

Gabriel Zuchtriegel, **Colonization and Subalternity in Classical Greece. Experience of the Nonelite Population**. Cambridge University Press, 2017. 282 pages, 74 black and white illustrations, 6 tables.

The theme of this book is, as the title alludes to, a study of the marginalized or subaltern social groups, i. e. the non-elites, in ancient Greek colonial environments of the Classical and early Hellenistic periods. In this inspiring and refreshing study, Zuchtriegel succeeds in writing a new convincing narrative of the experience of marginalized people in colonies of the Classical period that provides us with a fuller understanding of this particular historical phenomenon.

The main case study of the book centers on the colony of Heraclea in Southern Italy founded in 433/32 B.C., where the author participated in the archaeological field surveys and excavations carried out by the Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici in the years 2012 until 2014. The new archaeological material retrieved from this recent fieldwork features prominently throughout the book and plays an important role in the author's attempt to trace the peripheral social groups in the colonial setting, and provides the background for a new historical narrative of life at the site in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods.

In the first chapter, Zuchtriegel presents the main aims of the study and discusses the theoretic-

cal and methodological approaches. The central questions posed at the beginning of the chapter is to address »[t]o what extent can we speak of colonized, marginalized, and/or subaltern groups in Greek colonies of the Classical period? What role did they play in colonial economies, politics, and ideologies?« (p. 2). These are ambitious and commendable goals, but at the same time difficult to achieve since marginalized groups are less visible in archaeological records and almost entirely absent in textual sources, as the author acknowledges. Zuchtriegel's approach to the topic is influenced by postcolonial studies of modern colonial environments such as the works of Edward W. Said, Homi K. Bhabha and Jean and John Comaroff. This influence is clear in the way Zuchtriegel prioritizes a close reading of the archaeological material within a local context, rather than imposing a theoretical model on the material.

In a broader perspective, the author's aim is to critically examine the validity of the notion that a democratic ideology of equality in colonial settings is reflected in the archaeological material by standardized house types and burials, such as has, for instance, been proposed by Wolfram Hoepfner and Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner.

The chapter ends with a very valuable review of the evidence for the historical, social, and economic processes involved in the foundation of colonies in the Classical period. This final part of the chapter provides a good background for the analysis and discussion in the rest of the book.

In the second and third chapters, Zuchtriegel reviews the evidence for early houses and burials in Heraclea and shows that there exists little evidence for houses before the Hellenistic period, and only six graves dating to the first two generations of the colony have been identified so far. The author points out that whereas the city's street grid is likely to originate from the time of the foundation of the city, evidence does not support the supposition of standardized houses in the early period. Furthermore, he shows that this phenomenon is not specific to Heraclea, as the same pattern can be observed in other colonies and *synoikismoi*.

Despite the lack of clear traces of early habitation in Heraclea, Zuchtriegel offers several arguments for a substantial population in the city in this period. Perhaps the strongest argument for occupation is the fact that synchronous pottery had been found across most of the Castello hill, and more was found during excavations undertaken on the hill in 2015. Based on new finds and studies, the author is able to re-date pottery from previous excavations to the period immediately following the foundation, which substantially increases the amount and variety of pottery belonging to the early period of the colony. That so few traces of

houses belonging to the early period of that colony have been found is no doubt due to later levelling of the area and re-use of building materials. Since there is no evidence for early latrines, drainage, water collection, and sewage systems, Zuchtriegel suggests that the primary lodgings of the early settlers were likely to have been wooden huts or tents. He supports this argument with reference to early European settlements in northern America and a passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis* (6, 4, 7) suggesting that this was the normal way for colonies to develop.

If indeed hundreds of people inhabited the city in the first generation, which was most likely the case, one comes to wonder why so few graves from the early period have been found at Heraclea. A topic for further investigations in the future might be to explain the apparent absence of early graves among the about one thousand five hundred excavated graves. Indeed, Zuchtriegel offers one possible reason, namely that the early graves could have been cremation graves without grave gifts and hence less visible archaeologically (p. 77).

The author's close reading of the archaeological remains leads him to the supposedly correct conclusion that »[t]he idea that founding a city involved the construction of »type houses« should be discarded« (p. 61). Instead, one is left with the impression that the first settlers faced severe hardships and impoverished living conditions. In this environment, the author argues, it would have been difficult to maintain traditional gender and social roles, which is perhaps also indicated by specific religious practices.

Chapters four, five, and six explore the rural landscape surrounding Heraclea, including the establishment of shrines, farmhouses, and the interaction between the Greek colony of Heraclea and the Lucanian hinterland. One of the clear settlement patterns that emerged from the recent field surveys is that whereas two or three shrines were erected at the border of the Heracleian territory right from the foundation of the colony, no farm sites were established during the first couple of generations. This provides a clear contrast to the evidence from the nearby chora of Metapontion. Farm sites do not appear at Heraclea before the early Hellenistic period, and the author thereby brings out a »contrast between the developing urban center and the »empty« countryside« (p. 112 s.).

Drawing on the well-known inscription from Korkyra Melaine about land distribution (pp. 113–116) and other textual sources, Zuchtriegel shows that equal distribution of land and the production of surplus grain were two critical concerns of the colonies of the Classical period, and that agriculture must have been the main occupation of the

first inhabitants in Heraclea. The emerging picture is therefore of »an egalitarian community of land-owners living in a fortified urban center« (p. 117). In this connection, Zuchtriegel revitalizes Max Weber's Ackerbürger model, which seems to fit the evidence from Heraclea. The model is further supported by a »cost distance analysis« that shows that the border of the Heracleian territory most likely lay within a four-hour walking distance of the city. Interviews with local residents showed that farmers as late as in the nineteen-fifties regularly walked this distance on a daily basis to work their farms.

Based on the textual information regarding colonial foundations, Zuchtriegel clearly shows that the ideology of equality only extended to the allotment of land plots, and that there were no similar attitudes towards the social and economic conditions of the settlers. This is clearly stated by Plato, when he says that such commodities as money and cattle were not to be divided equally (p. 138). It is therefore to be suspected that a social hierarchy existed already from the foundation of the colony, which the author believes is visible in the differences between the burials and in the apparent lack in standardization of early houses. This suggests that wealthier settlers possessed the means to diversify their agricultural activities by engaging in, for instance, pastoralism and hence minimize the risk of economic loss in the case of crop failure or other disasters. This is an important observation, since it serves as a premise for explaining the subsequent changes in the character of the exploitation of the rural landscape. Production sites start to appear in the rural landscape around 330 B.C., a century after the foundation of the colony, a phenomenon that can also be observed at other colonial sites of the period. The diversity of finds at the sites as well as the existence of different types of farm houses points, according to the author, not only to an intensification and diversification of agricultural activity but also to social stratification. Zuchtriegel explains this with poorer farmers, who had to move closer to their land plots, as they came under economic pressure. This historical reconstruction is strengthened by a re-reading of the leases of sacred land from the well-known Heracleian tablets, which shows that only wealthy citizens could have afforded to lease certain land plots from the polis, and that the state was no longer concerned with securing and upholding an equal distribution of land.

Because of the economic boom, rural dwellers got culturally and socially marginalized as they were excluded from engaging in the public affairs of the city on a regular basis. It is particularly here that the author is able to pinpoint the subaltern groups living in the chora, and although this is based on a series of premises that are not directly

testable in the archaeological material itself, the arguments are both strong and reasonable.

Chapter six provides an account of the indigenous Lucanian presence in the hinterland of Heraclea, which serves as a contrast to the Greek phenomenon. As the results of the recent field surveys show, an area of land without habitation marked the boundary between the Greek and Lucanian communities, and Zuchtriegel identifies a basic difference in the social organization of the Greek and Lucanian neighbors. Contrary to the development of the Greek rural landscape, the rural territories surrounding the Lucanian oppida were settled right from the beginning of the establishment of urban centers. This, and other evidence pointed out by the author, strongly suggest a basic difference in the social organization of the Greek and Lucanian communities where Lucanian farmers were not marginalized by the »loss of urbanity« as appears to have been the case with the Greek rural farmers (p. 177). By again paying close attention to the distribution of archaeological material in the chora, Zuchtriegel identifies a Lucanian demand for oil and wine, itself a result of the adoption of Greek cultural habits, which added to the process of agricultural specialization and intensification at Heraclea.

In the seventh chapter, the author discusses the crafts workshops in Heraclea and compares them to the evidence from other colonies and synoikismoi, especially Kamarina and Amphipolis. Here a basic difference in the intensity of craft production is visible, and the author argues that colonies that can be defined as »Ackerbürger« cities depended on support from their mother cities and hence did not develop intensive craft production early on.

In the final chapter eight, Zuchtriegel relates the social and economic developments in the colonies to the political theory from Phaleas of Chalcedon to that of Aristotle and argues that especially Aristotle's ideas of social organization were influenced by the economic developments and ensuing social changes in the colonies.

With this book, the author provides a new and refreshing historical narrative of the social interactions and economic realities of life in colonial settings, and he no doubt achieves one of his stated goals to »expand our perception of Classical settlements toward rural spaces and habitation sites« (p. 12). Other scholars have carried out similar holistic studies of colonial environments, but Zuchtriegel's study is the first of its kind applied to Heraclea and the first to focus specifically on marginalized groups.

A major strength of his analysis is exactly the close attention he pays to the empirical evidence. Through detailed and informed knowledge of the archaeological evidence from Heraclea and the

surrounding landscape, he brings into discussion archaeological material largely ignored in the past. Because the author combines multiple types of evidence, such as burials, domestic architecture, farm sites and workshops, and inscribes them in a coherent narrative in a local setting, the explanatory power of the various material groups is increased.

The book provides an excellent example of just how much there still is to gain in terms of historical insights from a careful re-consideration of sparse and already known archaeological material.

The main methodological challenge of the study is the »voicelessness« of the colonized. The author's approach to identifying the marginalized groups resembles the »thick description« method of anthropological and ethnographical work, which focuses on describing the contexts of such groups using ethnographical parallels. The analyses are often prompted by significant patterns in the archaeological material, thus a »top down« approach to it is avoided. He also avoids the recurrent critique of the postcolonial approaches to the interpretation of colonial settings, namely that its proponents, in their attempts to evade imperialist analogies, tend to overlook aspects of social differentiation and subjugation.

Finally, the production quality of the book is very high, and it includes many clear and instructive maps that supplement the text very well. Zuchriegel's book provides a significant new contribution to a growing number of studies of colonial environments that aim to understand the social and economic mechanisms of colonization within a broader local context. The book should be of interest to all scholars working on Greek colonial milieus, and it holds the potential to steer research in a new direction in the future.