

Bibliography (pages 245-67): one might consider adding, say, A. Böttischer, *Olympia: Das Fest und seine Stätte* (1893), J. Ebert, *Olympia: Von den Anfängen bis zu Coubertin* (1980), A. Vött, *Neue geoarchäologische Untersuchungen zur Verschüttung Olympias* (2013), and G. Bourke, *Elis: Internal Politics and Extern Policy in Ancient Greece* (2017), but it seems ungrateful to ask for more when so much has been given. E. Hall 2002 (*Greeks and Barbarians*, Edinburgh), however, is an outright anomaly: a volume of (reprinted) essays under that title edited by T. Harrison was indeed published by the Edinburgh University Press in 2002, and it contains a (1992) essay by Edith Hall, but it's not clear how or where her discussion/demolition of Martin Bernal's 'ancient model' could easily be referenced in this work. A repeated typo: in Bringmann *et al.* 1995, Miller 2019 and Schmidt-Dounas 2000 Heiligtümer has an intrusive 'n' printed before the 'g'. We eagerly still await J. Barringer *et al.* eds, *Logistics in Greek Sanctuaries*, cited as forthcoming under M. Trümper-Ritter. Roll on the corrected paperback reprint.

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N.B. Papadopoulou (ed.), *Molottis. Archaeological Atlas of the ancient settlements in the municipal region of Ioannina*. pp. 340, 196 figures (162 colour), 3 maps. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports. Ephorate of Antiquities of Ioannina, 2022. ISBN 978-618-5445-05-08, softcover £45.

This book is effectively a gazetteer of ancient sites in the municipal area of Ioannina, which was the centre of the territory of the Molossoi (in some later sources Molottoi), a landlocked people who were the most prominent among the tribal groups of Epirus in Classical antiquity; their territory extended to include the famous oracle of Zeus at Dodona by historical times. It is a collaborative work by many archaeologists working at the Ephorate of Ioannina, aiming to shed light on this poorly known region, and is entirely in Greek. It covers both excavated sites and those identified in various ways, often simply by the appearance of some casual find, from remote prehistory (there are some well-known Palaeolithic sites) to the end of the Roman period.¹

After a discussion of the natural geography of the region, which is a very fertile part of Epirus, there is an account of the first travellers within Epirus in the 18th and 19th centuries AD and the growing interest in trying to identify sites named in the ancient sources, including Dodona. There follows a series of short accounts of the different periods of human occupation in the region; first is an extensive discussion of the Palaeolithic remains (over 80 sites have been identified, but very few have been excavated), followed in turn by shorter comments on the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, 6th-4th centuries BCE (all subsequent dates cited will be BCE unless otherwise stated), Hellenistic and Roman periods. General accounts follow of the region's settlement pattern, road network and fortified acropolis sites, sanctuaries, cemeteries and burial customs, and finally there is a survey of all ancient sources referring to the region (many specifically to Dodona). The bulk of the text consists of the gazetteer, which contains brief accounts of all sites identified, in alphabetical order, with photographs of notable finds or structures at some, including some fine views of the Dodona theatre. This is followed by the extensive bibliography and some maps showing the distribution of the major modern centres referred to and of the prehistoric, Classical and Hellenistic sites. There is no index.

Epirus is a strange region. Its name, meaning simply 'the mainland', obviously represents the viewpoint of islanders, and does not appear in the earliest references, although peoples listed later as among the peoples of Epirus do, the Thesprotoi figuring several times in the *Odyssey*; yet when these formed a federation in the 4th century, the Apeiros, they adopted the common name of Epirotoi. By that time a form of Greek seems to have been spoken or at least used formally, but society was basically 'tribal' and several peoples including the Molossoi were ruled by kings, those of the Molossoi claiming descent from Neoptolemos son of Achilles and acting as leaders of the federal army when this was established. To judge from Thucydides's accounts in Book II of the campaigns in northwest Greece in the first years of the Peloponnesian War, even those peoples in close contact with the Corinthian-founded city of Ambracia do not seem to have been regarded as Greeks (in Thuc. II.68 the people of Amphilocheian Argos speak Greek, but the rest of the Amphilocheian people have a different language, and throughout his account he refers to the various peoples of the region as *barbaroi*). This may have been partly because their way of life was very unlike that of the average Greek *polis*; though practising the

¹ The reviewer would like to acknowledge the help of Dr D.

Sambatakou in preparing this review.

same farming regime as Greeks generally (the once popular notion that they were nomadic pastoralists is rightly ignored), it seems that traditionally they lived in many small and scattered communities. There is no certain trace of prehistoric settlements of any size, and even graves are only found singly or in small groups of two to four, and these are of the latest Bronze Age phases. These are, however, notable for containing imported bronzes, especially weapons, and sometimes Mycenaean vases, and it seems likely that these were the burials of leading members of their communities. Evidently there was contact with the Mycenaean civilisation, whereas any earlier links may have been more with neighbouring regions in modern north Greece and Albania, where there is better evidence for the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, and there may be some links with ancient Illyria in the Late Bronze Age. But whether the history of the Dodona sanctuary, which is at a site remote from the coast, goes back to Mycenaean times remains questionable, in the reviewer's opinion (see an early comment in Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 301), although this is firmly stated on pp. 59–60 (but cf. p. 62: there seems no clear evidence for Early Iron Age cult activity at the site until the 8th century).

If the theory that 'the Dorians' originated from Epirus is ignored, as in the reviewer's opinion it should be, there is basically nothing to suggest that the collapse of Mycenaean civilisation had any major effect on Epirus, whose economy does not seem to have depended heavily on its Mycenaean contacts. Rather, it seems that the various peoples named in the historical sources began to establish themselves during the Early Iron Age, and long-lasting communities developed, like those suggested by the two well-known cemeteries of Liatovouni (which seems to have been founded in the latest Mycenaean phase) and Vitsa, in the north of the region, both of which continued in use into the 4th century and have associated settlements. The foundation of Greek 'colonies', especially Ambracia, at an early date was surely trade-oriented, and the archaeological record shows an increasing quantity of Greek goods, including bronze vessels and other valuable items, appearing in the cemeteries and settlements of the region during Archaic and Classical times, an indication of growing prosperity and surely the establishment of some kind of ruling class.

Involvements with Corinth and Athens, and also with the more developed kingdom of Macedonia, drew Epirus into the complicated politics of the major Greek states from the 5th century onwards, and the accounts of the late Classical, Hellenistic

and Roman periods in the region inevitably become more like general history, as the Molossian kings led Epirus to play an increasingly prominent role, not only in Greece and its neighbourhood but also in south Italy. Substantial fortified sites and other monumental constructions like the theatre at Dodona are reflections of this evident wish to make a show in the world, but the histories of particular sites cannot always be tied into the various wars and invasions that periodically afflicted Epirus at many times during these periods. The range of archaeological finds indicates that, despite the various wars, and catastrophes like the mass slaughter or enslavement of the Molossian population in 167, the Roman punishment for backing Macedonia rather than Rome, there was still prosperity at various centres in all periods.

It must finally be said that, while in general the presentation is clear and there is a good and varied amount of illustration, identifying or harmonising references to sites may sometimes be difficult, to judge from the reviewer's experience. In trying to get more information on the tumulus cemeteries of Pogoni, he found that the placenames cited on p. 63 do not appear in the same form on p. 112, though two do seem to be intended to refer to the same places. Creating an index might have helped to sort out such potential confusions.

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Hope Simpson, R. and Dickinson, O.T.P.K. 1979. *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age, Vol. I: the Mainland and Islands* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 52). Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag.

J. Whitley, *Knossos. Myth, History and Archaeology*. pp. 256, 62 B/W figures. Bloomsbury Academic, 2023. ISBN 9781472527257, hardcover £45.50.

This account of the history of Knossos forms part of a wider series of *Archaeological Histories* that discusses the history of sites, buildings and towns from their construction to the present day and it is in this context that Whitley's pleasantly written