

logical studies of Attica to produce a rich portrayal of the representation and reality of poverty in Classical Athens. Overall, then, this is a hugely successful study, which provides a refreshing and insightful approach to the poor in Classical Athens. Our understanding of the dynamics of class relations in Classical Athens is greatly improved owing to Taylor's work.

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FRANCHI (E.) **Die Konflikte zwischen Thessalern und Phokern: Krieg und Identität in der griechischen Errinerungskultur des 4. Jahrhunderts.** Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2016. Pp. 528. €69. 9783831645381.

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This book is a significant contribution to an important area of recent and current scholarship: regional studies and in particular the analysis of ethnicity and ethnogenesis in the ancient world. It joins works such as Stephanie L. Larson's *Tales of Epic Ancestry* (Stuttgart 2007), Nino Luraghi's *The Ancient Messenians* (Cambridge 2008) and Maria Mili's *Religion and Society in Ancient Thessaly* (Oxford 2015), but its task is arguably harder than most. Unlike Larson's Boeotia, Franchi's Phokis left no enduring tradition of self-presentation through surviving epic and, unlike Mili's Thessaly, the epigraphic record (outside Delphi) is slight. Recovering Phokian voices is no easy task. Until 1999, Phokis was, in terms of our understanding, a murky area on the map of ancient Greece. Then, the publication of Jeremy McInerney's *The Folds of Parnassos* (Austin 1999) brought considerable new illumination, especially of how the Phokians articulated their own collective identity.

Summarizing in full the arguments of a work as complex as Franchi's is beyond the scope of this review (and, in any case, Franchi herself provides a remarkably comprehensive summary in her *Schlussbemerkungen*: 329–55). In essence, however, she analyses the role of the Thessalians, as a hostile entity on – and sometimes crossing – Phokis' borders, in shaping Phokian collective identity and self-presentation. The importance of the common enemy in forming the self-awareness of ancient communities has long been recognized. For Franchi, the Thessalians did not create

Phokian identity *ex nihilo*, but they were the single most significant galvanizing factor. They represented, ultimately, the hideous possibilities against which Phokians must band together: encroachment, enslavement, annihilation. Though sparked by real events, the conflict between the two *ethnē* generated a complex tradition couched, according to Franchi (who is deeply influenced by the historians of religion Angelo Brelich and Pierre Ellinger), in the imagery of folklore and social ritual (in particular, rites of maturation).

The book's greatest strengths are the wealth of detail within this general framework and the sophistication with which it charts the evolution of themes over time and between sources: in particular, the way in which the hostile presentation of Phokians as guilty of hubris and *asebeia* (impiety) is co-opted by the Phokians themselves and turned into a discourse of *aponoia* (desperation) and the triumphant overcoming thereof. The pitfalls of approaching the Phokian perspective through highly distorting non-Phokian texts are avoided through deep understanding of those texts, their contexts and interrelations, especially – no mean feat – with regard to the tangled geopolitics of the fourth century and the Third and Fourth Sacred Wars. One of the central episodes of the story of Phokian identity is the mysterious First Sacred War. This conflict has been analysed by several historians over the decades, with varying degrees of scepticism, and one might expect little new to be achieved by yet another treatment. But, in fact, Phokian motivations have tended to be sidelined in analyses of the fourth-century embellishment of the tradition, and Franchi certainly succeeds in revealing an added dimension by restoring Phokian agency to the picture. Her treatment of archaeological material also adds significantly to the nuanced picture she builds up through the book, in particular her consideration of the site of Kalapodi (Abai).

A major accomplishment of the book is to acknowledge the dialogic nature of identity-expression between hostile neighbours. It is too easy to assume that a story like that of the Battle of the Gypsum (in which the Phokians defeat the Thessalians by smearing their faces with white gypsum and unnerving their opponents by their uncanny appearance) must be of solely Phokian creation because they are the victors; as Franchi shows, the story served Thessalian purposes as well, by excusing their defeat ('Nur ein *teras* – nicht die Phoker – konnte die Thessaler bremsen', 323) and establishing the southern limits of their

territory. The picture she thus creates, of two *ethnē* passing stories back and forth, adapting them and reshaping them in order to establish where the boundaries – both geographical and in terms of character – lay, is highly convincing and helps to move our understanding beyond a simplistic view of enmity. She is right, I think, to posit Thessalian sources for Herodotus' version of the story; as I have tried to show elsewhere, his narrative of Xerxes' invasion (in which context the Thessalian-Phokian conflict appears in his work) shows clear signs of strong Thessalian influence (this is argued in an article, forthcoming in *Hermathena*, on Herodotus' representation of Thessalian medism).

For all its genuine importance and merit, the book is – inevitably – not without flaws. On the most basic level, it is written in a cumbersome and prolix manner that does detract from the power of its argument in places, especially when past scholarship is laboriously summarized. For a work in which space, topography and locations are so important, the maps are not really adequate (though this is likely to be something over which the author had very little control). Neither of these demerits, however, should dissuade scholars interested in regional history and identity from reading what is undoubtedly an important addition to the field.

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CONSTANTAKOPOULOU (C.) **Aegean Interactions: Delos and its Networks in the Third Century.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. Pp. xvi + 331. £80. 9780198787273.

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Constantakopoulou's book on third-century Delos is a welcome addition to the growing number of regional studies of the Greek world. Hitherto, many of these have been located within the context of Greek religion, and, whilst Constantakopoulou's main focus is, of course, Delian sanctuaries, her purview is broader, encompassing political and social dynamics, and she demonstrates what can be accomplished in this regard with the extant epigraphic evidence. The dearth of narrative histories of the island has proved a difficulty for reconstructing the history of independent Delos, and questions of chronology and the relationship of the island with the hellenistic royal powers, as represented in the sparse literary

sources, have been key elements of earlier scholarship; these problems are overcome here by shifting the focus to the island itself and how it was positioned within various networks of interaction. What emerges is a complex picture of the multiple spheres in which Delos operated and how the Delians created and maintained various links to other parts of the Aegean world, near and far. In this sense, the book succeeds as being a history of the Greek world focalized through areas that lay outside the traditional centres of power.

The dynamics of power, however, remain central to much here. The book is arranged around four case studies of Delian interactions that reflect overlapping – and interconnecting – elements of local, regional and more broadly situated Aegean networks: the Islanders' League, centred on the Cyclades, which constructed a strong regional identity through its institutional framework (chapter 2), patterns of monumentalization on the island itself, showing the interactions and tensions between local and royal (large-scale) dedicatory practices (chapter 3), power relations as attested primarily in proxeny decrees and other honours (chapter 4), and the social dynamics of dedication as seen in the inventories (the geographical origin, gender and social status of dedicants are the main variables here). The gendered patterns of dedication are particularly noteworthy: although women dedicated in fewer numbers than men, comparison with other sanctuaries suggests that they were, in fact, more frequent and active dedicants on Delos than elsewhere and typically lived in relatively close proximity (in comparison to men who came from a wider geographical area). In contrast, the types of dedications made by women – at least those recorded in the inventories – did not differ significantly from those made by men (chapter 5). The latter two chapters are supported by detailed appendixes that usefully tabulate the epigraphic data. Together, these build a case for multiple interlocking networks of interaction that, collectively, attest to the creation of a regional identity centred on Delos, but always in fluid interaction with other parts of the Aegean world.

Constantakopoulou is clear throughout about the limitations and constraints of tracing networks through the extant sources. The book was originally conceived as a quantitative analysis of Delian networks within the southern Aegean using Social Network Analysis (SNA; influenced by Giovanni Ruffini's *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt*, Cambridge 2008), but chapter 1 explains