

Some items of evidence are credible and some not, some items of evidence do show a new phenomenon, others identify an old one. But the principles on which one decides what exactly one is dealing with – credible or incredible, new or old – need to be explicitly discussed, not left on a ‘trust me’ basis.

A book on this topic for other scholars to read would engage with other scholars. A book on this topic for students would be interested in how we put the story together, not just in telling a story. The claim about Hesiod is fun, the suggestion that Greeks (not necessarily just Euboeans) bring back oriental goods for themselves surely correct, and the mine of data glitters with extraordinary jewels, some real, some fake. Nevertheless, while L.F. writes well enough to charm lovers of detective stories, slim are their rewards if they sustain the overload of obscure information to the end.

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ARCHAIC GREECE

RAAFLAUB (K.A.), VAN WEES (H.) (edd.) *A Companion to Archaic Greece*. Pp. xxxviii + 750. Malden, Ma and Oxford: Wiley–Blackwell, 2009. Cased, £95, €114. ISBN: 978-0-6312-3045-8.
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This companion successfully offers a multi-authored survey of the current state of the evidence and new directions for future research. The work includes an introductory part and three parts exploring equally history, archaeology and key themes in archaic Greece.

In Part 1, Davies identifies three characteristics of ‘archaic’ Greece: the incapability of people to think of themselves as ‘primitive’, the implication of comparison with distant civilisations and the reflection of decisions about periodisation. Cultural approaches and the convergence of textual and physical evidence have revolutionised the analysis of subjects like warfare, ethnicity and craftsmanship. In Chapter 2, Thomas examines the Mediterranean in the Early Iron Age through the climatic and environmental features of the region. The ecological and geological diversity produced various cultures which interacted with the Greeks. Greek seamanship is discussed in relation to archaeological and textual evidence.

Part 2 starts with a historical background to archaic developments such as the change in burial customs. Morgan dismisses the idea of a major depopulation and examines settlement histories which prove demographic instability. Communities became *poleis* in ways that reflected trade-routes, and craftsmanship established ‘an international community of rulers’. The eighth century is a period of mixture of tradition and innovation and of Greek expansion to the West.

In Chapter 4, Morris asserts that in the eighth century there was a revolution resulting in subsequent Greek achievements. Comparative archaeology shows that demography and Mediterraneanisation caused state formation and that the Greeks tempered this process with male egalitarianism. The middling ideology obstructed the access of the elitists to power and created new ideas about religion, class, ethnicity and gender.

Chapter 5 starts with Ulf reading the *Iliad* as a story about societies at war and the *Odyssey* as an epic about a community in danger due to wrong behaviour

resolved by the gods. He explores agriculture, reciprocity and social and political status in the epics, but his persistence on the Homeric communal focus is not convincing. The comparison of Homeric and Hesiodic works suggests that their 'intentionally historical' character initiated a new political dialogue.

In Chapter 6 Stein-Hölkeskamp provides a history of archaic tyranny through sample cases with common features: tyrants without being social reformers targeted the power of the aristocracy and not of the demos. Their purpose was to secure recognition through the display of wealth. Consequently, tyranny was not the alternative to aristocracy but the conclusion of aristocratic rule.

The history of Sparta and Athens is re-visited in Chapters 7 and 8. Nafissi explores Spartan expansion, the Messenian Wars and Helotism and correctly refers to the passing from Spartan aristocratic banquets to common food contributions. N. concludes that in the sixth century there was a political reform characterised by difficulty to qualify as a citizen and equality between those qualified. Stahl and Walter examine the Cylonian conspiracy as a threat to the Athenian peace and Draco's homicide law as a solution for conflicts. Solon's reforms are received as a resolution to the social and economic crisis caused by the spread of pederasty and prostitution, the exhaustion of the soil and violation of reciprocity.

Chapter 9 draws on Graeco-Persian relations. Wiesehöfer emphasises the need for a 'transcultural' study and correctly asserts that Herodotus' narrative is shaped by the Greek perspective. He dismisses economic changes causing the Ionian revolt and prefers a political explanation. His suggestion that 'Darius had no European plans', and that the Persian Wars were not a fight for democracy against barbarism, are generalisations.

Part 3 opens with Houby-Nielsen's argument that Attica's cultural features are best understood when viewed from the sea. H.-N. surveys settlement patterns, burial customs and belief systems and proves that social life responded to the colonial world. The cultural and social transformation of Athens must be analysed in relation to trading and the central position of the city between east and west.

In Chapter 11, Mazarakis Ainian and Leventi review the archaeology of the Aegean. In the Dark Ages, communications were not forgotten. The use of iron and the alphabet testify to the interaction between Eastern and Western Mediterranean. Monumental sculpture and architecture express the wealth of the *poleis*. Sacred landscapes and sea-routes complete the contribution of the Aegean to the evolution of art, architecture and philosophical thought.

In Chapter 12 Kennell and Luraghi discuss the archaeology of Laconia with attention to the settlement of the helots. A review of settlements and sanctuaries in Messenia follows, and the possibility of an occupation by Helots and identity formation is suggested. In Chapter 13 Nielsen and Roy examine the participation of Peloponnesian communities in major changes such as the increase of public buildings which presupposes complex decision-making bodies, financial power and the assertion of identity. Equally important are the construction of road networks, political developments, colonisation and the export trade.

In Chapter 14 Whitley focusses on the religion, iconography, cult and architecture of ancient Crete. He examines settlements, burials, pottery and metalwork. He concludes that surprisingly there is an absence of rich visual culture, restricted use of literacy and indifference towards the concept of the symposium. The Cretan *polis* was a male aristocratic citizen state with no development of democracy. Its survival in time was achieved through its stability.

In Chapter 15 Archibald demonstrates that the supposed different cultural features between Northern Greece and the south or the Aegean were due to a lack of investigation. The history and findings from northern Greek cities reveal evidence based on settlement data and communities. Colonising activities and their impact are treated concisely, as is the development of social and cultural networks through trade and travel.

Chapters 16–17 survey developments in the Western Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Antonaccio explores connectivity between distinctive ethnic groups. She treats the *nostoi* as a traditional narration parallel to the archaeology of colonisation and she identifies key elements of movement. She argues that together with hostility there was mutual intelligibility between Greeks and *xenoi*. Tsatskheladze refers to the paradox of the friendly and hostile nature of the Black Sea peoples with the Greek colonists. The historical reasons for the Greek colonisation and its socio-cultural organisation are explored on the basis of trade exchange. Re-evaluation of material allows re-examining the foundation of Pontic colonies.

Part 4 introduces the rise of the *poleis*. Crielaard correctly underlines that the period must be examined through urbanisation. He offers a detailed account of the *polis* through both city dwellers and country people. The conclusion of an urban ideology before the spatial existence of the Greek city is significant. Malkin lays out the origins of the mother-city and customary institutions and rituals or memories in narratives of ‘tradition’. Issues of the foundation as a process are explored. Comparison of modern immigration societies with past colonisation mechanisms is encouraged, and the role of women is investigated. Colonisation and foundation are considered a two-way process which forms the rise of the city-state.

In Chapter 20 Gehrke details the establishment of republican institutions and the popular sovereignty. High officials contributed to decisions, but G. argues convincingly that formal decision-making rested with the people. Legislation sanctified by religion touched on politics and socio-economic issues. Through institutionalisation, formalisation and legislation, G. demonstrates the success of the state model in preserving a balance between tyranny and anarchy.

In Chapter 21 Wallace turns to the emergence of political leadership through three powerful types: tyrant, lawgiver and sage. Archaic societies empowered charismatic individuals. Positive and negative views about tyranny are re-examined. Lawgivers are presented as the alternative to tyrants and the figure of the sage as an influential person who chose reconciliation over conflict.

Chapter 22 explores the role of sanctuaries and festivals in binding communities together. The appearance of cult spaces demonstrates a new relation to the sacred. The case study of Apollo Ptoios illustrates the diverse functions of a sanctuary in the emergence of regional and cultural identity. Centrality and territoriality transformed local communities into cities. The discussion concludes with reference to the commemoration of victorious achievements which maintained the relation between dedicator, deity and community.

Van Wees (Chapter 23) analyses the complexity of the archaic economy and interprets Hesiod’s rhetoric of ‘poverty’ as persuading a leisured class to supervise agricultural labour. The constant goal of archaic economies was wealth through competition. W. correctly argues against the predominance of a pastoral economy and explores competition leading to specialisation and professionalisation. He also emphasises the active role of the states in the regulation of economic behaviour.

In Chapter 24 Rose applies the Marxist model of class conflict and the struggle for power to the archaic period. Social authority in the newly created *poleis*

was given to the elite whilst citizenship was related to the ownership of land. R. dismisses the idea of middling ideology suggesting a collapse of elitism. He demonstrates how both religion and art supported the supremacy of the elite.

In Chapter 25 Foxhall introduces concepts of gender in literature and material culture. She correctly asserts that the perspective of epic is masculine but wrongly undermines Homer's dexterity in presenting female feelings. F. also examines misogyny and gender in archaic poetry. The second part follows developments related to gender with reference to households at Zagora, Andros and the agora of Athens.

In Chapter 26 Murray proves that the *symposion* in Archaic Greece was related to poetic discourse. The designation of sympotic scenes as 'scenes of reality' is dismissed. M. examines the origins of the *symposion* and presents its rituals by associating them with forms of entertainment. The last part examines the socio-political functions of the *symposion* as an aristocratic spectacle.

In Chapter 27 Fisher traces Greek sports and their social value in Homer. F.'s conclusion is that athletic training was associated with competitive spirit and preparation for warfare. Athletic nudity in the *gymnasion* has resulted in the legitimisation of homosexuality with political consequences such as the promotion of the careers of talented youths of humble origins, leading to the growth of democratic regimes.

Chapter 28 is a survey of the adoption of the alphabet and the spread of literacy. Wilson holds that the alphabet was developed by an 'adaptor', not an 'innovator'. Syria and Cyprus are his favourite choices of transmission centres. Several theories of the origin and types of literacy are explored, and many different uses of writing are cited.

Chapter 29 is a critical enquiry into the scientific, philosophical and political achievements of the period. Raaflaub mistakenly rejects the Homeric elite perspective for the defence of a community poet. The epics do focus on heroic deeds; the community has a secondary part. Although it is true that Hesiod demonstrates a high ability in philosophical and political thought, R. should not categorise him as socially similar to Homer. R. explores Solon's political thought and Rhetra as a return to *eunomia* and correctly underlines that Cleisthenes' changes were closer to the common good.

In Chapter 30 Singor identifies three types of archaic war: booty-raids, public wars and wars for the endangered community. A network of relationships was developed to prevent conflict. S. associates military innovations with socio-political changes and asserts that they introduced war without traditional inhibitions and with new developments such as the alliances between *poleis* and the appearance of navies.

In Chapter 31 Hall examines ethnic identities in a multi-cultural world. H. asserts that the definition of a group as ethnic depends on the symbols by which it communicates its distinctiveness rather than language, theology or profession. He suggests the sixth century as a critical point for the Greek ethnic identity, which was genealogical. Finally, Hall examines the 'Hellenocentric bias' of modern scholarship in relation to a definition of culture and the invention of the Barbarian which helped Greek self-definition.

As befits its subject, the chapters in this Companion range widely. Bibliography, notes, graphs, images and maps contribute to a deeper understanding. Although some parts are occasionally repetitive in the use of examples, experts will appreciate Parts 2 and 3 and the wider audience will be more interested in Part 4.

Overall, the volume is among the Editors' great services to studies on Archaic Greece.

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NETWORK THEORY

MALKIN (I.), CONSTANTAKOPOULOU (C.), PANAGOPOULOU (K.) (edd.) *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*. Pp. xiv + 321, ills, maps. London and New York: Routledge, 2009. Cased, £70. ISBN: 978-0-415-45989-1.

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The present volume collects eighteen papers on networks in the Mediterranean, the result of a conference held in Rethymno, Crete in 2003; the papers were first published in two special issues of the *Mediterranean Historical Review* (22, 2007). In their introduction, the Editors, after offering an overview of network theory and of recent approaches to Mediterranean history, state that the aim of the conference, and of the volume resulting from it, is to test the usefulness of network theory to ancient history, the original point of departure being Mediterranean connectivity. The volume indeed preserves the character of an experiment, in the sense that the papers range very widely, addressing a variety of issues, geographical areas and periods. These 'soundings' are fairly loosely connected (indeed, the order of the papers in the volume appears random), with some stronger on the theory, others on its application. In what follows, I give a sample of those papers which seem to offer the most food for thought.

K. Vlassopoulos opens the volume by focussing on networks beyond and below the *polis*: he convincingly upholds the usefulness of the Aristotelian notion of *koinônia* for the analysis of intra-*polis* relations, making a convincing case for moving beyond the static polarities of citizen/foreigner, male/female, free/slave; as for the 'beyond', he argues that it is possible to reach a better understanding of the *polis*, and more generally of the ancient world, by looking at the latter as a world-system, rather than as an ensemble of discrete units. In the second paper, I. Rutherford discusses the usefulness of applying social network analysis (SNA) to theoretic networks. While SNA can help describe networks and may provide theoretical insights into levels of connectivity (the principle of the 'strength of the weak tie'), the lack of sufficient data is highlighted as problematic; the paper closes with some serious questions as to the limitations of SNA. The stress on the usefulness of thinking in terms of network is less marked in the following papers. Thus, although focussed on the Delphic amphictiony, S. Hornblower's paper is concerned not so much with networks as with the implications of the amphictiony's activity. At the end of a careful survey of the evidence, Hornblower suggests that although the amphictiony's main concern was always the organisation of the games and the religious business that went with it, it did intervene in the political sphere, directly in the fourth century, less overtly in the fifth; a good point, but it does not specifically have to do with networks, or with how this specific network operated. The same applies to J. Davies' aporetic paper on the diffusion of the cult epithet 'Pythios': as he demonstrates, it is impossible to pinpoint with certainty the reason behind the diffusion of this epithet; and the plotting of all the places where it is