

G. Zuchtriegel, *Colonization and Subalternity in Classical Greece: Experience of the Nonelite Population*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. Pp. xii + 272. Hardcover, ISBN 978-1-108-41903-1. \$99.99.

Although there is much we know about Greek colonization, our knowledge of the colonial experience is typically filtered through the perspective of the elite few, and we are generally unaware of how the lives of thousands of ordinary, nonelite individuals unfolded. Zuchtriegel attempts to address this lacuna by reconstructing the experiences of nonelite populations in Greek colonies during the 5th to 4th centuries BCE through the use of archaeological data from field surveys and excavations, as well as evidence from literary and epigraphical sources. Using postcolonial critical methods as an interpretive framework, he employs a “bottom-up” approach that focuses on “the places of daily life and work on the ground” (p. 4).¹ Accordingly, the book is organized into eight chapters, each of which is concerned with different place-types (e.g., houses, tombs, farms, and mountains) in colonies that were founded during the Classical period.

Turning to the chapters themselves, the first one, “Place of Darkness: Colonial Settlements and the History of Classical Greece,” serves as the book’s introduction. In this chapter, Zuchtriegel outlines the aims and methodology of the volume and the history and archaeology of Classical colonization. Since Classical colonies have heretofore received little scholarly attention,² Zuchtriegel ends the chapter with a lengthy table that summarizes key information about these sites. In particular, the table conveys the name of the colony, date of colonization, type of settlement, colonizer/mother-city, ancient literary references, and bibliographical sources for published archaeological data. The table, however, would be better suited for an appendix as its current placement imposes an abrupt ending on the first chapter and interrupts the flow of the text.

Chapter 2, “Huts and Houses: A Question of Ideology?,” examines how early settlers lived through discussions of the evolution of domestic architecture, the implementation of sanitary infrastructure, and the roles of women. Most notably, Zuchtriegel challenges the traditional assumption that the founding of colonies involved the construction of standardized ‘type houses.’ He determines that this common misconception should be discarded, as the Classical colonies yield “no positive evidence of standardized houses or any solid houses at all during the first

¹ For examples of other colonial studies that employ a similar approach, see Michael Given (2004), *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London: Routledge); Robert Wichter (2006), “Broken Pots and Meaningless Dots? Surveying the Rural Landscapes of Roman Italy,” *Annual of the British School of Rome* 74: 39–72; Peter van Dommelen and Carlos Gómez Bellard, eds. (2008), *Rural Landscapes of the Punic World*, (London: Equinox Publishing Ltd.).

² A notable exception being Thomas Figueira (2008), “Colonization in the Classical Period.” In G.R. Tsetsikhladze, ed., *An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas, Vol. 2*, pp. 427–523 (Leiden: Brill).

fifty years after the foundation” (p. 61). Zuchtriegel argues instead that first generation colonists lived in huts or temporary wooden buildings that were eventually replaced by regular stone domiciles. Indeed, the site of Elea in southern Italy (founded ca. 540 BCE) attests to this housing evolution as there are post holes beneath some of the earliest permanent houses in the city.

The next four chapters focus on places positioned in the hinterland. Chapter 3, “Tombs: Visibility and Invisibility in Colonial Societies,” explores how social order was expressed through funerary rituals (e.g., Greek vs. non-Greek identities, ordinary inhabitants vs. oikists/heroes, adults vs. children). Chapter 4, “Fields: Colonial Definitions of Equality,” examines land distribution. Here, Zuchtriegel maintains that Classical Greek colonists possessed an egalitarian, or democratic, ideology. Indeed, archaeological and literary evidence suggests that in many places (e.g., Heraclea, Thurii, Korkyra Melaina, Chersonesus, etc.), first generation colonists received equal shares of land in both the city and the *chora*. It seems that these early settlers cultivated their fields, but elected to live apart from them, within the safety of the fortified walls of their urban center. On the other end of the spectrum, Chapter 5, “Farms: The End of Equality?,” describes how, in Zuchtriegel’s words, “the emergence of isolated farmsteads may be interpreted as a rupture of egalitarian and democratic structures” (pp. 132–134) and explains the likelihood that rural-dwelling farmers were socially and politically marginalized. Moving beyond the immediate environs of the *chora*, Chapter 6, “Mountains: The Limits of Greekness and Citizenship,” considers the complex, mutually-influential nature of coast-inland relationships that brought Greek colonists into contact with local non-Greeks.

In Chapter 7, “Workshops: *Banauoi* in the Colony,” the focus shifts to craft production and the division of labor. Zuchtriegel finds that most Classical colonies were devoid of specialized craft production for the first few decades after their foundations. He hypothesizes that this was because the colonies maintained close ties with their mother-cities and relied on them for trade and craft production. The few exceptional sites where division of labor and specialization are present from the foundation period, namely Kamarina and Amphipolis, represent cases in which the colonies were essentially independent from their mother-cities and were forced to develop their own trade networks, craft specialization, and division of labor. The chapter that follows, Chapter 8, “Classical Greece from a Colonial Perspective,” summarizes the preceding arguments, explores Classical political philosophical ideas as they apply to colonial situations, and presents the author’s concluding thoughts.

Although Zuchtriegel’s command of the archaeological, historical, and literary sources of Classical colonization is impressive, the reader should be aware that the evidence supplied in each chapter is not balanced. The bulk of it derives from excavations and field surveys at Heraclea in the southern Italy—a site where the author has worked. The patterns witnessed at Heraclea are then supported with comparanda from a wide array of other Classical colonies. Nevertheless, this ground-breaking book offers a fresh and compelling portrait of daily life in Classical Greek

colonies. Zuchriegel's forward-thinking analyses prompt his readers to question long-held beliefs about Greek colonization, and his discussions of early colonial architecture (Chapter 2), residential patterns (Chapters 4 and 5), the reinterpretation of land distribution practices at Metapontum (pp. 132–134), and specialized craft production (Chapter 7) are of particular note. This book is a must-have resource for all scholars of Greek colonization, and will undoubtedly shape the discourse of the field for years to come.

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