Herança – History, Heritage and Culture Journal
2025, 7(Special), 86-93
ISSN: 2184-3090
https://revistaheranca.com

Literature Review

The Orientalizing Revolution in Early Archaic Greece: An Imaginative Concept and its Representations

Yongbin Li [1]

[1] Professor, School of History, Capital Normal University, Beijing, China
* **Corresponding Author:** liyongbin@cnu.edu.cn

Citation: Li, Y. (2025). The orientalizing revolution in early archaic Greece: An imaginative concept and its representations. *Herança, 7*(Special), 86-93. https://doi.org/10.52152/heranca.v7special.1125

ARTICLE INFO

Received: 11 Nov 2024
Accepted: 27 Feb 2025

ABSTRACT

The term "orientalizing revolution", first put forward by John Boardman in 1990, gained a wide audience after the publication of Walter Burkert's book The Orientalizing Revolution. This article explores the studies on the so-called "orientalizing revolution" as a point of entry into a wider discussion of orientalizing phenomena in early archaic Greece and the conceptualisation of the term "orientalizing revolution", analysing in what degree the use of this term is reasonable and in what context it has been abused. It must be recognised that orientalizing was indeed a historical phenomenon that occurred in early archaic Greece. Perhaps in artistic terms the word "revolution" is justified. However, reconstructing the context of cultural exchange or even historical development based on the flow of artificial products requires more analyses of society as a whole. In Greek society as a whole of 750–650 B.C., there were indeed a great number of changes, several of which were influenced by the Near East. Nevertheless, the foundation and core of the social structure was polis, which has little to do with the Near East, nor rise and develop suddenly in that century. To summarise, when describing and discussing the orientalizing phenomena in early archaic Greece, we should be very cautious when it comes to the term "revolution".

Keywords: Orientalizing Revolution; Early Archaic Greece; Orientalizing Period; The rise of the Polis

THE USE AND ABUSE OF THE TERM "ORIENTALIZING REVOLUTION"

The term "orientalizing revolution" was first put forward by John Boardman in 1990. In his *Al Mina and History*, Boardman states,

> The orientalising of the material culture of Greece began in a sporadic fashion by around 900 B.C., with immigrant craftsmen and imported objects. The true orientalising revolution on the Greek mainland, which was widespread and lasting in its consequences, was a phenomenon of the eighth century and it was created by exposure to the techniques and products of North Syria and beyond, rather than those of Phoenicia (Boardman, 1990, p. 185).

The main purpose of Boardman was to discuss the archaeological discoveries at Al Mina. He merely mentions the term "orientalizing revolution" in passing, without broaching the intention and extension of this term. That this term would go on to spark such strong reactions and controversy was perhaps beyond his expectations.

It was Walter Burkert who gained a wider audience for the term. In 1992, when Burkert revised and translated his German monograph into English in cooperation with Margaret E. Pinder, he worded his title as *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. In fact, the work of Burkert was much more rigorous than this radical title might suggest. Burkert did not discuss the concept of "orientalizing revolution", and rather placed a focus on specific cultural issues such as migrant craftsmen, magic and medicine from east to west, Akkadian and early Greek literature, etc. Throughout the entire book, he uses the

Copyright © 2025 by Author/s and Licensed by Herança. This is an open access article distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution License which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

term "orientalizing revolution" only three times. One usage is found in the last sentence of the introduction, "It is the formative epoch of Greek civilisation that experienced the orientalizing revolution".[1] The other two appear in conclusion: "With bronze reliefs, textiles, seals, and other products, a whole world of eastern images was opened up which the Greeks were only too eager to adopt and to adapt in the course of an 'orientalizing revolution'" (Burkert, 1992, p. 128); "It is precisely the Homeric epoch of Greece that is the epoch of the orientalizing revolution" (Burkert, 1992, p. 129). Before these two claims, he gives a brief discussion:

> Culture is not a plant sprouting from its seed in isolation; it is a continuous process of learning guided by curiosity along with practical needs and interests. It grows especially through a willingness to learn from what is 'other', what is strange and foreign. A revolutionary period such as the Orientalizing epoch provided this very opportunity for cultural development. The 'miracle of Greece' is not merely the result of a unique talent. It also owes its existence to the simple phenomenon that the Greeks are the most easterly of the Westerners." (Burkert, 1992, pp. 127-128).

These statements did not appear in the German edition, nor did Burkert explain the intention and extension of the term "orientalizing revolution" in the English edition. Perhaps he considered the "revolution" to be self-evident by the various instances of cultural borrowing which he had cited.

Understandably, Burkert's work provoked strong reactions.[2] Many scholars, such as Thomas (1994) and Mandell's (1994) academic reviews discussed this book and the term "orientalizing revolution". A particular mention should be reserved for the review by Martin Bernal, the author of *Black Athena*. Bernal viewed the work of Burkert to be much more radical than suggested by the title of the German version, which translates as "The Orientalizing Age in Greek Religion and Literature" (Bernal, 1996, p.137). In my opinion, the work of Burkert was much more reserved and rigorous than its radical English title suggests. In fact, it was Bernal himself who was famous for radical ideas. In 1996, *Black Athena* was heavily criticised and Bernal engaged in a heated debate with other scholars. It is not surprising that Bernal highly praised Burkert, because he think Burkert's "revolution" is in harmony with his "Black Athena" in essence.

Chinese scholars Yang Huang and Shaoxiang Yan introduced Burkert's work in *An Introduction to Greek History*, in which they asserts that "Burkert was the pioneer who profoundly reconsidered the cultural unblemishedness of ancient Greek civilisation. He provided the first comprehensive discussion of the Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early archaic age" (Huang & Yan, 2009, p. 189).

Some further interpretations of the concept of "orientalizing revolution" have been made by Wei Ruan. In the introduction to the Chinese version of Burkert's *The Orientalizing Revolution*, Ruan sums up Burkert's arguments as follows:

> The import of oriental culture greatly raised the level of Greek civilisation and allowed it to make a great leap forward in its development. The Greeks absorbed ancient oriental civilisation so deeply and so broadly that it can certainly be said that ancient Greece was experiencing an "orientalizing revolution" during that epoch.[3]

He cites Starr's statement, "(Greece) huddled up and hid in an obscure corner beyond the seas and the forbidding mass of Asia Minor" (Burkert, 2010, p. 2), but in translation he twists Starr's original phrase "tucked off" (Starr, 1961, p. 199) to the much more negative phrase "huddled up and hid". From this negative starting point, he goes on to make more radical interpretations of Burkert's original intention. For example,

> Greece's special geographical location was the reason why it could conveniently 'pick up' [the achievements of others] but also had no need to worry about its territory being annexed. It is a fundamental fact that the Greek civilisation was not the original civilisation but a late-developing or secondary civilisation which was based on multiple primary civilisations, primarily the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilisations. Greece was a civilisation which experienced 'orientalizing' or an 'orientalizing revolution' around the 8th-7th centuries B.C. (Burkert, 2010, p. 3).

On its relationship to Egypt and Mesopotamia, Ruan used a generational metaphor to liken Greek civilisation to the "son", additionally claiming that Western civilisations, the successors of Greek civilisations, were the

---

[1] Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, 8. Burkert has made sure the term "orientalizing revolution" is from Boardman (1990), p. 156, note 17.

[2] The German edition had already attracted widespread attention and discussion. See Neumann (1985), Walcot (1986), M. L. West (1986), etc.

[3] Wei Ruan, Introduction to the Chinese version of Walter Burkert's *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age,* p. 2.

"grandchild" civilisations of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian. In this sense, the relationship between Greek civilisation and the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilisations was akin to the relationship between the Japanese, Korean and Chinese civilisations, which was one between a developing world and the developed world, which could be mapped out from the centre to the margins (Burkert, 2010, p. 4).

Ruan's arguments evidently contain an emotional aspect, perhaps spurred on because he considers himself, as a Chinese scholar, to also hail from "the Orient", and views Chinese civilization as a "central civilization". It is possible that he feels it is his responsibility to promote these kinds of "superiority of the Eastern civilization" and "superiority of a central civilization". This ideological tendency can be illustrated by his other works, e. g. *Unfree Greek Democracy*, *Comparison of Religion, Civilization and Culture: China and the West,* etc. (Ruan, 2002, 2009).

In fact, the proposition of an "orientalizing revolution" and its expanding influence was the result of the extension and expansion of two topics: "orientalizing" and "The Orientalizing Period". The application of the term "orientalizing" to designate a style in the art of the ancient Greeks came from Alexander Conze in 1870. Conze, who was a professor at the University of Vienna, thought that the term could define the style of the painted vases that had been discovered in Etruscan tombs in Italy during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1980, Murray first put forward the term "Orientalizing Period". The sixth chapter of his *Early Greece* was titled *The Orientalizing Period*. It was this book that took the concept from art history and applied it to society as a whole for the first time.[4] Murray claimed that contact with the Near East brought with it many changes to Greek society in one century 750 to 650 B.C. He argued that the means by which this transmission occurred and the effect it had on the Greek recipients can best be studied in three main areas: art, religion and literacy (Murray, 1980, pp. 80-81). In Murray's footsteps, more and more scholars began to focus on orientalizing phenomena in early archaic Greece. The most important works include Sarah Morris' *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (S. P. Morris, 1992); Martin L. West's *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (M. L. West, 1999); Tamás Dezsö's "Oriental Influence in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Helmet Traditions in the 9th-7th Centuries B.C.: The Patterns of Orientalization" (Dezsö, 1998, p. 691); and two conference proceedings, *Greece between East and West, 10th-8th centuries B.C.* (Mainz, 1990); *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Riva & Vella, 2006). The latest work is Ann-Sofie Diener's doctoral thesis *The Orientalizing Phenomenon on Crete, 9th-7th Centuries B.C.* (Oxford, 2017). All these works clearly or implicitly give a definition of what is meant by orientalising. That is to say, during the period from 750 B.C. to 650 B.C., Egypt, Levant, Mesopotamia and other Eastern civilizations exerted significant influence on Greek civilization, changed some basic features of Greek civilization.

Under these circumstances, some scholars have taken the proposition of an "orientalizing revolution" into the framework for the study of civilisation exchange between Greece and the East, forming a cluster of related terminology: "Orientalizing-The Orientalizing Period - Orientalizing Revolution". The foundation of this cluster is the influence of "the East" and Eastern civilisation on the Greek civilisation. There are two crucial questions that was raised and still not answered satisfactorily. First, was this orientalizing a process in which the Greeks transformed what they received initiatively and consciously, or was it just that some knowledge was passively received from the East? Second, does orientalizing suggest a period of steady but non-persistent influence, or a total transformation? Does orientalizing suggest recentralization (a shift from West-centrism to Orient-centrism)? If not, why? (Riva & Vella, 2006, p. 26) These two questions are very difficult to answer, especially the latter. For this reason, rigorous scholars have tended to focus only on analysing specific cultural exchanges and have refused to build up the patterns of civilisation communication before more conclusive evidence is discovered. As Burkert clearly announced,

> My emphasis is deliberately on providing evidence for correspondences and for the likelihood of borrowings. If in certain cases the materials themselves do not provide incontrovertible evidence of cultural transfer, the establishment of similarities will still be of value, as it serves to free both the Greek and the Oriental phenomena from their isolation and to create an arena of possible comparisons (Burkert, 1992, p. 8).

THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF "ORIENTALIZING REVOLUTION"

Thousands of cases in which oriental culture had an impact on early archaic Greece were cited by the works mentioned above along with many other works. Nevertheless, these specific cases of borrowing are still not enough to constitute the overall character of archaic Greek civilisation. The orientalizing was indeed a historical

[4] Murray himself had made sure of it in the preface to second edition of *Early Greece* (London, 1993).

phenomena which occurred in archaic Greece. But as described above, the area of orientalizing was mainly limited to art, with a certain degree of orientalizing occurring in the realms of religion, literacy and language. We can also see the influence of the East in some specific social and cultural matters, such as philosophy (M. L. West, 2002), architecture (Cook, 2004) and social customs such as the symposium (Murray, 1980, p. 81). As to whether it can be called "orientalizing" or "orientalisation", there are not enough samples or pieces of conclusive evidence for analysis. What may be confirmed is that the Greeks retained their uniqueness and creativity in many areas, such as historiography, lyrics, political institutions, etc.

In fact, the term "orientalizing revolution" is a combination of two terms: "orientalizing" and "revolution". Initially, the term revolution was a political concept, referring to a substantial change in the institutional structures of a society. In research on ancient history, the term "revolution" is also used in other areas. For example, "the eighth-century revolution" (this term is also questionable for reasons I shall explain later), its basic meaning is the structural change of the rise of the polis (I. Morris, 2009). Coincidentally, the timing of the eighth-century revolution has also been placed between 750–650 B.C. by some historians, a precise overlap with the orientalizing period as suggested by Oswyn Murray. In my opinion, the conceptualisation of "orientalizing revolution" was in fact the result of an expanded understanding of orientalizing within art history. "Orientalizing" was originally a concept belonging to art history, and perhaps in artistic terms the word "revolution" is justified. But the comparative study of art was relatively feasible, because there are so many specific products that can be taken as evidence. As soon as the term "Orientalizing" was expanded from the field of art history to the entire society, the problem automatically arose. The term "orientalizing" from art history is more suited to explaining material culture than for the whole society. Reconstructing the context of cultural exchange or even historical development based on the flow of artificial products requires more analyses of society as a whole. Although the Greeks borrowed many things from the East, what they absorbed were those elements that could be adapted to their own land. Oriental influences merely strengthened or accelerated inherent tendencies in some aspects of Greek society. Just as Starr states, if at that point Greece resumed "close contact with the Orient, this connection rose largely because men of the eighth-century Aegean were ready to widen their ken and to build more loftily" (Starr, 1961, p. 194).

However, if one detaches the argument from specific cultural issues, while neglecting to analyse the specifics of the term "orientalizing" and placing an unbalanced emphasis on the idea of a "revolution", then it is inevitable that some elements of ethnocentrism will be incorporated. This attitude in fact traps one in a similar imagined construction to that of "orientalism", which runs the risk of causing further oversimplification and radicalism.

The author of *The Orientalizing Revolution* Walter Burkert was a very serious classicalist. As mentioned above, while his work may have had a radical title, its demonstration was rigorous. He did not simply mix up concepts and terms, nor did he seek proof for preconceived ideas, rather focusing on providing evidence to create an arena of possible comparisons. Perhaps the title choice of "The Orientalizing Revolution" was simply to attract more attention. Even Bernal's *Black Athena* has suffered much criticism. While the first volume of *Black Athena* (Bernal, 1987) may only be regarded as a broad criticism of Eurocentrism, the greater detail of the historical materials and arguments of Volumes II (Bernal, 1991) and III (Bernal, 2006) should draw more attention from serious classicalist. However, there have indeed been other works of fewer rigors with regard to both title and content, such as George G. James' *Stolen Legacy: Greek Philosophy is Stolen Egyptian Philosophy*. Although many ancient Greek and Roman authors believed Greek philosophy may have come from Egypt,[5] it is not an easy task to draw conclusions about the directional flow of philosophical thought from material artefacts or human activities. Therefore, the falsehoods of his arguments are evident everywhere. Examples include: "The period of Greek philosophy (640–322 B.C.) was a period of internal and external wars and was unsuitable for producing philosophers" (James, 2001, p. 22); "because of the circumstances of identity between the Egyptian and Greek systems, Greek philosophy was the offspring of the Egyptian mystery system" (James, 2001, p. 27-28), etc. Such simple and radical arguments are unacceptable in rigorous academic research. Even if we accept the choice of "stolen legacy" as a title aimed at attracting attention, the fact that the author repeated this strong emotional term throughout his whole work must cause many antipathies.[6] I believe that the concept of "orientalizing revolution" has in some ways been of positive significance in correcting the isolationistic tendencies of classical research, and

[5] See Herodotus, *Histories,* ii. p. 81; Isocrates, *Busiris*, p. 28; Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, v. 3. p. 9; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, i. p. 12; Clement, *Stromateis*, i. p. 61.

[6] *Stolen Legacy* was written during Dr. James' tenure at the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff. As of today, there is not even a copy of the book in the University library. There is no statue or bust of Dr. James on the campus. There is no plaque of Dr. James adorning the campus walls. There is not even a certificate to note Dr. James' existence or that he even lived. This is at a historically Black college! Dr. James's tragic death, reputedly under mysterious circumstances, came shortly after *Stolen Legacy*'s publication. To date, no significant biography of James has been presented. See James, *Stolen Legacy*, "Biography".

stands up against Eurocentrism and ethnocentrism, but such radical understandings and interpretations of this concept are hypercorrections and inevitably take things to another extreme.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY OF GREEK SOCIETY IN THE 8TH–7TH CENTURIES B.C.

In Greek society as a whole from 750–650 B.C., there were indeed a great number of changes, several of which were influenced by the East. Nevertheless, the foundation and core of the social structure was *polis*, which has little to do with the Near East, nor rise and develop suddenly in that century, and rather came about through slow social development on-going since the Mycenaean period.

The question "when did the *polis* rise" was first raised by Victor Ehrenberg in 1937 (Ehrenberg, 1937). Ehrenberg considered the *polis* to have risen during the eighth century B.C., which was widely recognised by classical scholars and became the starting point of much subsequent research (Finley, 1957; Murray, 1980, pp. 62-68; Osborne, 1996; Hägg, 1983). Chester Starr suggested that "the age of revolution, 750–650 B.C., was the most dramatic development in all Greek history" (Starr, 1961, p. 190), and it has been summarised in "The Eighth-Century Revolution" by Ian Morris,[7] and further illuminated as a "structural revolution" by Snodgrass (2006; 1981, pp. 15-84).

But these views have been questioned. Since the 1980s, classicists have proposed more gradualist interpretations of the rise of the polis. Some scholars tried to trace the origin of the *polis* from the Mycenaean period or even earlier. Henri van Effenterre suggested the large public "square" or "Agora" excavated at Mallia was evidence of a political and social organization independent of the palace (Effenterre, 1980, p. 210). Silvia Damiani Indelicato demonstrated that there were some places similar to the archaic and classical "Agora" at Mallia, Knossos and Phaistos at a pre palatial time, that is to say, that a central place of assembly had existed since then (Indelicato, 1982, pp. 19-121). The opinions of Effenterre and Indelicato were backed up by Pierre Carlier and Marie-Joséphine Werlings, and Effenterre himself (Carlier, 1984, pp. 30-43; Effenterre, 1985, pp. 45-95; Werlings, 2014, pp. 21-45). However, merely relying on these squares to assert the existence of the assembly, and then inferring that the assembly was an important organisation at that time in the absence of more reliable evidence, is obviously problematic. Therefore, more scholars have tended to research the origin of *polis* from Homeric society[8] or from the so-called "Dark Age" between the Mycenaean period and Homeric society. J. V. Luce indicated that Homer's conception of the *polis* "foreshadows the *polis* of the classical period" (Luce, 1978), not only because it constituted a centre of government protected by fortifications, but also because it formed the main focus of habitation and loyalty for the people of a distinct and circumscribed region (Luce, 1978). Kurt A. Raaflaub claimed the Homeric world was full of *poleis*. Homeric *polis* was indeed a community of persons or citizens more than the sum total of autonomous *oikoi*, because the individual's primary focus on family and *oikos* did not exclude a high valuation of service to and responsibility for the *polis* (Raaflaub, 1997). Having criticised "The Eighth-Century Revolution", Yang Huang followed Sarah Morris to claim that the rise of the polis should be regarded as the result of a gradual, long-term transformation of Greek society that began with the collapse of central power in the Mycenaean kingdoms rather than that of a so-called revolutionary change. What the Homeric poems described was probably an intermediate link between the Mycenaean civilisation and the world of the *polis* (Huang, 2010). The excavations of Lefkandi and other sites have inspired scholars to re-examine their understanding of "the Dark Age", although some scholars insist that Lefkandi was just an exception and can hardly serve to refute the concept of a Dark Age (Hall, 2007, pp. 59-66; Dickinson, 2006, p. 238). I have no intention of totally denying that the term "the Dark Age" contains some true historical facts. But just as its supporter Dickinson admits, the Postpalatial Period should probably be seen not as a relatively brief and dispiriting epilogue to the history of the Aegean Bronze Age, but as a potentially very significant stage, with distinctive characteristics, which could have exercised considerable influence on the later course of development (Dickinson, 2006, p. 60). In the 8th–7th centuries B.C., with agricultural progress, population growth, commercial and emigrant activities, the Greek world, having developed slowly since the Mycenaean period experienced some rapid development. This development is concentrated and characterised by the rise of the polis.

---

[7] Ian Morris said that "The eighth-century revolution" was chosen by the editors as the title for this chapter, and added that he thought it was "appropriate". See I. Morris (2009), "The Eighth-Century Revolution", p. 66.

[8] As for the timing of Homeric society, the 8th century is accepted by most scholars, the 7th century by a few other scholars, while Finley prefers 10th-9th centuries. See Yan (2006), *Studies on Homeric Society*, pp. 23-50. Anyway, there was a gap of several centuries between the Mycenaean period and Homeric society.

CONCLUSION

In summary, from the Mycenaean period to Homeric society, even with the so-called "Dark Age" between them, the *polis* world continuity existed in several aspects of Greek society, especially in religion (Burkert, 1985, p. 48; Dietrich, 1997), which was one of the most important bases of the *polis*. Greek society indeed experienced a profound change during the 8th–7th Centuries B.C. On the one hand, this change was the natural result of the long period of slow development of Greek society itself. On the other hand, this change was rooted in a Mediterranean-wide process of state formation (I. Morris, 1987, pp. 171-210). In this process, the influence of the East cannot be ignored, especially during the century between 750–650 B.C. However, in view of the reasons discussed above, when describing and discussing orientalizing phenomena in early archaic Greece, we should be very cautious when it comes to the term "revolution".

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This article was supported by the Major Program of National Science Foundation of China (24&ZD301) and Unique Discipline Support Program of Chinese Academy of History: Western Classics. I greatly acknowledge professor Irene Lemos (Faculty of Classics, University of Oxford) for her useful suggestions and careful corrections to this manuscript.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR

Yongbin Li was born and studied in China. He received his Ph.D from the Department of History, Beijing Normal University with a thesis entitled "Studies on Apollo Cult". He is the author of Greece and Orient: Civilization Exchange and Mutual Learning (Chinese version, Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2023). He is currently a professor at Capital Normal University of Beijing, China. Now he is focusing on the Civilization Exchange between Greece and the Orient.

REFERENCES

Bernal, M. (1987). *Black Athena: Afro-Asiatic roots of classical civilization: The fabrication of ancient Greece, 1785-1985* (Vol. 1). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Bernal, M. (1991). *Black Athena: Afro-Asiatic roots of classical civilization: The archaeological and documentary evidence* (Vol. 2). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Bernal, M. (1996). Burkert's orientalizing revolution [Review of the book *The orientalizing revolution: Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early archaic age*, by W. Burkert & M. E. Pinder]. *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, *4*(2), 137-147.

Bernal, M. (2006). *Black Athena: Afro-Asiatic roots of classical civilization: The linguistic evidence* (Vol. 3). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Boardman, J. (1990). Al Mina and history. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, *9*(2), 169-190.

Burkert, W. (1985). *Greek religion: Archaic and classical* (J. Raffan, Trans.). Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

Burkert, W. (1992). *The orientalizing revolution: Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early archaic age* (M. E. Pinder & W. Burkert, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burkert, W. (2010). *Dongfang hua geming: Gufeng shidai qianqi jindong dui gu Xila wenhua de yingxiang* [The orientalizing revolution: Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early archaic age] (Z. Liu, Trans.). Shanghai, China: SDX Joint Publishing Company.

Carlier, P. (1984). *La Royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*. Strasbourg, France: AECR.

Cook, E. (2004). Near Eastern sources for the Palace of Alkinoos. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *108*(1), 43-77.

Dezsö, T. (1998). *Oriental influence in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean helmet traditions in the 9th-7th centuries BC: The patterns of orientalization*. Oxford, UK: BAR Publishing.

Dickinson, O. (2006). *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age: Continuity and change between the twelfth and eighth centuries BC*. London, UK: Routledge.

Dietrich, B. (1997). From Knossos to Homer. In A. B. Lloyd (Ed.), *What Is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity* (pp. 1-14). London, UK: Classical Press of Wales.

Effenterre, H. V. (1980). *Le palais de Mallia et la cité minoenne: Étude de synthèse*. Roma, Italy: Edizioni dell'Ateneo

Effenterre, H. V. (1985). *La cité grecque: Des origines à la défaite de Marathon*. Paris, France: Hachette littérature.

Ehrenberg, V. (1937). When did the Polis rise. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *57*, 147-159.

Finley, M. I. (1957). Homer and Mycenae: Property and tenure. *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, *6*(2), 133-159.

Hägg, R. (1983). *The Greek Renaissance of the eighth century B.C.: Tradition and innovation*. Stockholm, Sweden: Svenska institutet i Athen.

Hall, J. (2007). *A history of the Archaic Greek World, Ca. 11200-479 B.C.E*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Pub.

Huang, Y. (2010). Mycenae, the "Dark Age" and the rise of the Greek Polis. *World History*, *3*, 32-41.

Huang, Y., & Yan, S. (2009). *An introduction to Greek history*. Beijing, China: Peking University Press.

Indelicato, S. D. (1982). *Piazza pubblica e palazzo nella Creta Minoica*. Roma, Italy: Jouvence.

James, G. G. (2001). *Stolen legacy: Greek philosophy is stolen Egyptian Philosophy*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press. (Original work published 1992)

Luce, J. V. (1978). The "Polis" in Homer and Hesiod. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, *78*, 1-15.

Mandell, S. (1994). [Review of the book *The orientalizing revolution: Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early archaic age,* by W. Burkert]. *The Classical World*, 87(6), 517.

Morris, I. (1987). *Burial and ancient society: The rise of the Greek city-state*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Morris, I. (2009). The eighth-century revolution. In K. A. Raaflaub & H. van WeesA (Eds.), *A Companion to*

Archaic Greece (pp. 64-80). https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444308761.ch4

Morris, S. P. (1992). Daidalos and the origins of Greek art. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Murray, O. (1980). *Early Greece*. Brighton, UK: Harvester Press.

Neumann, G. (1985). [Review of the book *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur,* by W. Burkert]. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, *98*(2), 304-306.

Osborne, R. (1996). Forming communities: The eighth century BC. In *Greece in the Making: 1200-479 BC* (pp. 35-99). London, UK: Routledge.

Raaflaub, K. A. (1997). Homeric society. In I. Morris & B. Powell (Eds.), *A new companion to Homer* (pp. 625-648). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Riva, C., & Vella, N. C. (Eds.). (2006). *Debating orientalization: Multidisciplinary approaches to change in the ancient Mediterranean*. New York, NY: Equinox.

Ruan, W. (2002). *Comparison of religion, civilization and culture: China and the West*. Beijing, China: Social Scientific Documentation Publishing House.

Ruan, W. (2009). *Unfree Greek democracy*. Shanghai, China: Joint Publishing.

Snodgrass, A. M. (1981). *Archaic Greece: The age of experiment*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Snodgrass, A. M. (2006). *Archaeology and the rise of the Greek city state*. In Snodgrass, *archaeology and the emergence of Greece: Collected papers on early greece and related topics (1965-2002)* (pp. 198-220). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press. (Original work published 1977)

Starr, C. G. (1961). *The origins of Greek civilization, 1100 -650 BC*. New York, NY: Knopf.

Thomas, C. G. (1994). [Review of the book *The orientalizing revolution: Near Eastern influence on Greek culture in the early archaic age*, by W. Burkert). *The American Historical Review*, *99*(1), 202-203.

Walcot, P. (1986). [Review of the book *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur,* by W. Burkert]. *The Classical Review*, 36(1), 151.

Werlings, M. J. (2014). *Le dèmos avant la démocratie: Mots, concepts, réalités historiques*. Nanterre, France: Presses universitaires de Paris ouest.

West, M. L. (1986). [Review of the book *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur,* by W. Burkert]. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *106*, 233-234.

West, M. L. (1999). *The east face of Helikon: West Asiatic elements in Greek poetry and myth*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

West, M. L. (2002). *Early Greek philosophy and the Orient*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1971)

Yan, S. (2006). *Studies on Homeric society*. Shanghai, China: Shanghai People's Publishing House.

ETHICAL DECLARATION

Conflict of interest: No declaration required. **Financing:** No reporting required. **Peer review:** Double anonymous peer review.