

McDONALD INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS

An Age of Experiment: Classical Archaeology Transformed (1976–2014)

Edited by Lisa Nevett and James Whitley



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with contributions from
Susan E. Alcock, Giovanna Ceserani, Alexandra Coucouzeli, Thomas W. Gallant, Michael Given, Jonathan M. Hall, Paul Halstead, Sturt W. Manning, Ian Morris, Lisa Nevett, Robin Osborne, Sara Owen, Gillian Shepherd, David B. Small, Jeremy Tanner and James Whitley

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Chapter 2

An Explosion, Not Revolution: Recasting Issues in the Greek Iron Age

David B. Small (Lehigh University)

One of the most forceful books which Anthony Snodgrass has written is his seminal, *Archaic Greece, the Age of Experiment* (Snodgrass 1980). This work, published in 1981, perhaps for the first time laid open the fact that the period from the fall of the Mycenaean polities to the rise of the concepts recognizable as the ethnos and the polis, was more than just a backwater in relation to the force of the Classical period in ancient Greece.

I remember that I was part of a graduate student reading group, and we had chosen Anthony's new book to read and discuss. I drew the short straw on this one however, and had to present the book to the others. I read it at first rapidly, perhaps too much so, but I still remember the force and clarity of Anthony's approach. Namely, he based his view of the Archaic and preceding periods on the concept of structure, both human and material. This made so much sense to me. It was obvious that we could actually say so little about this period, with all its biases in evidence and with all its evidential gaps, unless we put what information we had into a larger model to see what new views and questions this frame would provide us. Anthony understood that the incorporation of structural models in the analysis of ancient Greece ties together the essentials of evidence, opening us up to new views and questions, and providing, very importantly, a platform for cross-cultural analysis.

Since the appearance of *Archaic Greece*, several scholars, especially Anthony's students (for example, Morris 1990, 2000, 2007, 2009, Whitley 1991, 2003; Nevett 1999, 2007) have followed Anthony's lead and analysed this period in ancient Greece with structural models. The use of structural models has been extremely productive and in this light I hope that research on Iron Age Greece will be receptive to the application of yet another structural model to this era of the Greek past, one which I hope will open up additional new views.

As my title suggests, I am not a huge fan of employing a model that views what happened in the Greek Iron Age, especially the eighth century BC, as a revolution. This is not to argue that a lot of good observations on this period have not incorporated this concept. My concern, however, is that the term 'revolution' rather unconsciously assumes an overall teleology – that much of Greece was somehow marching in lockstep towards a goal of citizen enfranchisement. We have often used this teleology to fill out models of social structure in early communities, but the models do not really fit, and they mask the reality of many of these communities in the Iron Age. The term revolution also assumes that there was also some type of overall social consciousness, or a controlling entity or entities, which were directing cultural change. This has produced an over-emphasis on the creation of 'haves and have-nots' and 'included and excluded' social frames for the analysis of the Greek past. I would argue instead that change in Greece was often more random, more varied, and more self-organizing than many consider it to have been.

This teleological frame has been used by some of our more prominent historians. A classic example is the interpretation of the law code of seventh-century BC Dreros as an example of an early move by Greeks towards citizen enfranchisement (Raaflaub and Wallace 2007). Yet I call your attention to Seelentag's (2014) recent perceptive reading of miscalculations in the reconstruction of the internal structure of Dreros on Crete in the seventh century, and one of my essays which addresses this issue (Small 2015).

There is a model which fits the change in the Greek Iron Age, and which allows us to recast some important issues in this period in a different theoretical light. That model is complex adaptive systems, which was applied almost 20 years ago now to ancient Greece by John Bintliff (1997, 2007). Unfortunately, except

for a brief reference to complexity theory by Schoep and Knappett (2004) Bintliff has been a sort of 'vox in deserto clamans' in this case. I hope to remedy that situation. Let me explain what this theory is and how it fits our Greek case.

What is complex adaptive systems theory?

Often referred to simply as complexity theory, this theoretical approach has enjoyed a dramatically increasing popularity in the fields of science, economics, management, and the social sciences (Garnsey and McGlade 2006; Cleveland 2009; Manson 2001; Reitsma 2003). My interest here is its application to archaeology (Beekman and Baden 2005; Bentley and Maschner 2003, 2007; Kohler 2011; Levy 2005), because it is well-suited to the study of social change and larger concepts of evolution. An enormously widespread interest in complexity theory has produced numerous definitions of the theory, which are often dissimilar and sometimes at odds with one another. Yet, it is possible to chart some common characteristics and apply them to archaeological investigation. Complexity theory defines societies as open systems, where the relationship between different units is non-linear; that is, the result of their connections produces a set which is greater than one would expect from the sum alone. In a temporal sense, complexity theory sees society moving through periods of relatively stable structure, to periods of chaos or phase transitions, and then a return to identified social structure. When in chaos or phase transitions, societies exhibit emergence or the initial development of new social structure. Work with complexity theory is still developing, but current opinion is that this development is quick, rather than limited to a piecemeal creation of new social forms, and often produces a complete new structure for most of the society.

I am applying this model to the Greek Iron Age. In a broad sense it appears to fit what we know of the evolutionary pattern of this period. The period before 800 BC, with its small settlements, appears fairly structurally stable. The time around 800 BC witnessed rapid social change which did not see its final development until 200–300 years later. The characteristics of that development are close to what we would term self-organization. There is no good evidence for any large top-down direction in social change; activity was through short connections between people in different social institutions.

In using a model of complexity theory in an evolutionary perspective for the Iron Age in Greece, my analytical units are social institutions, which appear tied together in a distinct social structure in the early Iron Age, and which, by the end of the eighth century BC were to be accompanied by new social institutions in new configurations. In a general developmental sense my model sees the period up to the eighth century, as one within which we could say that Greece housed a culture with a recognizably stable social structure. When we enter into the eighth century, we are at the point of bifurcation, the point at which this structure is going to break down and Greece is going to experience a period of chaos. Within that there was a phase transition which produced a new social structure with new institutions which were going to be the hallmarks of much of the social structure of Greece for the next several centuries.

A phase transition constitutes a period of rapid, and sometimes almost complete, social change, whose results are to quote Donald Haggis (who is applying the concept of phase transition to his site of Azoria on Crete) '…evidence for the rapid materialization of new social institutions; the institutionalization of communal interaction; interconnections between previously unrelated groups; scalar changes in modes of interregional communication and interaction; and intensification of production and exchange' (Haggis 2014,11).

The usefulness of this model

As with the use of any social model, the usefulness of its application comes from bringing new ways to look at and analyse different parts of the culture under study. In a forthcoming book on the application of evolutionary models to ancient Greece, I draw attention to the new institutions and new pieces of the larger ancient Greek social structure which emerged from this phase transition. All of us are more than familiar with the new institutions, the poliadic sanctuary, the interpolital sanctuary, for example. We are also all more than aware of new social structural ties, such as the networks of the interpolital sanctuaries, and, as I argue in my book, those which are often operating under our academic radar, like the battlefield and the interstate sanctuary.

In this essay however, I want to focus on two new views which this model gives us of social change in Iron Age Greece. The first view comes from the moment of social explosion, which was going to launch a period of chaos or a phase transition. The second view is into the midst of the chaos phase itself, focusing on the institution of the funeral.

In reference to my first view, this exploding point occurs in the first half of the eighth century BC, when the colonization movement begins. What complexity theory allows me to do here is to recast colonization as the initial point of chaos. Let me discuss this recasting

and then relate this different view to currently held ideas on Greek evolution in this time period. The best social model for such a rapid structural breakdown, which fits the situation for Greece, is that of community fissioning. Community fissioning is the breakdown of community social structure, where we notice the hiving off of segments from that community which replicate in many ways the social structure of the parent community.

This period in time is murky, but I would argue that what produced this fissioning was most likely a rise in wealth which was now falling outside the old established institutions of kin and fictive kin relationships. Tandy's analysis of this period (1997) sees the rise of this new wealth as being due to the rise of markets, where the creation of wealth does not automatically embed itself in any institutionalized relationship between people. The use of the market model might be applying institutional analogues which pertain more to the present than the Greek past, but it is also highly likely that moving into uncultivated tracts of land, as was happening in this period, was also producing new wealth. This new wealth would have been problematic in that it would not have been incorporated into those families already recognized as wealthy. New wealth, now held by people without established or recognized privileged social position was therefore created, and presented a significant problem to Greek communities for many years, as we can see in Hesiod's biting observation that wealth precedes status in his day (*Works and Days* 313), and in Solon's attempts to give the new wealthy a position within the power structure of Athens (for a good overview of the results of Solon's legislation, see Osborne 1985).

Putting this period into complexity theory and viewing the age of initial colonization as an exploding of an old structural order and the beginning of a period of structural chaos is at odds with some of our often-held views on Greek colonization itself. It challenges Osborne's (1998) view that beginnings of Greek apoikiai and emporia were due to sporadic settlement rather than to anything more purposeful. But it also challenges the concept of a colonial foundation. Looking at the oft-cited case of Megara Hyblaia (Fig. 2.1) it certainly does appear that the original settlement was established according to some internal structural rules, with evidence for suburban planning and a purposeful space left for a later agora and its religious, civic, and economic institutions (Malkin 2002 presses the issue of an actual 'foundation' for Megara Hyblaia too strongly). But complexity theory says that the results of an explosion of original communities, such as Megara producing Megara Hyblaia, occurs early in a phase

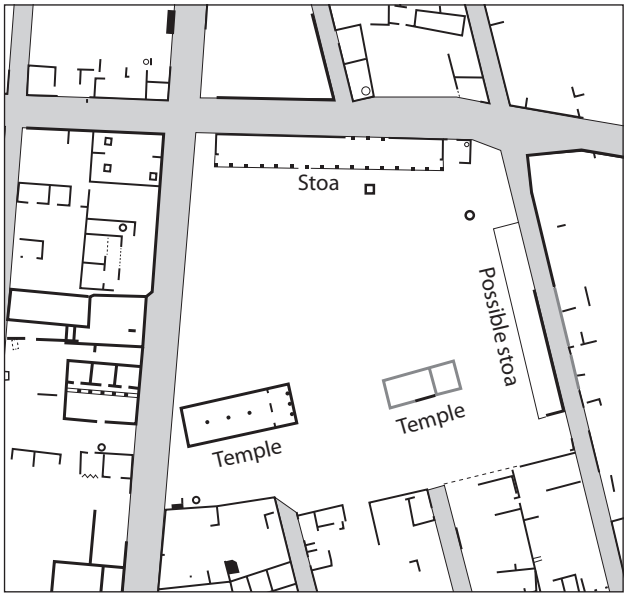


Figure 2.1. *Megara Hyblaia (adapted from Small 2010 by permission). Buildings in Agora are later than foundation of settlement.*

transition which will eventually witness the creation of a new social structure through self-organization. Therefore, there are parts of the structure of Megara Hyblaia which have yet to be realized. The complicated and intricate features of a poliadic sanctuary for example, its function as a context for civic status aspiration, both within and between different poleis, for refuge, for storing the funds and records of the polis, for recognizing connections between various sanctuaries, are all still waiting to be developed. And developed they will be, not by top down planning, but by constant and increasingly frequent contacts between this institution at Megara Hyblaia and elsewhere, with other civic sanctuaries, with interstate sanctuaries, with the markets, etc.

The mortuary record as a window into this period of transition

We can learn even more about this period of rapid social change or phase transition by focusing in on its mortuary record, looking at the function of funerals from the view point of complexity theory. To gain this perception we need to turn to some ethnographic examples. I think one of the best examples of how cultures react to rapid change comes from ethnographic observations on cultures as they evolve in transegalitarian stages. I say this because, in order to understand these periods of chaos, we need to be able to study cultures which display similar characteristics of social insecurity, and

transegalitarian societies provide rich examples of how people behave in this insecure environment.

'Transegalitarian society' is a term coined first by Blake and Clarke (Clark and Blake 1994; Blake and Clark 1999) to discuss social change in west Mexican Preformative communities. Its greatest advocate is Hayden (2001), who has written extensively about modern cultures who might be labeled transegalitarian. According to their definition, a transegalitarian society is one that is neither egalitarian nor politically stratified. Community leadership is no longer tied to kinship, but in just moving away from a kinship armature, the leadership is fluid. Social power is thus also fluid, and those in a position of social power are subject to the insecurity of ever changing constellations of power within the community. One must use generosity, and general skills at attracting followers etc., to achieve any type of social power. Hayden would term those who strive for power in these societies 'aggrandizers', people who use alliances, feasts, marriage, indebtedness etc. to gain a position of power. An important observation by Hayden was that in transegalitarian societies, elaborate funeral feasting played an important role in the creation of positions of power within a community. Elaborate funeral feasting is therefore correlated with social uncertainty.

Community structure in phase transitions must have been just as fluid as that within transegalitarian societies. Phase transitions lay in the period of chaos, between old and new social structures. Like transegalitarian societies there was no prescribed armature upon which to arrange social power. Aggrandizers were operating using alliances, feasts, etc. to secure positions of power. I would argue that it was they who were creating an emergence into the next structural phase of the community, as they began to create order within the system.

Funeral feasting and Iron Age Crete

Elsewhere (Small forthcoming, chapter 7) I have argued that we cannot conceptualize Iron Age Greece as beginning with communities which incorporated an egalitarian structure. So, an exact match between Greece and ethnographic examples of transegalitarian societies is not practical. But the *process* of social destabilization witnessed in these ethnographic cases can be applied to Greece as it is transitioning through a period of phase transition. Observations gained from the study of transegalitarian societies should help us in understanding phase transitions in Iron Age Greece. Here, my focus is on *elaborate* funeral feasting. Recent work by Hayden (2009; see also LeCount and Blitz 2010) indicates that within transegalitarian societies elaborate funeral feasting provides an institutionalized context within which the family of the deceased can create alliances with others. The purposes for these alliances, as he marks out, could be to provide social assistance in endemic warfare, to offer affiliations with other families who can help with the high cost of bride prices and dowries, to access or invest in wealth, to create alliances for regional trade, and to protect the interests of the deceased family from the exploitative schemes of others. This analysis generally replaces earlier ones by Isbel and Cook (1987) Foster (1979) and Bender (1985). As he further argues, the contexts of elaborate funerals are highly emotional, and with participants on such an emotive level, the opportunity for the introduction of new ideas, new and creative alliances, etc. is heightened.

Since elaborate funeral feasting is an instrument keyed into unstructured community power in transegalitarian societies, they should be of greater frequency among people in times of rapid structural change, that is, phase transitions. This would explain the fact that these types of feasts are not seen in hunters and gatherers, but in transegalitarian societies, that is societies which are in the process of moving from hunter-gatherers to become more complex. These of course, would be societies which were undergoing structural change as new institutional contexts for power were being generated internally.

To develop a method for working with elaborate funeral feasts, we must first look at what would be the evidence for elaborate funeral feasting, and examine how we might isolate it from other evidence within burials. Ethnographic research (Hayden 2009) has indicated that elaborate funeral feasting differs from other forms of funeral feasting in the size of the funeral, and in the amount spent on the feast, which sometimes even includes the slaughtering of expensive animals. From an archaeological perspective this would mean we could look for a large number of serving utensils associated with the burial, the richness of any related material, and evidence for the destruction of costly animals.

The evolutionary trajectory of Iron Age Crete is dramatically different from the rest of the Greek world (Small 2010, Whitley 2009; Wallace 2010). Its communities do not share many of the institutions, such as open public assembly, public worship around an altar, and numerous institutions housed in an agora, which we normally see in other Greek polities. It does provide however, an opportunity to isolate a phase transition. I think I have had some relative success in isolating a period of phase transition at Iron Age Knossos, which should outline how elaboration of funeral feasting might appear in the Greek mortuary

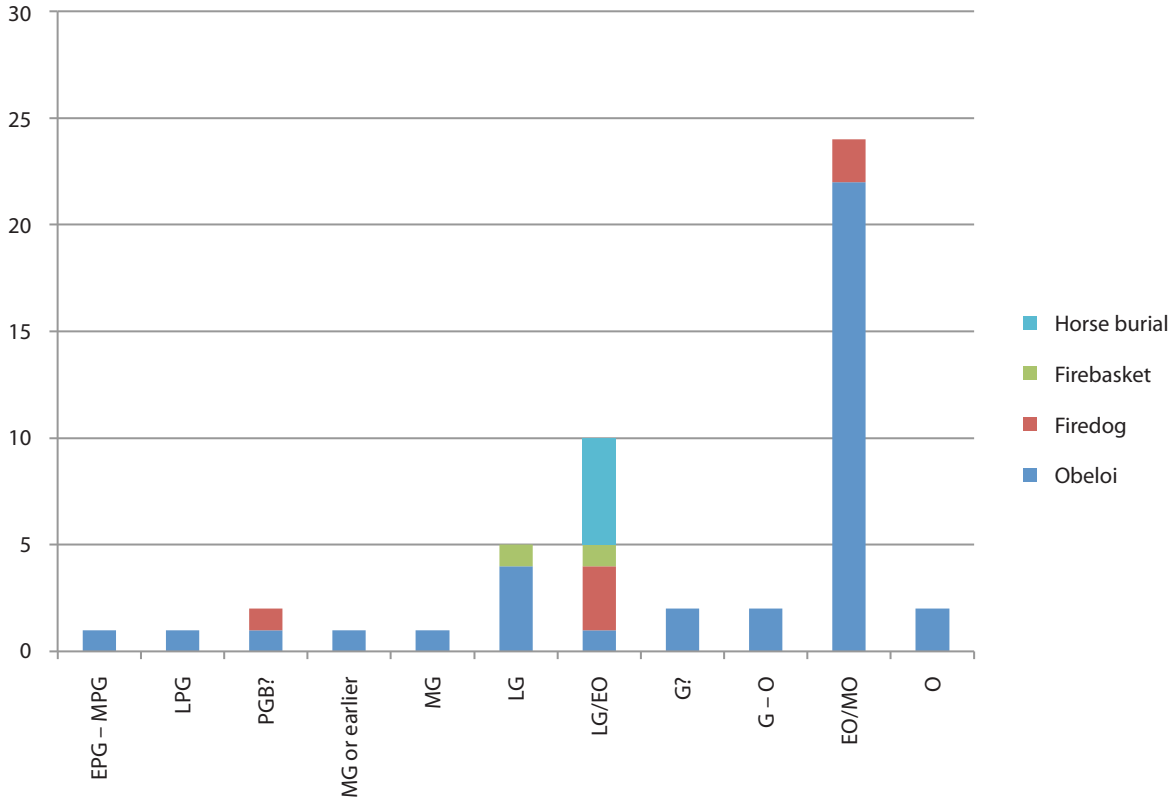


Figure 2.2. *Quantities of spits (obeloi), firedogs, firebaskets and horse burials in Iron Age tombs from the Fortetsa, North and Teke cemeteries at Knossos. (Prepared by David Small based on information from Brock et al. 1957 and Coldstream and Catling 1996).*

record. Two relatively extensive cemeteries are linked to the Iron Age in this community. The Fortetsa cemetery was excavated by the British in the late 1950's (Brock *et al*. 1957). The other cemetery is the North Cemetery, which was excavated, again by the British, in the 1990's (Coldstream and Catling 1996), as part of a rescue operation in light of the expansion of a local hospital. The tombs in both cemeteries date squarely within our time period, with the majority dating from the Protogeometric to the Orientalizing.

Quantitative analysis of the burials shows a spike in material which would have signaled elaborate funeral feasting in the late Geometric to possible middle Orientalizing, that is around the first half of the seventh century BC (Fig. 2.2). The artifacts include obeloi or roasting spits, fire dogs which would have been used for roasting meat, and firebaskets. Quantitative analysis requires a tight numerical fit between the archaeological record and the ancient deposition pattern. But there is little evidence that what is in the record is not the same in amount as what was deposited in the graves. There are two things which could affect the record of iron in the tombs, tomb robbing and corrosion. Having gone over the reports from the tombs, it does not appear that thieves sought iron. Undisturbed tombs and pillaged tombs each contained a wide variety of iron objects. Corrosion does not appear to have been a factor which would bias the data, either. For the North Cemetery it appears that the rate of corrosion was somewhat consistent between tombs. Personal examination of the iron objects from these tombs, now in the Stratigraphic Museum at Knossos indicates that there was little difference in the preservation of iron objects, such as swords or spear points. Therefore it is quite likely that the frequency of deposition of obeloi , for example, is indicated by the remains in the tombs.

The other artifact is animal bone, which would have correlated to feasting or the purposeful destruction of expensive animals. We have some faunal evidence from the tombs which indicates that some sheep, goat, and pig were consumed in the funeral meal. But we also have tremendous evidence for the destruction of prized animals in the form of horse and dog sacrifice. At Knossos, the bones of these

expensive animals were found in separate burial pits. If we can assume that the work in the North Cemetery was extensive enough not to have missed any other horse burials, which seems likely, we can isolate this material to early and middle Orientalizing period (*c*. 700–600 BC).

What should we make of this evidence? There are some important points. First the chronological span of both cemeteries allows us to isolate a period in the late eighth century BC, when eight families found it to their advantage to host elaborate funeral feasts. I would therefore extend this to argue that the late eighth century at Knossos was a period of social structural change, when different families were trying to establish themselves within the new structure which was developing. The families were the aggrandizers, and it was they who were agents in the creation of emergent properties that were to have a strong influence on the final evolution of the community of Knossos.

What produced the chaos within Knossos? The archaeological evidence is unfortunately light for this period, but the results from an urban survey of Knossos might help us frame our questions. The urban survey conducted by the British school (Whitelaw *et al*. 2006), has identified a post-LMIIIC town which was much bigger, and probably more consolidated, than previously held. The period of its greatest expansion, and thus its most rapid growth in population, is the tenth century BC. Our mortuary data however, indicate that there might have been little internal structural change in Knossos until the eighth century BC, when we can identify a phase transition. Questions about what produced the chaos of the eighth century and possibly shortly before it at Knossos, will have to be framed around understanding the social conditions which a rise in population might well have engendered.[1]

How does this relate to our model of complexity over time for Greece in general? I would argue here that consideration of complexity theory forces us to take another view of the occurrence of funeral elaboration in Dark Age Greece in general. This of course is not an easy task because, except for those of Athens, we have few cemeteries like that at Knossos where we are able to look at funerals closely in diachronic analysis. Overall observations are crucial, however. Houby-Nielsen (1992) and Belletier (2003) have documented a switch to an emphasis on funeral feasting in the Geometric period in Athens. On a larger geographical scale, Antonaccio (1995) has carefully outlined the occurrence of funeral elaboration in the form of purposeful connection of Geometric period funerals with earlier tombs. This occurs primarily in the eighth century BC, if we discount later elaboration in Hellenistic period Messenia. Several earlier tombs in the Argolid received architectural elaboration, with the construction of low circular platforms. Often accompanied by deliberately broken pottery, these platforms most likely served as areas for the enhancement of funeral activity, namely feasting.

Most are well aware of the explanations for this burial phenomenon of the eighth century BC. But I would argue that these explanations fail to answer the question of the appearance of new attention to earlier burials. There have been arguments that this association reflects the desire of families in this period to lay claim to territory, either in an attempt to make claims upon newly inhabited territory or to rebuff others' claims (see overviews in Antonaccio 1993, 1994, 1995). That is, explanations have focused primarily on two points. The first is territorial pressure, which envisions families moving into new areas with strong competition between them for land. Therefore several families would try and establish a priori rights to land through association with earlier inhabitants of the area. This of course, correlates with concepts of population pressure. The other explanation for the rise of tomb cults has also been Snodgrass's (Snodgrass 1980, 37–40, 74–75) argument that families moving from pastoralism to cultivation would want to mark out territory, establishing some sort of ancestral connections. Recent interpretations and research have challenged these explanations however. There now seems little strong evidence for population pressure in Greece in this period (Scheidel 2003), which was part of the explanation for marking out territory with ancestral connections. Population did increase, but there was no population circumscription which would have created the population pressure. While we do see a significant decrease in population after the fall of the Mycenaean palaces, there is little support for a shift from cultivation to pastoralism in this period (a good overview is offered by Foxhall 1995).

But, if we were to analyse the presence of this fashion of funerals in association with previous burials by putting the phenomenon within our model of complexity, we would begin to conclude that the heightened attention to funerals, especially with an increased emphasis on ancestral association, fits into our idea of a society entering into a period of rapid social change, where funeral feasting would be playing a significant role in attempts of sort out social positions through the creation of new institutions and new alliances between various aggrandizers in this period. I note also in this regard the connection between funerals and military success. Aggrandizers were most likely using their military personae to leverage their chances of creating new forms of social power.

We can also link this period of funeral elaboration with the rise of factionalism in Greece. I suggest that

funerals were used to link different families, often from different communities, and to create these new social groups, who were to square off against one another in seeking to secure power in this chaotic period (a phenomenon not limited to the ancient Greeks, see Terrenato 2011, 2014). This was probably tied into the presence of funeral games, to which wealthy contestants from different communities would have travelled.

The historical situation takes on a more noticeable structure as this period of chaotic phase transition passes; it makes sense then that the phenomenon of linking funerals with tombs of previous families would peak in the eighth century BC and fall off shortly afterwards. Indeed, the function of funerals was to change as time proceeded into the next century. Looking at the development of new institutions and their links through the lens of complexity theory, we see that this function for funerals was being paralleled by the rising presence of festivals, which were beginning to serve the same function – periodic gathering, feasting, competition, showing off military activity, alliance formation, etc. and replacing the funeral context as a node in these linked institutions. We should remember that the reason that these competitions took place in the first place, at least in the case of Olympia, was the belief that they were recreating the funeral celebrations of mythical heroes. In terms of complexity theory the festivals, whether at Olympia or at Athens, were becoming strange attractors which were to configure new sets of social structural formations.

The potential for using our Greek material in cross-cultural analysis

The application of complexity theory to the Greek Iron Age allows us to recast the issue of colonization and to look at the eighth century BC differently. It also allows us to take the case of Greece and apply it to cross-cultural research. I would like to take a look at the case of the Quiche Maya, and see if our application of complexity theory to Iron Age Greece is at all helpful in analysing their culture as well. The Quiche Maya were a postclassic people living in the Yucatan. Like the Greeks, the Quiche witnessed a rapid fissioning off of different families as they would hive off and found new towns in the Yucatan, and eventually Guatemala, from AD 800 to the 1520s (Fox 1978, 1987, 1993, Fox, Cook, Demarest 1996).

There is thus a chance that there might be some useful comparisons between Iron Age Greece and the Quiche, and that the methods and observations we are using for the Greeks might well be of utility in analysing the Quiche. For example, explanations for Quiche fissioning have focused on rather easy explanations of population pressure and depletion of agricultural soils. But these explanations do not fit what we are now beginning to understand about the Maya, that is, that there probably was very little population pressure and that the Maya were excellent at maintaining the fertility of these soils.

I would suggest that putting the case of the Quiche into complexity theory, like we did for the ancient Greeks might produce some fruitful conclusions. There is much reason to argue that we could see the Quiche, like the Greeks as a culture in a phase transition. Little work has been done on the stability of early founding communities' internal structures, and they quickly moved to rapid expansion. To test whether or not they were experiencing a phase of unstable rapid change, we could look for evidence of new wealth and we might seek to analyse their burials, looking, like we have in the Greek case, for evidence for elaborate funeral feasting. This would be especially relevant to those burials of the sub-elites who, not of the royal line, but perhaps now newly wealthy, would have been seeking to establish their own structures of community power. We might also analyse the contents from elite burials during the entire period. Imported prestige items, which are well known in Maya elite burials, could signal attempts to form alliances, which later would have become the bases for the establishment of new towns, as fissioning elite groups were allying themselves with other elite groups from other communities as they were setting up new communities on the so-called frontier regions of the Quiche Yucatan and Guatemala. The case of Iron Age Greece is too important to be studied in isolation.

Conclusion

Recasting issues in the Greek Dark Ages into a frame of complexity theory has given us some new views into this critical period in the evolution of ancient Greek civilization. With its view on colonization it has cast this important period, not as one of a slow spread of Greeks into other parts of the Mediterranean, as put forth by Osborne, but as one of a rapid collapse of settlements in Greece proper. Yet it also casts these settlements, not as purposeful foundations of settlements from a settled mother city, but as resulting from the beginning of a phase transition. Parts of communities were now hiving off to settle new lands, but they were taking with them just the rudiments of the developed Greek polis. Understanding this point also allows us to view the important periods of the eighth and seventh centuries BC as part of a phase transition, where earlier institutions were to develop more fully into those of the later Classical periods, and new institutions were also

going to form, created by fresh alignments between older institutions. Since we view their relationships as 'non-linear', classically, the sum is greater than the combination of its parts. Recasting also allows us to focus on the people who must have been behind these changes, those aggrandizers who were combining old institutions and creating new ones as they were struggling to survive in the chaotic mix of a phase transition. Feasting, especially funeral feasting, can be now seen in a new role, not one limited to affirming social status which had already been achieved , but one where new social statuses were being created. Recasting this phase of Greek evolution through complexity theory also allows us to begin the long overdue process of cross-cultural analysis, as we can compare the explosion of the Greek Dark Age to other similar cultural processes. I have suggested the Quiche Maya, but there must be much more.

Finally, we owe much to Anthony Snodgrass and his introduction of structural models in the Iron Age. Without his pioneering advance and breadth of understanding, it would not be possible today for me to suggest that we consider a new approach.

Notes

1 Opinions on when significant social structural change took place on Crete are conflicting: Wallace 2010 argues for a tenth-century BC date for such change, and Haggis 2014 for the seventh or sixth century BC. My own work favors the latter.

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