158.5), which of course eschews the fact that Greeks would consider the Egyptians to be barbarians (Nippel 1996: 128).
59. The literature on Greek colonisation is vast and wide-ranging (see McInerney 2018 for a bibliography). Also, note that colonies were places to dispose of socially marginalised persons. For example, the *partheniai* of Sparta (degraded or disenfranchised citizens) were sent to Tarentum (Zuchtriegel 2018: 32–3).
60. It should be noted that the use of the word 'colony' and its derivations can be misleading. Common usage of 'colony' is steeped in modern colonial analogy and implies that the colony was dependent upon the polity from which it derived. That was not the case with Archaic Greek colonies – these settlements

abroad were called *apoikia*, which means 'home away from home', and were always intended to be fully independent city states (Finley 1976). Archaic Greek colonies and modern imperial ones bear few similarities; it is simply that there were movements and settlements of people in both instances (Owen 2005: 17). Nevertheless, modern imperial analogy has influenced the study of Greek colonisation for the majority of the twentieth century and has led to a series of assumptions about the process, namely that it was a state-sponsored activity; 'land hunger' and trade were the primary, often conflicting, motivations; social conditions in metropoleis (mother cities), such as poverty, famine and civil *stasis*, were contributing factors; and the Greeks imposed their own culture upon the indigenous groups they encountered. These assumptions have been questioned in the post-colonial era, and new enquiries have reshaped our understanding of the Greek colonial phenomenon. In particular, we now recognise that the metropolis played a minor organisational role, 'land hunger' and trade are no longer seen as conflicting motives, unfavourable social conditions such as poverty or social unrest are viewed as retrojections that draw upon conventional poetic *topoi*, and interactions between Greeks and locals are understood to be multidimensional. As a result, it is clear that Greek colonisation was less like a modern colonial movement and more of a mass migration or diaspora (McInerney 2018). That being said, our broader understanding of Greek colonisation, however, does not negate the role of population pressure in the Archaic diaspora. Bioarchaeological research at Apollonia (modern Bulgaria) documented an increase in skeletal stress immediately after the arrival of the Greeks, and a corresponding decrease in levels of skeletal stress at Corinth, Apollonia's mother city. The decrease in skeletal stress at Corinth has been interpreted as evidence of an alleviation of population pressure (Kyle et al. 2016).

61. For an analysis of Greek trading systems, see Cunliffe 1988: 1–37.
62. The 'middle ground' is a physical and conceptual cultural territory that is shared by relatively equal groups. As a space of intercultural negotiation, the middle ground facilitates the development of new practices and meanings (White 1991: x). Each side plays a role, and the role is typically 'dictated by what it perceives to be the other's perception of it, resulting from mutual misrepresentation of values and practices' (Malkin 2011: 46). This role playing results in 'creative misunderstandings' which lead to the creation of an entirely new culture that does not securely belong to one group but contains elements of both. For instance, S. Rebecca Martin (2017) has argued that what we consider to be 'Phoenician art' is a construct, heavily influenced by Achaemenid, Egyptian and Greek art, and that a shared Phoenician identity only arose in the late sixth/early fifth century BCE in response to need for collective bargaining associated with their Achaemenid naval service and changes in trading patterns. Considering the Phoenician example, it is easy to see how there are some who maintain that the Mediterranean itself has served as a form of global-scale middle ground for cultural interaction, exchange and competition (e.g. Hodos 2009; 2010), but typically it is regional (e.g. Greek Sicily) and microregional (e.g. Morgantina and its surrounding territory) networks that are the focus of middle-ground research (Malkin 2002; 2004; 2011;

Antonaccio 2003; Gosden 2004; Hodos 2006; Demetriou 2012). Most often, and especially in the work of Irad Malkin, the middle ground is 'any regional cluster of networks where Greeks founded colonies or lived in *emporia* and mixed settlements' (2011: 47–8).

63. For a case study that demonstrates the equality of Greeks and locals in Sicily, see Fitzjohn 2007.
64. For evidence contrary to this position, see J. Hall 2002: 90–124.
65. At the end of the sixth century, Hecataeus (*FGrH* I fr. 119) uses the term *Hellênes* to refer to the entire population of Greece, and this is our earliest extant linguistic evidence of Panhellenism. *Hellênes* is used in the *Iliad* (2.681–5), but it specifically references the people who lived in the region south of Thessaly (Garland 2016: 46).
66. Currently, network theory is the dominant interpretive framework used to analyse Greek colonial interactions (Barney 2004; Tartaron 2014). Network theory envisions the ancient Greek world as a decentralised Mediterranean network composed of nodes (colonies, mother cities, emporia, Panhellenic sanctuaries – Delphi in particular), ties (what connects one node to another, e.g. communication, modes of transportation, shared religion and cultural practices) and flows (things that pass between nodes and through ties, e.g. raw material, currency, knowledge). The interactions among the nodes ultimately fostered the formation of a shared Greek identity (Malkin 2005; 2011; Donnellan 2016; McInerney 2018). Network theory is different from the 'world-system' model (e.g. Vlassopoulos 2007a; 2007b; Hall 2014). A world-system is comprised of 'processes, exchanges and interactions that link many groups, communities and polities: and these processes, exchanges and interactions, moving people, goods and ideas, range beyond the boundaries of a single group, community or polity . . . it can often be the case that the same agents might move people, goods and ideas/technologies at the same time' (Vlassopoulos 2007a: 94–5). The result of this is that the relationships between the three processes must be studied contextually in order to be understood. Furthermore, the world-system model does not require the participation of a whole world; rather there can be several competing world-systems (Vlassopoulos 2007a). The world-systems models have been criticised because they 'exhibit a tendency toward mechanistically reductionist, structurally overdetermined, functionalist explanations and an emphasis on core determination of process on the periphery. They are unable to accommodate culture or local agency and, in their uniformity, they deny the fundamental historicity of colonialism' (Dietler 2005: 58). Note, however, that Vlassopoulos (2007a: 93–4) maintains that the world-system model can be used without (dominant) core and (exploited) periphery assumptions. For more on the outmoded 'centre and periphery' model, see Rowlands et al. 1987; Champion 1989.
67. Clemente Marconi's work on Archaic temple architecture and iconography at Selinous also supports an Early Classical origin of the Greek/non-Greek divide. Although several scholars see Western Greek temples and their decoration as statements of Greek identity in non-Greek territory, Marconi rejects this and asserts that Archaic temple architecture and iconography in Sicily served to

broadcast a polis civic identity that was shaped by shared Greek traditions that originated in mainland Greece (2007).

68. For an alternative view of the origins of the Greek *barbaros*, see Kim 2013: 35–7.
69. Note, however, that the literary evidence is ambiguous here. Thucydides (1.3.3) states that Homer never used the term *barbaros*, and it has been argued that *barbarophonon* is a post-fifth-century alteration to the *Iliad* (Kim 2013: 29).
70. For Greek attitudes on non-Greek religion, see Rudhardt 2002.
71. It seems that there was still speculation of an impending Persian invasion of Greece, which might have been the true impetus for this call to arms (Isocrates 5.76; Mitchell 2007: 138).
72. Note that Ward (2002) maintains that Aristotle's criteria for natural slavery was simply deficiency of deliberative ability and that both Greeks and barbarians could be natural slaves on that basis.
73. Although we have the most information for Athens, there is evidence to suggest that Aegina, Chios and Corinth had comparable enslaved populations (Harrison 2019).
74. Even though it has been demonstrated that most of the enslaved were non-Greek, the percentage of non-Greek slave names is relatively low (Vlassopoulos 2010) – 20–7 per cent of all known slave names in Athens and only around 11 per cent of all known slave names at Delphi (Lewis 2018b).
75. For a catalogue of the enslaved, see Garland 2014: 271–7.
76. See Thompson 2011: 205–7 for written descriptions of enslaved individuals of African descent.
77. Hesiod (fr. 233 West), however, identifies the Pelasgians as one of the Hellenic peoples who occupied and divided Crete (McInerney 2014: 27). Also note that the Leleges were a similar, diffusive, non-Greek prehistoric people (McInerney 2014).
78. Interestingly, most of these mythical figures might have originally been Greek through the Archaic period, but were assigned foreign origins in the Late Archaic/Classical, especially in Attic drama, in order to reinforce social subdivisions. For instance, Medea, who is originally Corinthian, is of Black Sea origin in Euripides' play (Hall 1989: 35; Miller 2005).
79. For brief commentary on these passages, see Gruen 2011: 206 n. 79.
80. Although, it is worth noting that stereotypes do not always carry negative connotations (e.g. Dench 1995: 22; Bohak 2005; Skinner 2012: 115–21): 'A form of social knowledge, they are best conceived as mobile, discursive systems of understanding that people carried in their heads. Stereotypes could find a voice in a variety of contexts: the agora, theater, or symposium. That they affected individual perception and were an important factor in defining both individual and group identities is important; that we might find their ubiquity unsettling or distasteful is not' (Skinner 2012: 121).
81. For representations of Etruscans in Athenian vase-painting, see Shapiro 2000; for Phrygians and Lydians, see DeVries 2000; for Thracians, see Tsiafakis 2000; for Persians, see Castriota 2000; and for Egyptians, see Miller 2000.
82. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2378.
83. Note that Dionysus and maenads also typically wear animal skins in Dionysiac scenes (McNally 1978).

84. Note that satyrs and centaurs are also represented with these physical features (Padgett 2003).
85. Since some of these alabastra represent Amazon archers who are identically attired, a recent reappraisal by Neils (2007) of the corpus suggests that the black archers are black Amazons from Libya (Diodorus Siculus 3.52–5). For other Greek representations of sub-Saharan Africans, see Leclant 2010; Snowden 2010; Padgett 2000: 67–8, fig. 2.10); Bérard 2000: 395–406, figs 15.3–12. For vase representations of sub-Saharan Africans inspired by myth (e.g. Busiris, Memnon and Andromeda), see Miller 2000.
86. See Mitchell 2009; Walsh 2009 for more on grotesque and comedic representations in Greek vase-painting, especially on Boeotian Cabirion vases.
87. For vestiges of the 'tradition of mocking the barbarian' in the late fourth century BCE, see Romm 1996: 134–5.
88. Hybridisation, or hybridity, is a biological term used to describe the offspring of different breeds, varieties, species or genera. When applied to cross-cultural interactions, it describes the social space between two groups, a 'third-space', where complex negotiations in cultural adoption and combination take place (Bhabha 1994). In this third-space, shared experiences and regular encounters between people from different traditions who were using different forms of material culture contributed to processes of cultural appropriation and admixture (Tronchetti and Van Dommelen 2005: 193). The term can also be applied to aspects of social identity (e.g. Sikeliote) and material culture, where in the latter case it is specifically used to describe a mixture of styles (Antonaccio 2001; 2005). Like Hellenisation, the concept of hybridity carries its own problematic assumptions. For example, it assumes that material culture carries at least some of its original significance when it is recontextualised and that there are distinct homogeneous groups (e.g. Greek and indigenous), recognised as such in antiquity, that could be blended and hybridised (Antonaccio 2005: 107; Owen 2005: 16–17; Tronchetti and Van Dommelen 2005; Van Dommelen 2006). Nevertheless, hybridity is most successful when it is 'used to investigate the nuances of interaction and exchange at all levels (looking beyond the macro-social level to the everyday contact between people on the ground) in specific localised contexts (moving away from the idea that only the colonised, indigenous population was made hybrid), and understood as a process or set of practices' (Cole 2019: 76; cf. Antonaccio 2010).
89. Pliny the Elder mentions Epigonos and praises one of his works, called 'The Trumpeter' (*Natural History* 34.88), which has been associated with the Dying Gaul (Pollitt 1986: 85).

Marginalised Populations in the Ancient Greek World

The Bioarchaeology of the Other

Carrie L. Sulosky Weaver

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