<div align="center">

ESF Exploratory Workshop on:

**Archaic Greek culture: the archaeological and
historical context of the first writing in Europe**

Dates: 12-15 December 2002
Venue: Launde Abbey, East Norton, Leicestershire UK
Convenor: Professor Lin Foxhall, University of Leicester

</div>

Scientific Report
1. Executive Summary

2. Scientific content of the event
A. Background, main objectives and summary of activities

The aim of this ESF Exploratory Workshop has been to assemble key European researchers studying the archaeology, epigraphy, art and literature of archaic Greek culture. The workshop confronted material related to the emergence of writing in the ancient Greek world from a wide range of scattered and difficult sources. The outcome is a new academic cooperative network facilitating the integration, dissemination and exchange of information about research on all aspects of the archaic Greek world. This is taking the form of a website presently under construction at: www.let.uu.nl/hist/networkgreece.

B. The physical and ideological structures of Greek communities

Lemos' presentation focused on the site of Lefkandi, Euboea (c.1100-710 BC), providing a strong framework for discussions of the archaeological context of the emergence and transmission of the Greek alphabet. Euboeans were in active contact with many other cultures across the Mediterranean world. They were probably the earliest agents in the transmission of alphabetic writing from east to west. Foxhall explored the nature of the communities and settlements in Sicily and southern Italy. Fieldwork suggests that the Calabrian coast between ancient Rhegion and Locri Epizephyrii was settled by Greeks as a total landscape.

C. Literacy, law and the rise of political thought

Crowther and Haarer presented an Oxford-based project, which aims to digitise the valuable collection of texts, notes and images assembled by L.H. Jeffery and use it to form the core of an electronic resource for the study of archaic Greek inscriptions to be freely accessible over the internet. Thomas investigated the links between writing and remembering, especially in relation to law, demonstrating that cities in archaic Greece displayed a variety of epigraphic habits. Local traditions, political situations and concerns meant that archaic cities used writing in very different ways for very different things.

D. Religion, text and material culture

De Polignac addressed the well-attested use of writing in sanctuaries, contrasting the pattern found in the late eighth through seventh centuries with the very different pattern of the sixth century. Oral forms of commemoration and monumentality which can be associated with the earlier period may explain the differences. Morgan considered the development of writing and its use in sanctuaries as both a new way of dealing with old issues and as a new response to new issues in the world of the developing polis. The notion of structured deposition is a useful one for understanding the archaeological contexts of these written texts.

E. Poetry, philosophy, community: words of power and the power of words

Lardinois used the internal evidence of the linguistic structure of gnomic, proverbial statements in early poetry to reveal relationships and hierarchies of status between the speaker and the addressee. This suggests that poets may have been of lower status than has previously been thought. Murray opened up a number of interesting questions in relation to the transmission of the Greek alphabet. He suggested that in that process of transmission we have

a rare example of a medium transmitted without a message: no texts or beliefs appear to be carried with the alphabet.

F. Orders and statuses: elites, citizens and slaves; natives and colonizers
Lurgahi addressed the long-standing problem of how we should understand the roles and statuses of mercenaries in the world of archaic Greece. Were they elites or non-elites? Fitzjohn presented the evidence for creolization and cross-cultural contact in domestic housing in the archaic period from two Greek settlements in Sicily, Naxos and Lentini (ancient Leontini).

G. Art in context: cosmos and community
Osborne investigated the relationships between early figured decoration on pottery and the earliest texts written on these pots (dipinti and graffiti). Lissarague explored the same phenomenon, the relationships of texts and writing on sixth century pottery. The overall conclusion of both of these papers was that writing, especially dipinti, when used on pottery were fully integrated as part of the decoration, included as much for the visual impact as for the message the words conveyed.

H. Plenary discussion: recontextualising archaic Greek culture
Brief comments picking out significant themes of the Workshop by Blok and Gehrke opened the plenary discussion. Open discussion focused on the following themes:
- the need to adopt a more sceptical approach to ancient traditions than has been common in the past
- lawgivers, and what elements of archaic law were or were not written down
- Greek settlements in the west: traditions of lawgivers and the scene of some of the earliest writing
- law, writing and the use of sanctuaries (including their material culture)
- the apparent lack of coherence in cultural mapping between alphabet, dialect, and material culture – a key area for future research

I. Strategic planning sessions: a cooperative network for the study of archaic Greece

3. Final Programme

4. Assessment of the results, contribution to the future direction of the field
This ESF Exploratory Workshop has proven to be a major stimulus to the study of the archaic Greek world, where the complex relationships between writing and archaeology formulate a set of core issues fundamental to interpreting that world
Building upon the ideas which emerged in the plenary discussion (see section **2H**), the following directions for future cooperation and research emerged from the Workshop:

- the role and function of sanctuaries in terms of social and local identities
- what is a polis before 500 BC?
- settlement, spatiality and urbanism
- re-thinking 'colonization'
- bilingualism, multi-culturalism, creolization in the archaic world
- identity and order

5. Statistical information on participants

6. Final list of participants

ESF Exploratory Workshop on:
Archaic Greek culture: the archaeological and historical context of the first writing in Europe
Dates: 12-15 December 2002
Venue: Launde Abbey, East Norton, Leicestershire UK
Convenor: Professor Lin Foxhall, University of Leicester

Scientific Report

2. Scientific content of the event

A. Background, main objectives and summary of activities
The impetus for this ESF Exploratory Workshop began with a group of European scholars (from the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and the UK) who felt that the study of archaic Greece was comparatively neglected, especially in continental Europe, and that disciplinary boundaries hindered the transmission of ideas.

The aim of this ESF Exploratory Workshop has been to assemble key European researchers studying the archaeology, epigraphy, art and literature of archaic Greek culture. The endeavour is 'historical' in the broadest sense. The workshop confronted material related to the emergence of writing in the ancient Greek world from a wide range of scattered and difficult sources. At present these are fragmented by the approaches of different disciplines and academic traditions, the geographical spread of the material, and the dispersion of scholarly expertise across Europe. The outcome is a new academic cooperative network facilitating the integration, dissemination and exchange of information about research on all aspects of the archaic Greek world. This is taking the form of a website presently under construction at: www.let.uu.nl/hist/networkgreece.

All of the participants are world-class scholars working on the archaic Greek world and related cultures from different disciplinary perspectives. Therefore, the main purpose of this ESF Exploratory Workshop has been to create a forum for initiating discussion for understanding early Greek texts and literacy in their material context in a holistic way. Speakers were asked to prepare short (ca. 20 minute) presentations aimed at key theoretical and methodological issues and utilising case studies. These were grouped thematically, with experts from different theoretical and disciplinary perspectives contributing presentations to each session. A substantial portion of each session was reserved for discussion focussed and directed by the presentations within the specific theme. These discussions proved to be lively and productive.

At the end of the Workshop (on the Saturday evening and on the Sunday morning), we met to discuss future direction for the continuation and expansion of the academic network and the future dissemination of research results and ideas. In particular, discussion focused on the expansion of the academic network which had generated the Workshop. In consequence several other scholars from France, Italy and Greece have been asked to join the core network.

B. The physical and ideological structures of Greek communities
Lemos' presentation focused on the remarkable Greek site of Lefkandi, Euboea,
providing a strong framework for discussions of the archaeological context of the
emergence and transmission of the Greek alphabet. This site flourished during the so-
called 'Dark Age' of Greece, following the Bronze Age, between 1100-c.710 BC. The
published area of the site consists largely of about six discrete cemeteries, of which
the largest and richest is the Toumba cemetery, located in proximity to a monumental
grave in the form of a very large house containing graves of a high status man and
woman. It has been suggested that members of the ruling group of Lefkandi were
buried in the Toumba cemetery, with other kin-based groups buried in other
cemeteries, giving a clue as to the social and political structure of the community. The
settlement area of the site (Xeropolis) has been less thoroughly investigated, but Dr
Lemos will begin excavations in an area of domestic housing in 2003.

Both from finds of imported material at Lefkandi, and from finds of protogeometric
and geometric Euboean pottery across the Mediterranean, it is clear that the Euboeans
retained active links with other parts of the Mediterranean world, especially the
Levant, at a time when much of Greece appears to be relatively isolated. Commercial
marks (incised before firing) appear on protogeometric pottery found at Lefkandi as
early as the tenth century BC (**fig. 1**). The alphabet probably came to Greece late in
the ninth or early in the eighth century BC, at a time when there is abundant
archaeological evidence to suggest that contacts between Lefkandi and the Levant
were buoyant. Most of the oldest examples of Greek alphabetic writing appear to be
Euboean. These have been found not only at Lefkandi (**fig. 2**) and other Euboean
sites, but right across the Mediterranean from Al Mina in Syria to Italy (**fig.3**). One of
the most intriguing of these, and possibly the oldest, dating to around 775 BC, appears
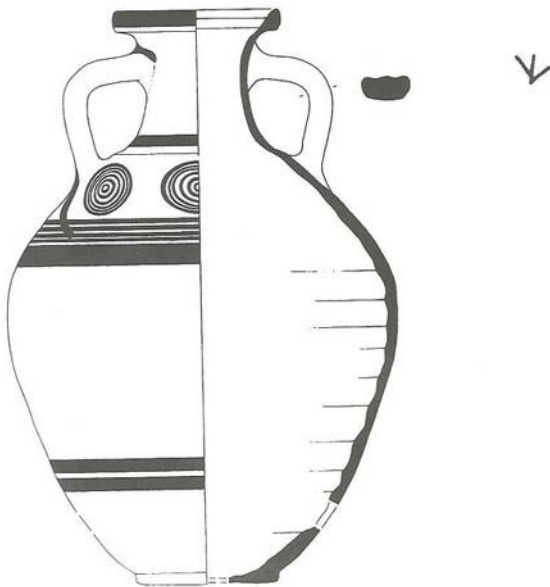on an indigenous Italian impasto flask in the cemetery of Osteria dell'Osa.

Fig. 1: Neck-handled amphora imported to Lefkandi with incised marks on top of
handles.

Fig. 2: Early graffiti from Lefkandi.

Fig. 3: Early graffiti from Al Mina, Syria (left) and Osteria dell' Osa, Italy (right).

It is clear that the Euboeans were in active contact with many other cultures across the Mediterranean world. They were important agents in the spread of Greek culture and socio-political institutions to other parts of the Mediterranean region. Most significantly they were probably the earliest (though not necessarily the only) agents in the transmission of alphabetic writing from the Phoenicians to Greece and Italy. It is the Italian version of the Euboean script from which the Roman alphabet in use today was derived.

Foxhall explored the nature of the communities and settlements established by Greeks in Sicily and southern Italy in the eighth through the sixth centuries BC. Generally the Greek diaspora of this period is termed 'colonization'. This convention follows the textual sources, most of which were written at least 250 years (or even much longer) after the events about which they purport to tell us. These sources portray the early settlers as 'colonists' setting out from a city (*polis*), often under the leadership of a 'founder' (*oikistes*), whose aim was to found another city. However, it is clear that in the Greek homeland settlements of the eighth and seventh centuries were hardly 'cities' in the classical sense of the term (an urban centre surrounded by rural territory which it controlled.).Nor is it clear exactly what a *polis* community was in social, political or institutional terms in this early period – certainly it was not as complex or formalized as what was meant by a *polis* in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

For the most part the archaeological evidence for earliest settlements in Sicily and southern Italy has been interpreted using the conceptual framework of later, classical written sources. Even when scholarly interpreters are dubious about the accuracy of the specific information they provide, it has never been doubted that 'colonization' in the archaic period was about 'founding cities'. However close examination of some early Greek sites suggests that the settlers were more interested in occupying a landscape than in founding a city. The initial phase of the 'planned' eighth-century settlement of Megara Hyblaea in Sicily appears to consist of scattered houses on plots of land measured on agriculturally-based units of about a day's ploughing in size. In

contrast, the seventh-century Incoronata site at Metaponto seems to be an indigenous village in which some Greeks came to live.

Foxhall's fieldwork based at Bova Marina, Calabria suggests that the Calabrian coast between ancient Rhegion (modern Reggio Calabria) and ancient Locri Epizephyrii was settled by Greeks as a landscape (**fig. 4**). According to the literary sources, Rhegion and Locri were both founded in the seventh century BC, the former as a secondary foundation from Sicily, the latter by a mixed group of Greeks from several different cities. However, excavation and survey work suggest that the earliest remains in the countryside, 40 km from any ancient urban centre, are as early as the earliest material from the sites which later became cities. This leaves us with the question of whether the Greeks founded cities or settled a countryside. It is likely that the classical concept of an urban centre which informs most of our written sources was irrelevant to the Greeks who brought their culture and their writing to the western Mediterranean.

Fig. 4: Greek site at Monte Grappida, Bova Marina (650 m above sea level).

C. Literacy, law and the rise of political thought
Crowther and Haarer presented an Oxford-based project, 'Epigraphic Sources for Early Greek Writing'. L.H. Jeffery is well known for her life's work on the development of early Greek alphabetic writing, especially the pioneering monograph, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (1961, 2ed. 1990), which remains fundamental to the study of the subject. Jeffery created an archive of some five thousand pages of notes and several hundred photographs which was bequeathed to the Classics Faculty at Oxford. This information includes not only the sort of data recorded in standard publications, such as references and transliterations of texts, but also a wealth of detail about letter forms, and the relationship between text and inscribed object, often through numerous drawings and photographs, some copied, but many original.

The project aims to digitise this valuable collection and use it to form the core of an electronic resource for the study of archaic Greek inscriptions to be freely accessible over the internet. In addition to the large number of images, it will incorporate a searchable database including a concordance of all epigraphic references cited in the book, as well as analytical information (e.g. type of inscription, material inscribed, date, etc. and geographical co-ordinates for archaeological contexts where known). One further major feature will be the categorisation of letter forms by inscription. This will give easy access to the very 'nuts and bolts' of Jeffery's *Local Scripts* and enable her work to be reconsidered and carried forward.

This project belongs to a family of projects entitled 'Script, Image and the Culture of Writing in the Ancient World' based at the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford and funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Further details of the project and the Jeffery Archive may be viewed at: http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/lsag.

Thomas investigated the links between writing and remembering, especially in relation to law. Her analysis of the famous Spensithios inscription from Crete pointed out that the position of scribe (*poinikastes*) was a very powerful one, which carried considerable political and religious authority that was supposed to be hereditary. The detailed funerary regulations from early fifth century Cos, limiting the rituals, acts and clothing of commemoration provide an interesting contrast to the Spensithios text. Curses and oaths also often appear in early civic inscriptions. These examples show that cities in archaic Greece displayed a variety of epigraphic habits and varied considerably in terms of the kinds of things they felt should be written down. Local traditions, political situations and concerns meant that archaic cities used writing in very different ways for very different things.

Raaflaub probed Homeric epic and other early literature to question whether political thinking required writing. When did written political discourse prevail over oral? Politics in the context of early Greek communities was transformed into public performance of roles and statuses. It is in this sense that we should understand Hesiod's distinctions between different kinds of *neikos* (strife, competition) The notion of appropriateness of context for specific forms of political discourse appears regularly in the written sources (e.g. Thersites in the *Iliad* is chastised for speaking 'out of order', *ou kata kosmon*).

D. Religion, text and material culture

De Polignac addressed the well attested use of writing in sanctuaries. In the sixth century BC, dedications of many types of votives, either monumental or not, are found in almost every sanctuary, with texts relating to cult regulations or the administration of the sanctuaries and the publications of civic laws. These demonstrate that the concerns about publicity and memory are among the main reasons for the use of writing. But the situation is quite different in the earlier period, from the end of the eighth century BC to the end of the seventh century BC. Only a very few dedications of valuable votives are known, in a very restricted number of sanctuaries; the bulk of the evidence is represented by graffiti (sometimes dedications, but also abecedarias, single names etc.), concentrated in a few places.

The difference between the two periods is so sharp, both in quantity and geographical distribution, and the change so sudden around the turn between the seventh and sixth century, that it can hardly be entirely ascribed to differences in the quality of archaeological record. For the same reasons, the idea of a purely evolutionary process, where the use of writing would have been first the privilege of a restricted elite later extended to larger parts of the society, is unconvincing: it can not explain why no evidence has been found in some of the most aristocratic sanctuaries, like Olympia, while writing is intensively used in sanctuaries like Mt Hymettus where the aristocratic symbolic investment is rather low.

The study of the available evidence rather shows that formal dedications of prestige offerings must be considered as exceptional in the high archaic period, when orality and poetry would remain the essential means of creating and transmitting the praise of aristocratic values, and of individuals *kleos*; the need of writing for a larger and different kind of communication would appear in the changing circumstances of the late seventh-early sixth century BC. On the other hand, the use of graffiti, a form of writing which does not necessarily await a reader, seems to imply a performative value of writing itself in some festivals, on the model of the sympotic world.

Morgan considered the development of writing as both a new way of dealing with old issues and as a new response to new issues in the world of the developing polis. Poleis which were highly focused in territorial terms, such as Corinth, were the exception, not the rule. Many poleis were more diffuse (such as Athens), or in some parts of Greece the *polis* form of political organisation did not appear, if at all, until very late (as in Arcadia). In such conditions sanctuaries play important roles as repositories for inscribed written texts, and sometimes, as in the case of Elis, the sanctuary (Olympia) overshadows the polis. The notion of structured deposition is a useful one for understanding the archaeological contexts of these written texts.

E. Poetry, philosophy, community: words of power and the power of words
Lardinois explored the figure of the poet in archaic Greece. Poetry is the earliest form of Greek written literature, and what we know about poets comes from the poets themselves. Generally it has been argued that poets were of relatively high status, from descriptions such as that of the 'honouring' of the bard Demodocus who sings in the palace of Alkinoos in the *Odyssey* (8.477-81). Lardinois uses the internal evidence of the linguistic structure of gnomic, proverbial statements in early poetry to reveal relationships and hierarchies of status between the speaker and the addressee. First person sayings are applicable to the speaker and imply equality of status with another person (let us do...). Second person sayings, addressing another person, usually imply that the speaker is of higher status than the addressee. Third person, 'proverbial', sayings avoid addressing another person and frequently imply that the poet is of lower status that the audience. In Homer and other early poets a preponderance of *gnomai* in the poet's own voice are in the third person, implying inequality of status with the audience.

Murray opened up a number of interesting questions in relation to the transmission of the Greek alphabet. He suggested that in that process of transmission we have a rare example of a medium transmitted without a message. That is, a Semitic writing system was adapted by the Greeks to their own language but not for the sake of learning a sacred text or a new religion. In fact, virtually no literary or religions content came to the Greeks with the writing system, and the uses made of the new writing system may not have been the same as in their original Levantine, Semitic/Phoenician contexts.

F. Orders and statuses: elites, citizens and slaves; natives and colonizers
Lurgahi addressed the long-standing problem of how we should understand the roles and statuses of mercenaries in the world of archaic Greece. He pointed to Near Eastern textual and visual evidence for the activities of Greek mercenaries in Cyprus (**fig. 5**) and the Near East from the late eighth century BC. However, bands of Greek mercenaries also seem to have worked for Greek tyrants including Polycrates of

Samos and Gelon of Syracuse. The question of whether these groups of mercenaries were elites or non-elites was discussed, and the issue was raised of whether 'hoplites' in early Greece actually provided their own weapons and armour or whether it was provided by their patrons.

Fig. 5: Phoenician silver bowl from Amanthos, Cyprus, late eighth-early seventh century BC, showing Greek hoplites.

Fitzjohn presented the evidence for domestic housing in the archaic period from two Greek settlements in Sicily, Naxos and Lentini (ancient Leontini). At Naxos, Casa 1 and Casa 2 seem to demonstrate creolization, a mixture of indigenous and Greek cultural habits of constructing living space. These houses may have different kinds of living areas for different statuses of people. At Lentini, rock-cut structures used by indigenous peoples for tombs appear to be used by Greeks for houses at a site where literary sources imply that the community was thoroughly Greek. Archaeological evidence in these two cases reveals the cultural complexity of early Greek settlements in the west and the problems of trying to understand 'colonization' through later written sources.

G. Art in context: cosmos and community
Osborne investigated the relationships between early figured decoration on pottery and the earliest texts written on these pots (dipinti and graffiti). On many of the early examples, such as the Late Geometric dipinto from Pithekoussae (**fig. 6**), the writing itself forms a decorative band which fits into the overall geometric banded decoration. Significantly, the more monumental early vases showing 'epic' scenes appear less likely to incorporate writing as a decorative element than comparatively mundane vessels. The relationship between directionality of writing and directionality in figured scenes was explored: it is possible that the former may have influenced the latter.

Fig. 6: Dipinto on local version of Late Geometric Euboean style sherd from Pithekoussai, Italy. Here the lettering forms one band of the banded decoration.

Lissarague explored the same phenomenon, the relationships of texts and writing on sixth century pottery. He noted considerable regional differentiation both in letter forms and in the way letters were used. Dipinti (including nonsense dipinti) were used for a wide range of decorative, visual and communicative effects including 'speaking' characters, labels and names, and enhancing visual themes (e.g. an aryballos portraying dancers with a long dipinto weaving in and out between the dancers evokes the movement of dancing).

The overall conclusion of both of these papers was that writing, especially dipinti, when used on pottery were fully integrated as part of the decoration, included as much for the visual impact as for the message the words conveyed.

H. Plenary discussion: recontextualising archaic Greek culture
Brief comments picking out significant themes of the Workshop by Blok and Gehrke opened the plenary discussion. Blok focused on two areas: social themes and writing and objects. In terms of social themes, the archaic period was one of great variety. There appears to have been increasing mobility across the social spectrum, social groups were flexible and there were many local differences. Social identities were open and not restrictive. Citizenship was not the strong bond that it became in later periods. Indeed, it is not clear what 'being Greek' really meant. The question of how the use of different, strongly localized scripts and dialects was linked to social and political identity is an intriguing one.

Writing and objects are intertwined in the archaic period in revealing ways. Adding writing to an object changes its meaning. We even find 'talking objects' (e.g., X made me, *m'epoiesen*). Writing added permanence and personal meaning to objects. This is particularly clear in the case of sanctuaries. A key question remains: who is using writing?

Gehrke explored on the potential of the Workshop for generating future research themes. An important issue which emerged was the problem of historical thinking before history. Clearly groups constructed their identity by constructing their history. This might have been of particular importance in colonial foundations (though one must beware of the anachronistic views of later writers). What part did writing and

literacy play in this process? Genealogies (such as the Hesiodic catalogues), lists and records all become part of this process and are intertwined with non-literate means of remembering including songs, poetry and the 'remembrancers' (*mnamones*) about whom we hear in Crete. Who heard and performed the songs and tales about the past?

Open discussion focused on the following themes:
- the need to adopt a more sceptical approach to ancient traditions than has been common in the past
- lawgivers, and what elements of archaic law were or were not written down
- Greek settlements in the west: traditions of lawgivers and the scene of some of the earliest writing
- law, writing and the use of sanctuaries (including their material culture)
- the apparent lack of coherence in cultural mapping between alphabet, dialect, and material culture – a key area for future research

I. Strategic planning sessions: a cooperative network for the study of archaic Greece

The core group met to discuss the format of the website and the way forward for coordinating, expanding and disseminating European-wide research on archaic Greece. The membership of the core group was discussed and several more French, Italian and Greek colleagues were asked to join. Plans and themes for future conferences and workshops were discussed. These are outlined in more detail in section **4** below.

Fig. 7: Informal conversation with the ESF representative, Turid Karlsen Seim, Josine Blok and François de Polignac.

3. Final Programme
ESF Exploratory Workshop, 12-15 December 2002, Launde Abbey, East Norton, Leics. UK
Thursday 12 December 2002Archaic Greek culture: the archaeological and historical context of the first writing in Europe
14:00 Arrival
18:00 Informal gathering for drinks
18:30 Dinner, including welcome

Friday 13 December 2002
09:15 ESF the Benefactor: Turid Karlsen Seim
09:30 The physical and ideological structures of Greek communities –Robin Osborne, chair
      Irene Lemos
      Lin Foxhall
11:00 Coffee
11:30 Literacy, law and the rise of political thought - André Lardinois, chair
      Peter Haarer and Charles Crowther
      Rosalind Thomas
      Kurt Raaflaub
13:00 Lunch
14:30 Religion, text and material culture –Josine Blok, chair
      Francois de Polignac
      Cathy Morgan
16:00 Tea
16:30 Poetry, philosophy, community: words of power and the power of words – Robert Parker, chair
      André Lardinois
      Oswyn Murray
18:00 End of formal sessions
18:30 Informal discussion
19:30 Conference dinner in Oakham, meet at 19:00

Saturday 14 December 2002
09:30 Orders and statuses: elites, citizens and slaves; natives and colonizers – Kurt Raaflaub, chair
      Nino Luraghi
      Matthew Fitzjohn
11:00 Coffee
11:30 Art in context: cosmos and community – Karl Hoelkeskamp, chair
      Francois Lissarague
      Robin Osborne
13:00 Lunch
14:30 Plenary discussion: recontextualising archaic Greek culture – Lin Foxhall, chair
      introductory remarks (5 minutes each)
      Josine Blok
      Hans-Joachim Gehrke
16:00 Tea
16:30 Strategic planning session: a cooperative network for the study of archaic Greece
18:30 Dinner

Sunday 15 December 2002
08:30 Breakfast meeting of planning group
      Departure

4. Assessment of the results, contribution to the future direction of the field
This ESF Exploratory Workshop has proven to be a major stimulus to the study of the archaic Greek world, where the complex relationships between writing and archaeology formulate a set of core issues fundamental to interpreting that world. In particular, the Workshop was a valuable forum for experts in the relevant sub-disciplines (literature, art, archaeology, history, epigraphy, etc.) to meet and exchange ideas. Further, since the study of archaic Greece has been a more prominent element of scholarship in the UK than in many continental countries, it has been particularly valuable to hold this initial meeting in Britain. Plans have been made for future meetings in other European countries.

Building upon the ideas which emerged in the plenary discussion, (see section **2H**) the following directions for future cooperation and research emerged from the Workshop:

- the role and function of sanctuaries in terms of social and local identities
- what is a polis before 500 BC?
- settlement, spatiality and urbanism
- re-thinking 'colonization'
- bilingualism, multi-culturalism, creolization in the archaic world
- identity and order

A conference on Solon, incorporating many of the issues and approached developed at the Workshop is already planned for December 2003 in the Netherlands It was proposed that, if funding becomes available, the group organise a small conference in spring 2004 in Germany on 'Archaic Greece: present state and future questions' to define and refine further topics for future research. We would aim, funding permitting, to follow this with a set of three linked large conferences on 'Order and identity: defining archaic Greece' covering 1) spatiality, 2) social structures and 3) beliefs and ideas. These would incorporate and develop many of the themes and directions which evolved at this ESF Exploratory Workshop.

5. Statistical information on participants

Participant	Nationality	Age
Blok	Dutch	49
Crowther	British	
de Polignac	French	49
Fitzjohn	British	30
Foxhall	American, permanent UK resident	51
Gehrke	German	57
Haarer	British	34
Holkeskamp	German	49
Lardinois	Dutch	41
Lemos	Greek	43
Lissarrague	French	55
Luraghi	Italian	38
Morgan	British	41
Murray	British	66
Osborne	British	45
Parker	British	52
Raaflaub	Swiss/American dual national	61
Thomas	British	43

6. Final list of participants

Professor Lin Foxhall (*Convenor*)
School of Archaeology and Ancient History,
University of Leicester,
University Road
Leicester, LE1 7RH
England
tel. 0116-: 252 2773; 0116 252 2611
fax: 0116-2525016
home tel.: 01664 822098
email: lf4@le.ac.uk

Professor Josine Blok
Instituut Geschiedenis
Kromme Nieuwegracht 66
3512 HL Utrecht
The Netherlands
tel. 030-2536222 (direct: 2536497)
home tel. 050-3126444
email: Josine.H.Blok@let.uu.nl

Dr Charles Crowther
Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents
67 St Giles
Oxford OX1 3LU
tel: 01865 288180
email: charles.crowther@classics.ox.ac.uk

Professor François de Polignac
Centre Louis Gernet
10, rue Monsieur-le-Prince
75006 Paris
France
tel.: 01 44 41 4650
fax: 01 44 41 4661
email: polignac@ehess.fr

Dr Matthew Fitzjohn
Department of Archaeology and Oriental
Studies
5 Abercromby Square
Liverpool L69 3BX
tel: 0151 794 5362
fax: 0151 794 5057
email: mpf21@liv.ac.uk

Professor Hans-Joachim Gehrke
Seminar für Alte Geschichte
Werthmannplatz KG I
D-79098 Freiburg i. Breisgau
Deutschland
tel. 0761-2033390 (office)
0761-84652 (home)
email: hj-g-gehrke@t-online.de

Dr Peter Haarer
Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents
67 St Giles
Oxford OX1 3LU
tel: 01865 288180
email: peter.haarer@classics.ox.ac.uk

Professor Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp
Universität zu Köln
Institut für Altertumskunde, Alte Geschichte
Albertus-Magnus-Platz
D-50923 Köln
Deutschland
email: KarlJ.Hoelkeskamp@Uni-Koeln.de

Professor André Lardinois
Department of Classics (GLTC)
Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen
Postbus 9103
6500 HD Nijmegen
The Netherlands
tel.: 024 361 2860
fax: 024 361 1972
email: A.Lardinois@let.kun.nl

Dr Irene Lemos
Department of Classics
University of Edinburgh
David Hume Tower
George Square
Edinburgh EH8 9JX
tel: 0131 650 3589
fax: 0131 650 6536
email: irene.lemos@ed.ac.uk

Professor François Lissarrague
Centre Louis Gernet
10, rue Monsieur-le-Prince
75006 Paris
France
tel.: 01 44 41 4650
fax: 01 44 41 4661
email: flissa@ehess.fr

Dr Nino Luraghi
Dept. of the Classics
Harvard University
223 Boylston Hall
Cambridge, Ma. 02138
USA
tel. 0617-4951926
email: luraghi@fas.harvard.edu

Dr Catherine Morgan
Department of Classics
King's College London
The Strand
London WC2R 2LS
tel.: 202 7848 2768
email: c.morgan@kcl.ac.uk

Dr Oswyn Murray
Balliol College,
Oxford, OX1 3BJ
England
tel. 01865-277739 or 271502
email: oswyn.murray@balliol.ox.ac.uk

Professor Robin Osborne
Faculty of Classics
Sidgwick Avenue
Cambridge CB3 9DA
tel.: 01223 335158
fax: 01223 335409
email: ro225@le.ac.uk

Professor Robert Parker
New College
Oxford OX1 3BN
tel. 01865 279520
fax: 01865 279555
email: robert.parker@new.oxford.ac.uk

Professor Kurt A. Raaflaub
Dept. of Classics
Brown University
Providence RI 02912-1856
USA
tel. 0401-863 2123; fax: 863 7484
email: Kurt_Raaflaub@brown.edu

Professor Rosalind Thomas
Department of History
Royal Holloway
University of London
Egham Hill
Egham
Surrey TW20 0EX
tel: 01784 443314
fax: 01784 433032
email: rosalind.thomas@rhul.ac.uk

Fig. 8: ESF Exploratory Workshop participants at Launde Abbey.