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

are rather too many corrigenda of various sorts in McInerny's book. The very first caption, on the Contents page, has '*c.* 505–520 BC'.) In terms of the periods covered, McInerny tracks back to around 38,000 BCE, whereas Neer advertises a start date of *c.* 2500 and begins in earnest with Late Bronze Age Crete and the Cyclades, but really they very closely echo and overlap each other, both of them getting going seriously with (Late) Minoan Crete and concluding with a terminal chapter on the post-Alexander Hellenistic world or age (although McInerny's timeline concludes with the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, Neer's in *c.* 150 BCE, as his subtitle makes explicit).

Naturally, though, a first question might be how far do these two weighty volumes complement, how far do they (merely) reduplicate, each other? Readers of this journal might also be particularly keen to ask the authors – and themselves – how far, or in what sense(s), do they address Archaeology: is this a useful way to invoke, imply or talk about the nature and condition of the modern 'archaeology' of ancient Greece? A first answer to that latter question might be that, although McInerny is designated Professor of Classical Studies and Neer Professor in the Humanities, Art History, Cinema and Media Studies, the former is more of an archaeologist or archaeo-historian, the latter (much) more of an art historian. Yet, despite the presence and indeed foregrounding of 'Archaeology' in Neer's title, actually there is no entry for archaeology – or excavation or fieldwork studies, vel sim. – in his otherwise very full and helpful 9-page double-column index. Likewise one notes the same absence from McInerney's 4-column, 4-plus page index, which does, however, have quite extensive art-historical entries – including one for 'art' itself – under various regional and substantive subheadings. (The presence of 'Osama Bin Laden' here comes as a bit of a shock, all the same.) For a more strictly archaeological account, one should therefore still turn back rather to John Bintliff's 2012 *The Complete Archaeology of Greece*, subtitled less riskily and more accurately *From Hunter-Gatherers to the 20th Century AD*. Still valuable too, depending on the level of treatment required, is C. Mee and A. Spawforth's *Greece: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (though that of course is quite seriously out-of-date now, whereas both Neer and McInerney are quite impressively up-to-the-minute. (One illustration: on pp. 75 and 358 McInerny, and on p. 59 Neer, are both able to mention the existence of a Mycenaean palace a few kilometres south of modern Sparta confirmed only in 2015.) I return to the 'archaeological question' at the end of this review.

No less worthy of mention for purposes of comparison (this is a very crowded field) are Judith M. Barringer, *The Art and Archaeology of Ancient Greece,*[1] reviewed very well (in both senses) by Mark D. Fullerton[2] (one notes his salient comment that 'in any Greek art text' the section dealing with the Hellenistic period is 'surely the most inherently difficult'); and D. Plantzos, *Greek Art and Archaeology, c. 1200–30 BC*.[3] A rather different exercise, but still worth mentioning, is the equally massive and fabulously well illustrated *The Greeks: Agamemnon to Alexander the Great*, the catalogue of a 2015/2016 travelling exhibition, brilliantly edited by M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki and A. Balaska, and brilliantly produced by Kapon Editions for the Hellenic Republic's Ministry of Culture and Sports ('More than 500 exhibits from Greek state museums document more than 6,000 years of Greek history in a museologically resourceful manner: by focusing on individuals' – yet, despite the book's title and subtitle, the earliest, anonymous exhibit is dated 5800–5300 BC). There is also an associated book, by Diane Harris Cline: see her revealing interview (of the ancient Greeks' achievements she privileges above all others education) conducted with her publisher, National Geographic.[4]

Professor Neer opens his Introduction with three questions: What do we see? How do we know? Why should we care? Professor McInerny is no less reflexively self-conscious: his Introduction is subtitled 'Why Study the Greeks?'. One of his answers is given in his double-spread 'Spotlight' on Jacques-Louis David's magnificent and far from immediately transparent 'Leonidas at Thermopylae' oil painting now hanging, to Napoleon's regret, in the Louvre: 'past and present are in constant dialogue: the past is always a part of the present, a past that we reinvent, rediscover, and reuse'. As Herodotus might have said, that remark should be taken to apply to the whole of his – and Neer's – work. Or, as I would put it, the past – what actually happened – is one thing, the (or any) history of a (or any) past quite another. It's not alas profitable, let alone possible, adequately to represent and critically analyse and discuss either of these massive books in any fine detail. Four points or moments of comparison are selected here, as these would be well worth anyone's time and effort to ponder: the

[1] Barringer 2018.
[2] Fullerton 2016.
[3] Reviewed – together with yet another History of Greek Art, this by M.D. Stansbury-O'Donnell 2015, Wiley-Blackwell 2015 – by L.M. Gigante, BMCR 2017.04.35.
[4] Cline 2016. https://www.nationalgeographic.com/expeditions/get-inspired/stories-from-the-road/diane-harris-line-interview-studying-ancient-greece-culture-social-structure/

transition from Bronze Age/Late Mycenaean Greece to early historical/Early Iron Age Greece; Sparta; the Parthenon; and Alexander the Great. But many, many others could have been chosen – from the new discoveries around Mycenaean Pylos through the emergence and development of democracy and its iconography (apart from the Parthenon) to the debate over 'The Tomb of Philip' at Vergina, Macedonia.

The transition from Bronze Age/Late Mycenaean Greece to early historical/Early Iron Age Greece is sometimes described as from the world of the palace to the world of the *polis*. In Neer's Glossary the latter term of art is curtly glossed 'city-state' (his text, p. 79, is more comprehensive). McInerney's Glossary entry is rightly far more expansive, but even so stops short of offering what I consider to be the best English rendering of this protean concept and object, 'citizen-state'. Aristotle's *Politics*, his masterly summation of this cardinal feature of ancient Hellenic civilisation post- as well as pre-Alexander, should really be translated 'Matters Concerning the *Polis*'. Neither author uses – dares use? – the old sobriquet Dark Age(s) for some or all of the twelfth to ninth centuries. McInerny goes with 'Early Iron Age', which is strictly applicable only to a relatively few, advanced regions of Greece south of Macedonia – and hardly at all applicable to distinctly dark Laconia. Neer prefers the strictly art-historical 'Geometric Greece' for *c.* 1100 to *c.* 700 BC, a somewhat surprising throwback to an older, originally Germanic way of seeing things.

Sparta in McInerny is accorded an entire chapter, 'The Archaic Age: Sparta', together with substantial later references, as is appropriate for what was from the mid-seventh century down to the 350s always a leading, sometimes the leading *polis* in the entire – and by the latter date greatly expanded – Hellenic world. His index entry for 'Sparta' is the reverse of laconic. Neer's by contrast seems a bit jejune – until one turns to his entry for 'Lakonia' (rich by comparison with that of McInerny). Happily, a direct object of comparison between the two treatments of Sparta is available in the towering shape of the 'Vix Krater', a statuesque 1.64 m. bronze mixing bowl buried ceremonially in a Hallstatt-era prince(ss) ly grave at Vix in Burgundy. For McInerny, there is no doubt even hinted at concerning either the place or the agents of its manufacture, indeed 'it is a testament [read 'testimony'] to the skill of the Spartan craftsmen who made it' (p. 145). I happen to agree that it is a Spartan or rather Laconian product, but since others, such as the late great expert Claude Rolley, are equally convinced that it was not made in Sparta, let alone by 'Spartan' craftsmen, Neer is probably rightly cautious – 'probably a Lakonian product of the later sixth century'. One reason for systematic doubt is that, even it was made in a (geographically) Spartan workshop, the hands that fashioned it – and also inscribed letters of a mainly Laconian alphabet on the krater's neck and on the corresponding items to be attached there after transport to final destination – were almost certainly not those of full Spartan citizens (Spartiatai) but of either Perioikoi (free but disfranchised Laconians) or/and Helots. There is no entry for 'helots' in Neer's Glossary, but McInerny's entry is full – and (though broadly acceptable to me) controversial. He labels them as a 'serf class' whose 'agricultural labor enabled the Spartans to develop their uniquely militaristic society'. Stephen Hodkinson, former pupil of Moses Finley, would not be alone in bristling at the latter and perhaps also the former classification. That debate and indeed the many others that affect or afflict Spartan historiography are now best consulted in Anton Powell's magisterially edited two-volume *Companion* to Sparta.[5]

The Parthenon casts its massive shadow still – politically, culturally, art-historically, even ideologically. Here, Neer comes into his own. His ten-page discussion is placed within the chapter 'Athens and the Akropolis, c.480–c.404 BCE' that forms one of his three 'case studies' – the other two are respectively 'Olympia and Delphi, c.900-c.480 BCE' and 'Cyrene and Paestum'. Within that space he manages with aplomb to do sufficient justice to the political, military, fiscal, religious and aesthetic dimensions of what he calls 'in effect, a giant treasure house' – rather, that is, than a temple pure and simple. What he does not quite do appropriate justice to are the blood, sweat, toil and no doubt tears expended and exuded by the mainly non-Greek, chattel slave labourers who it was – rather than Neer's bland 'the Athenians' – that 'carted up huge amounts of earth, stone and debris left over from the Persian destruction'. McInerny, by contrast, somewhat underplays the Parthenon's monumentality and influence, though he does evocatively label the overall Akropolis context 'a landscape of memory' and does notice the specifically (battle of, topographical) Salamis connection. 2021 will be the 2,500th anniversary of that epochal encounter, which like Marathon before and Plataea after was, arguably, among the most important in the history not just of ancient Greece but of the Western world.

[5] Powell 2017/8.

Alexander the Great is – for once – a historical phenomenon to which, and to whom, the grossly over-used term 'iconic' may be literally and accurately applied. He spent a great deal of time and effort trying to ensure the propagation and preservation of what he considered to be the 'right' self-image. He is predictably the sometimes evil genius presiding either in person or in image over the last 60 pages of Neer's book, and the last 30 of McInerney's; curiously, both books end with a Chapter 13, tempting fate or defying superstition in equal measure. McInerny, I think rightly, chooses as his Spotlight for this final chapter precisely the imagery repertoire of Alexander, developed above all to 'disseminate images of himself that projected not just an aura of power but of physical near-perfection'. Neer diffuses his Alexander discussions more loosely but does not beat about the bush: 'There is no other way to put it: Alexander changed the world'. The 'Hellenistic' world that his meteoric career helped critically to usher in 'was vast, cosmopolitan, and diverse: different in scale and in kind from anything in earlier Greek experience'.

And what, finally, of the new – or newer/newish – archaeology of Greece? Over thirty years ago now, in 1986, I published a 'thinkpiece' on that topic,[6] noting the rise of an alternative kind of ground-up as opposed to top-down archaeology of ancient Greece, an alternative and rival to the traditional, more or less elitist, more or less connoisseurship-style approaches – a novel approach that was more quantitative than qualitative, more interested in the results of intensive regional fieldworking and fieldwalking survey than in the latest monograph on the Berlin Painter, and more preoccupied with society, culture and economy than in trying to find archaeological correlates for the 'events'-focused narratives cherished by the more old-fashioned practitioners of political, military and diplomatic historiography. In short, the sort of archaeology fostered in Cambridge from the 1970s by Anthony Snodgrass, himself heavily influenced by the sort of archaeology then being thought and practised in Cambridge's Department of Archaeology (by such as David L. Clarke, or Colin Renfrew). The fruits of this 'new classical archaeology' are neatly summed up in two recent collective volumes, one by his former colleagues and another by former students, dedicated to Professor Snodgrass to mark the passage (in 2014) of his 80th birthday. The first is co-edited by John Bintliff and Keith Rutter: *The Archaeology of Greece and Rome. Studies in Honour of Anthony Snodgrass*,[7] the second co-edited by James Whitley and Lisa Nevett: *An Age of Experiment: Classical Archaeology Transformed, 1976–2014*.[8] Suffice it to say here that there is precious little evidence of this – genuine – transformation in the two books under review. The 'paradigm shift' desiderated by Snodgrass himself[9] is a shifting, episodic affair rather than a solid all-engulfing, wave-like movement. It is to be hoped that *The Oxford History of the Archaic Greek World*, a multi-author project that I co-direct with Professor Paul Christesen (Dartmouth College), may serve to further a shift of the field in a paradigmatically archaeohistorical direction.

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[6] Cartledge 1986.
[7] Bintliff and Rutter 2016.
[8] Whitley and Nevett 2018.
[9] E.g. Snodgrass 2006.

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Brice L. Erickson, *Lerna, Volume VIII, The Historical Greek Village*, Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. pp. 520, 356 b/w figures, 10 colour figures. 2018. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. ISBN 978–0–87661–308–5 hardback, $150.

Brice Erickson's the *Historical Greek Village* is an excellent new addition to the Lerna series and significantly furthers our understanding of the nature and character of the site from circa 970 to 175 BC. Volume VIII in the series follows contributions that detail the fauna, people and prehistoric pottery and architecture of Lerna. Ericson's *Historical Village* not only presents an important and rich corpus of material, it also attempts to interpret the available archaeological data to reconstruct the nature and character of the site and its place within the wider Argolid. In this the books succeeds marvellously and Ericson's work significantly furthers our understanding of village life and culture in Geometric – Hellenistic times.

Lerna VIII is composed of seven chapters and four appendixes. Chapter 1 focusses on the historical and political narratives of Lerna. Chapter 2 discusses the Geometric cemetery. Chapter 3 presents the material recovered from the Late Archaic and Early Classical wells. In chapter 4 and 5 the Later Classical wells and Early and Middle Hellenistic wells are discussed. Chapter 6 presents miscellaneous pottery, figurines, loomweights and coins, and material with no securely dated archaeological context. Finally, chapter 7 draws on the preceding chapters to discuss village society and economy at Lerna. Appendices on petrographic analysis of table, coarse and cooking wares; Archaic to Hellenistic transport amphoras; faunal remains and architecture, follow the main chapters.

The book's primary audience, as admitted by Ericson himself, are site archaeologists and material specialists working in Greece. The core data chapters of the book, chapters 2 to 6 and the appendices are indeed most useful for practitioners in the field. The presented pottery in particular represents an important overview of ceramic development/interaction at an Argolid site from Geometric through Hellenistic times and is as such a valuable addition to our current understanding of the region. For the non–specialist reader chapters 1 and 7, however, are most easily accessible. Chapter 1 discusses Greek village and landscape archaeology and associated Lernian evidence whilst chapter 7, as already mentioned, places the presented archaeological evidence in context. It's important to highlight that this is a study of so-called legacy material. As such it suffers from similar drawbacks as other sites excavated during the middle of the last century. Particularly noteworthy in this context are the very selective ceramic sampling practices by the original excavators, leaving us with an assemblage which in all likelihood bears little resemblance to that originally deposited.

Chapter 1, Historical and Political narratives, provides an overview of the historical and archaeological evidence pertaining to the Greek village. We learn, for example, that villages were generally neglected by the ancient writers and that equally archaeology provides only limited information for the Archaic and Classical periods, with few village sites excavated. Archaeological field survey, however, has made a major contribution in various areas to our understanding of the ancient landscape and the role of smaller scale rural settlements. Ericson also pays attention in this chapter to discussions around how to define a site as a village. Another section of this chapter discusses the historical evidence for Argive domination in Argolid. The final part of the chapter considers the role of Lerna in the Argive territorial system, which is made challenging by the lack of available historical information. All in all chapter 1 is a highly interesting read and covers much ground. In so doing it raises a number of interesting and important questions to which Ericson will come back in subsequent chapters and particularly in his final contextualisation of the presented material.

Chapter 2, is the first of the data-heavy chapters and discusses Lerna's Geometric cemetery. It provides a full description of the burial ground and integrates in the discussion all archaeological evidence attested. The chapter is structured around the various excavated trenches and for each the attested archaeological material is presented in turn. Floor plans, photographs of cist and pithos tombs and other artefacts, plus images and line drawings of attested pottery make the chapter visually very attractive and taken together this approach succeeds marvellously in providing a joined-up overview of the attested remains. In a very sizable final section Ericson discusses and interprets the attested material. Very interestingly the evidence suggests site specific funerary rites