agricultural exploitation. A previous contribution to the present volume discussed the presence of Macedonian-style tombs in Paphlagonia. In general, the Hellenistic period in the Black Sea seems to have been a flourishing one, testified to by the multiple new settlements and evidence of trade.

Overall, this book provides the reader with fascinating new results of archaeological, historical and epigraphic research. Despite our relative scarcity of written sources and its depiction as an alien region in some Classical texts, the Black Sea was a thriving region that provides archaeologists with a wealth of data to compare or contrast Mediterranean contexts with. Whereas some contributions to the book might appeal more to a specialist readership of Black Sea archaeologists and historians, a number of papers will certainly interest scholars studying broader economic, political and cultural developments of the Ancient World. The book is, moreover, richly illustrated throughout with high quality images in colour.

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Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier. *Das Orakelheiligtum des Apollon von Abai/Kalapodi. Eines der bedeutendsten griechischen Heiligtümer nach den Ergebnissen der neuen Ausgrabungen.* (Trierer Winckelmannsprogramme 25). pp. VII+60, 1 map. 2013. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. ISBN 978–3–447–10708–2. paperback 29€.

Whereas one would usually not proceed with acquiring the booklet of a named public lecture, the present volume could be an exception, for it brings to the reader an excellent overview of the history and current state of the grossly overlooked Apollo sanctuary of Abae in Phocis. Wolf-Dietrich Niemeyer, director of the excavations at Abae since 2004, was invited to deliver the yearly Winckelmann lecture in Trier in 2013. His lecture includes a comprehensive overview of recent work done at the sanctuary, and presents some of the groundbreaking conclusions that can be drawn from it. None of the recent excavations have been fully published and even less is available in English, this despite the fact that Abae was one of the most important oracle sanctuaries of the ancient world.

Niemeyer introduces the sanctuary with the conventional overview of references in written sources. Subsequently, he discusses the old excavations that led to the identification of the sanctuary, and the new excavations that expanded the chronological horizon of the sanctuary from LH IIIC (if not earlier) to Roman times. Niemeyer concludes with a section on the controversial suggestion that the evidence in the sanctuary suggests a continuity in use throughout the Early Iron Age, thus challenging long-standing assumptions of a 'Dark Age' rupture in Greek cult.

The sanctuary of Apollo at Abae was well known to the Ancients. Herodotus refers several times to the oracle in relation to Delphi and Olympia. Sophocles refers to it as 'one of the most important ones'. According to Pausanias, the Thebans consulted it before the battle against the Spartans at Leuktra in 371 BCE. Even Stephanos of Byzantium mentions it, thinking it was even older than Delphi.

The sanctuary is placed on a hilltop on one of the most important routes connecting the Euboean Golf and Atalanti, ancient Opous and Orchomenos. Today, the village of Kalapodi is located there. Despite its apparent importance in Antiquity, the existence and location of the sanctuary faded from memory until modern times. Even though the sanctuary was visited first in 1676 by G. Wheler and later by many travellers e.g. W.M. Leake, W. Gell, E. Dodwell and S. Pomardi in the 19th century, no excavations were conducted, apart from some test trenches in 1905. During a field trip of the DAI in 1970, R. Felsch noticed the potential of the area and started excavating.

At first, the sanctuary was identified as that of Artemis Elaphebolos of Hyampolis, a city located nearly in the valley. It was not until Niemeier took over the excavations in 2004, that he started to doubt the identification. It looked rather improbable to him that both poles of Abae and Hyampolis would have been located at a distance of only 1,5 km. Since 2007, more and more indications led to the idea that Abae was located in the valley of Kalapodi.

Niemeyer summarises the following evidence:

> Inscriptions mentioning Apollo have only been found in the Valley of Kalapodi. Inscriptions mentioning Artemis have been found in the Valley of Exarchos, the presumable location of Hyampolis.

Pausanias does not mention that the supposed sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos was located far from Hyampolis, which he, supposedly would have done, should it have been the case.

The Hellenic Oxyrhynchia says that Hyampolis was strongly fortified. Lesbian fortifications were observed on the Kastro hill but not on the Bogdanou hill. From this follows that the Kastro hill can be identified with Hyampolis and the Bogdanou hill with Abae. This would also confirm the order of Pausanias' itinerary.

The temple in the north was always larger than the temple in the south. It should therefore be identified as the temple of Apollo.

Detailed descriptions by Pausanias of Hadrian's building activities could be observed on the ground.

The dedication of weapons is more suitable for an Apollo sanctuary than for an Artemis sanctuary.

Initially, the Apollo sanctuary was more important. It was only after the battle at Hyampolis, which gave rise to the Phocian koinon, that the Artemis sanctuary became more important.

Another nearby sanctuary that was excavated in 1894 and initially identified as the Apollo sanctuary is too small to have fulfilled the important functions attributed to the Apollo oracle.

When Niemeier took over the excavations for the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, he formulated a number of questions, apart from obtaining general knowledge about the last of the important sanctuaries of this type that can be studied with modern techniques. First and foremost, the aim of the project was to determine when in Ancient Greece spatially determined sanctuaries were developed, and, related to that, 2) what happened next and 3) whether there was any continuity in cult between the Mycenaean and Archaic times.

During the earlier excavations, conducted by Felsch, remains dating to the mid-9th century BCE had already been uncovered, but it had proved impossible to say something about them, given that they were covered by the later, Classical, temple. It proved eventually that the area of the Archaic temple was more promising for studying the chronology of the sanctuary: layers and mudbrick deposits, indicative of architecture, found in a test trench in this location could be dated to Mycenaean times. Since the start of the new excavations in 2004, a succession of 10 temples, dated between Mycenaean and Roman imperial times has been found.

It seems thus, that the sanctuary might have been one of the most important in Greece and key to our understanding cult practices between the end of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. The results are important because they contradict earlier ideas that the sacred would not have been separate from the profane during the Dark Ages, or that the appearance of the temple was linked to the appearance of the polis. At Kalapodi, the earliest temple dates to the 10th century BCE, and it had at least three Mycenaean predecessors. Niemeier makes a convincing case for continuity in cult practices at Kalapodi, as has been argued for other sanctuaries such as Epidauros, Tegea, Agia Irini on Kea, Aegina, Delos and Delphi, where others have rejected such a continuity. Niemeier reiterates that the vast majority of the Olympian gods was already known in the Mycenaean Linear B tablets, as are the words heron and naos. While evidence in many of the other sanctuaries is not of the same quality, because they were excavated in different circumstances a long time ago, the rigorous methods adopted in Kalapodi can fill this hiatus in knowledge.

In the main part of the lecture, Niemeyer gave an overview of the different phases of the sanctuary, based on the evidence of the excavations conducted since he took over the project from his predecessor in 2004.

The earliest evidence dates to as early as the Middle Helladic to Late Mycenaean (20th-13th centuries BCE). No architecture of the Middle Helladic period is preserved, but the presence of several objects and fragments of pottery is suggestive for a frequentation of the area in this period. Also a steatite seal with circle decoration from Crete, dated to the 19th or 18th century BCE was found. Cretans were possibly active in the region in their search for metals.

The first temple is the first rural temple known from Mycenaean times. It was built in LH IIIA1 (1420–1370 BCE). It had a substantial foundation built in limestone, which is partially preserved. The entrance could be located in the east. The building measured 9m x 4,5m. Associated with the temple were an altar and a platform on which animals might have been sacrificed. The last couple of years,

rich remains of the Mycenaean period have come to light in the region, including rich chamber tombs at Kalapodi. These testify to the existence of a small kingdom. The power of nearby Orchomenos was possibly responsible for the construction of the new temple at Abae. With the construction of the second temple, rich objects were left as dedications at the time of foundation. Among these are many seals. Another important find associated with the second temple are the remains of a wheel made female figurine. The temple was destroyed towards the end of LH IIIB (ca. 1200 BCE), at the same time as Orchomenos, Gla or the port at Kynos.

Soon after the destruction, the sanctuary was rebuilt, probably by a local ruler – a Basileus -as known at other sites such as Mitrou and Lefkandi. Of this third, LHIIIC, temple little is known, because of disturbances by the Protogeometric temple. The presence of terracotta bull figurines testifies to cult activities, as well as remains of animal sacrifices and votive objects such as female terracotta figurines, and at that time, a 5000 year old amulet, bronze fibulae and pins, jewellery and two seals. Ceramic fragments indicate that feasting, including the consumption of food and wine, took place. The depiction of marine animals and ships connects the sanctuary now with the port of Kynos: many of the pottery fragments were probably produced there and brought to the sanctuary by its visitors.

During the Protogeometric period, the pottery shows that the sanctuary was engaging heavily with the Euboean world, which the author chooses to frame within the slightly old-fashioned perspective of 'Euboean koine'. The PG temple was apsidal, and surrounded by wooden posts, making it, together with the Lefkandi Heroon, one of the earliest colonnade buildings of Ancient Greece. Also in this period, feasting took place in and around the building.

In the first half of the 9th century BCE, a fifth temple was erected on the foundations of its predecessor. Around the middle of the 9th century BCE, a second temple was erected to the north. The latter is only partially known because of later overbuilding. Connected to the new temple is the use of tripods. Around 800 BCE, a fire destroyed the south temple. In the first half of the 8th century BCE, a new temple was erected. It was slightly smaller than its predecessors. The remains of a wooden cult statue were found inside. In the second half of the 9th century, the Euboean influence was stronger in the pottery, but from the 8th century onwards, Niemeier reports a strong Corinthian influence, testified to by Thapsos pottery. At the same time, Niemeier reports a stark increase in metal dedications, among them many weapons but also a bronze bowl from Syria, which puts Abae on the same level as Samos, Delphi, Olympia.

In the Archaic period, both the north and south temple were rebuilt. The north temple was by now an impressive building measuring 10m x 29m. Associated with it was an eschara – located on the same place as its predecessor. Also the apsidal south temple was rebuilt, now with four columns in front, making it the oldest prostyle temple in Ancient Greece. Its size was equally impressive, with its 24,70m x 7,6m covering not just its predecessor but also the altar. In the temple, there was no trace of a cult statue. However, a pi-shaped structure was found inside. Its function is not clear, but perhaps it should be connected to the oracle.

An earthquake in the second half of the 7th century BCE disturbed the buildings. The destruction led to the partial collapse of the walls. Remains of its plaster and stucco decoration could be recovered. It depicts helmets and arms and immediately brings the phalanx on the Chigi ole in mind. Other exceptional finds at Kalapodi dating to this time are parts belonging to wagons, helmets, as well as a handle of a monumental bronze Laconian volute krater, only 30cm shy of the famous Vix krater.

The sanctuary was rebuilt, only to be destroyed again in the Classical period. After the destruction by the Persians, only the northern temple was restored. Before the full restoration, a provisional structure was erected, together with a provisional bronze statue of Apollo. Both the structure and the statue were ritually closed together with a number of votive gifts. Around 430 BCE the new Classical temple was soon destroyed yet again by an earthquake. Towards the end of the 5th century BCE, a new temple was erected. It differed in plan from the previous one (a three-part cella) as it was rebuilt with a pi-shaped internal colonnade, comparable to the Parthenon's predecessor. In the ruins of the south temple, a bronze workshop was discovered, which probably served the production of the new cult statue. In addition, the ruins of the south temple were transformed into an open courtyard with a building constructed of spolia, located just next to the former temple.

The events during the Third Sacred War cannot be reconstructed because the layers are not well-preserved. Megarian bows and fragments of late Hellenistic wall painting demonstrate that the sanctuary was frequented and that important buildings must have existed. A last new temple was

built in Roman times, probably under Hadrian, when the latter consulted the oracle regarding flooding in the Copais basin. In Hadrian's time, it was known that the oracle at Abae was highly regarded and of considerable antiquity.

This last observation brings Niemeyer to his following point, that of continuity of the cult through time – a topic of great controversy. The cult continuity at Kalapodi is usually seen as an exception, but Niemeier points out that in two other places where he conducted research, in the Athena sanctuary in Miletus and in the Hera sanctuary on Samos, continuity existed throughout the Dark Ages. Also at the Zeus Lykaios altar in Arcadia, continuity has been attested. Equally, Megaron B in Eleusis appears to have had a Mycenaean predecessor. Niemeier is therefore convinced that also in other sanctuaries such as the Apollo and Athena sanctuaries in Delphi, the Aphaia sanctuary in Aegina, and the Dionysos sanctuary on Kea continuity must have existed.

Niemeier underlines that, when he speaks of a cult continuity, he does not mean that the cult remained unchanged. Important social and political changes between the Mycenaean and Archaic period must also have altered religion drastically. Therefore, Niemeier shares the views of de Polignac, when he says we do not need to decide for once and for all whether continuity existed, but what part breaks and continuity played in the respective society. In Kalapodi, there was no spatial change between the 14th and 9th century, The Mycenaean female figurines disappear after the mid-11th century BCE. According to Burkert, Apollo was a post-Mycenaean god, so he might not have been the focus of cult in the earlier centuries of the sanctuary. Because of the ample presence of game, Niemeier proposes that the sanctuary might have been dedicated to Artemis, goddess of hunt and known from Linear B tablets. Apollo might then have been introduced in the mid-9th century BCE, similar to what happened in other sanctuaries like in Delphi and Delos.

Overall, the volume offers an excellent overview of the current state of research, complete with an ample bibliography and a selected number of high quality images, mostly in black-and-white. Some of the maps are in colour, and therefore it is a bit puzzling that the publisher chose black-and-white for the other images. In the digital age, colour plates are far less expensive than what they used to be and the use of colour for visual documentation makes such a difference. Several of the plates would have been more attractive, while given the target public of the Winckelmann lecture, a broader readership, it would, actually, have been a better choice. Nevertheless, experienced scholars and students alike will enjoy this complete overview and challenging thoughts on cult continuity in one of the most important oracle sanctuaries of Ancient Greece.

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Jeremy McInerny. *Greece in the ancient world*. pp. 368, 273 colour illustrations. 2018. London and New York: Thames and Hudson. ISBN 978–0–500–25226–0. £35

Richard T. Neer. *Art and archaeology of the Greek world. A new history, c.2500-c.150 BCE*. Second edition. pp. 408, 559 colour illustrations. 2019. London and New York: Thames and Hudson. ISBN 978–0–500–052082. £45

This double review compares the first – and possibly only! – edition of a new book by Jeremy McInerny (of the University of Pennsylvania) with the second edition of a book first published in 2012 by Richard Neer (University of Chicago). Both books or rather tomes are published by the brainchild of the late Walter Neurath, Thames and Hudson, the house founded in 1949 and named after famous rivers of London and New York City. On their respective dust jackets under 'Other Titles of Interest' McInerny's lists first Neer's and Neer's *vice versa* McInerny's. Symbiosis rules, OK?

Together, they comprise getting on for 800 pages – heavy-duty, art-paper pages, since, in accordance with the standard TandH house-style, they are massively and beautifully illustrated, and almost exclusively in full colour throughout: altogether over 800 illustrations, of all possible types and kinds (McInerny 273; Neer 559). (Printed and bound in China, of course.) They are also very similar in style of layout, and both are very self-consciously pedagogically minded, Neer's even more so than McInerny's. Hence the inclusion of timelines, chapter summaries, full captioning, 'spotlights', glossaries, bibliographies, and lists of sources of quotations. But Neer has the advantage of having been able to correct and/or otherwise emend and add to what he published first time round. (There