

As pointed out by Morris (2003, 30–33), connections of every type and range are rapidly becoming an integral feature of the archaeologists and historians' conceptual tool box, as the emphasis on local explanations and autonomous developments gives way to more complex and better integrated representations of Mediterranean communities and societies in the past.

Parallel to and no doubt associated with this development is a renewed interest in the colonial situations of the ancient Mediterranean. Colonization, as it is habitually referred to in this context, has always been a prominent theme in Classical studies but it has become a major concern in the wider discipline of archaeology only in recent years. This has resulted in a spate of publications that have tended to compare colonial situations across a wide range of chronological and regional contexts. Because of the wide coverage, these have nearly all been edited volumes (e.g. Lyons & Papadopoulos 2002). The few monographs to appear so far have addressed a specific colonial topic such as the colonized (e.g. Given 2004), comprised only summary case studies to underpin a wider argument (e.g. Gosden 2004) or focused squarely on one major colonial situation to draw conclusions with a wider relevance (e.g. Lightfoot 2005). Inspired by postcolonial theories, these recent studies adopt innovative perspectives, most notably an explicit focus on the indigenous inhabitants of the regions involved — 'the colonized', as Given's (2004) title puts it succinctly (see van Dommelen 2006).

The Iron Age and early Classical periods of the Mediterranean have featured prominently among these studies, alongside those of the Early Modern northern Atlantic, reflecting the long-standing interest in colonial matters among Classical and historical archaeologists. Yet there is an interesting discrepancy between conventional studies of Classical colonization and the more recent ones exploring colonialism in the ancient Mediterranean: while the Greek colonial settlements in south Italy and Sicily (*Magna Graecia*) command most attention among the former, the latter tend to examine Roman or Phoenician colonial exploits or Greek foundations in less known areas of the Mediterranean such as the Black Sea or southern France. It is indeed only in the last few years that the 'classic' Greek colonial situations in south Italy and Sicily are beginning to be re-examined from different theoretical perspectives (e.g. Hurst & Owen 2005; Tsetskhladze 2006).

It is against this background that we have to evaluate Tamar Hodos's book. As readily signalled by the title, *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*, the book focuses squarely on the indigenous people involved in colonial situations and

Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean, by Tamar Hodos, 2006. Abingdon: Routledge; ISBN-13 978-0-415-37836-9 hardback £65 & US\$130; 280 pp., 97 ills.

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Wider perspectives are increasingly prominent in Classical and Mediterranean archaeology in the wake of Horden & Purcell's emphasis (2000, 123–72) on 'connectivity' as a defining feature of the ancient Mediterranean. While connections within the Classical world have never been overlooked, there is now a keen interest emerging in the Mediterranean world beyond the Greek and Roman heartlands. Even the latest International Congress of Classical Archaeology has adopted 'Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean' as the theme for its meeting in 2008.

CAJ 18:1, 131–4 © 2008 McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
doi:10.1017/S095977430800019X Printed in the United Kingdom.

thus clearly stands apart from most studies of Greek colonization. In this context, the term 'Iron Age' is not just a chronological indication but also, and probably more, a reminder of the emphasis on indigenous inhabitants. The term is indeed far more appropriate than the often used, 'proto-historic', which emphasizes the colonizers and is rightly eschewed in this book.

The book is organized in a straightforward and sensible way. It starts off with a relatively short introduction that outlines the aims, the overall chronological setting and the theoretical framework. The following three chapters are much longer and constitute the core of the book: they add up to no less than 175 pages, or as much as 85 per cent of the entire volume, and offer the basic archaeological evidence, around which the book's arguments revolve. The book is rounded off by a chapter of just five pages.

Each of the three middle chapters discusses one region in detail. They follow the same thematic organization, which greatly facilitates comparison. In each, local chronologies, communities, burial customs, religious practices, consumption patterns, artistic styles and 'written voices' are covered, one by one. The three regions are north Syria, Sicily and North Africa. The connection between them is that Greek colonial settlements were established in each and that, in all three, Phoenician traders and/or settlers were never far away. The latter aspect is a conscious choice worth noting, because one of the key aims of the book is to study Greek colonization alongside and in relation to contemporary Phoenician expansion. It covers the ninth to sixth centuries BC.

It is instantly evident that Hodos's book is rooted in developments in both Mediterranean and Classical archaeology. On the one hand, the explicit focus on the indigenous inhabitants of three Mediterranean regions and their reactions to incoming foreigners fits seamlessly in the wider archaeological interest in colonialism and the postcolonial turn to the colonized. On the other hand, studying Greek colonization in conjunction with Phoenician traders and settlers is an excellent example of exploring the wider connections of the Classical world *sensu stricto*. The combination of these two features is no coincidence, as Hodos explicitly notes that she aims to bridge the lack of communication that tends to separate prehistorians of the Iron Age from Classical and Near Eastern archaeologists, even if their studies bring them to one and the same region.

The introductory chapter offers an excellent overview of the main trends concerning both the archaeology of colonialism and conventional Greek colonization studies. Concise but efficient and to the point, it sketches the theoretical background of

exchange and colonialism studies in archaeology and outlines the development of studies of Greek and Phoenician colonization. The section discussing the terminology and nature of colonial settlements is no less pertinent, even if the first pages are taken up with the typological debates in Classical archaeology about *emporion* and *apoikiai*. These tend to overshadow Hodos's conclusion, which deserves far more attention: her proposal to regard colonization not so much as 'an institutional or political manifestation' but to see it rather as 'a movement of people ... who collectively identify themselves with a certain social coherence' (p. 22) signals a refreshing break from tired typological quibbles and opens up opportunities for exploring the so-called colonial settlements as communities with connections to both their regional and overseas hinterlands.

The first of the three regional chapters examines north Syria, the region east of the Gulf of Iskenderun and the Amuq plain to the east. The key Greek settlement is Al Mina on the mouth of the River Orontes but, although there is ample evidence of Phoenician activity in the region, no definite Phoenician settlements have been identified. What this chapter brings out best is the variety of communities and societies in contact with this region and with each other; the term 'middle ground' is most appropriately used.

The second study region is Sicily, where most of the Greek colonial settlements were situated on the south and east coasts. Western Sicily, by contrast, was host to a small number of Phoenician coastal establishments. This case study is able to show that the Greek and Phoenician colonizers also influenced each other and that local Sicilians had an impact on the newcomers. Despite the overall widespread adoption of Greek traditions and material culture, Hodos manages to show convincingly that 'hellenization' was far from homogenous and straightforward.

The third case study is Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. This is the only North African region in which Greek settlements were founded; and, although these areas became more closely connected to Carthage in Punic times (sixth century BC and later), which lies over 1000 km farther west, there is very little archaeological evidence of Phoenician settlement in this region, as Hodos acknowledges. Due to the strong focus on the abundant Roman remains in North Africa, attention to the pre-Roman indigenous inhabitants has long been limited, especially in the coastal areas, so Hodos is forced to draw on evidence as far afield as the Fezzan oases, nearly 1000 km inland. For the same reason, literary and epigraphic evidence of Imperial Roman times is relied on to discuss tribal organization in the eighth and seventh centuries BC. As a consequence,

this chapter is rather problematic and it is uncertain whether the observed lack of interaction is apparent or real. Hodos rightly qualifies her conclusions as ‘highly speculative’ (p. 199).

In the conclusion to the book, connectivity is the prominent buzz-word. It begins by attributing the observed variability to ‘varied processes of connectivity’ (p. 200). These are, in turn, argued to lead to ‘processes of connections’ throughout the Mediterranean, which eventually result in the establishment of ‘new material and social norms ... gleaned from their neighbours through their discourses: the process of Mediterraneanization’ (p. 204).

As may be evident from these brief summaries, the three regional chapters appear decidedly ‘data-rich’. They are indeed largely descriptive and offer a detailed overview of the available evidence. This is one of the strengths of this book and, in this respect, Hodos has certainly achieved her objective of reuniting into three coherent accounts the hitherto compartmentalized studies of indigenous Iron Age, colonial Greek and overseas Phoenician inhabitants and traders in her study areas.

The regional chapters have benefitted much from Hodos’s long-term involvement in two of the three regions. As she has carried out doctoral research in Sicily and has been a long-standing participant in the excavations of Kinet Höyük (Turkey), one of the key sites of the north Syrian region, Hodos is able to describe the archaeological evidence of these regions in a succinct and perceptive way not matched in the discussions of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Yet one remarkable absence in the Sicilian chapter is the lack of references to the Swedish and American excavations at Monte Polizzo (southwest Sicily) that have brought to light extensive remains of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age houses with remarkably few Greek and Phoenician imports (e.g. Morris & Tusa 2004; see now De Angelis 2007, 180).

In the light of their strengths, it is somewhat disappointing that these three chapters are followed by no more than five pages of conclusions. The book may thus give the impression of being ‘data-heavy’ – less because of the detailed discussions of archaeological evidence than because of the absence of a matching evaluation and comparison of the regional data. What is missing from this volume, in my view, is a thorough and systematic comparison of the three regions that contrasts features of and highlights patterns in the regional evidence in order to give substance to the conclusions. While the observations offered in the concluding chapter are surely interesting enough and at a level of abstraction consistent with the book’s wider aims, they require a certain leap of

faith after the basic discussions of the regional chapters. For instance, one obvious line of discussion that might usefully have been followed would be the absence and presence of permanent Phoenician settlements and to what extent that contrast can be associated with the observed differences between north Syria and Sicily.

While there is scope for realizing even more of the potential brought together in this book, in no way does this diminish its achievements. No less worth noting than the wealth of archaeological evidence, is that this is the first monograph to adopt a Mediterranean-wide and systematic comparative approach to Greek colonization that is based on extensive archaeological evidence rather than the mere juxtaposition of isolated case studies. This book is also one of the first to explore one of the classic heartlands of Greek colonization studies – Sicily – inspired by the new postcolonial perspectives and to contrast it with less known areas of Greek expansion. Tsetskhladze’s recent massive edited volume (2006) comes close to it – his introductory chapter offers another excellent call for new perspectives to study Greek colonization – but it inevitably lacks the coherence of a monograph, even if this is amply made up for by the overwhelming breadth of coverage. Together, these two books indeed convincingly belie the suggestion that comparison and use of postcolonial perspectives could be somehow irrelevant for studying Greek colonization (Owen 2005, 17). I have no doubt that Tamar Hodos’s book represents a significant contribution to studies of both ancient Mediterranean colonization and colonialism more generally, and that it will become a solid point of reference in both fields.

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