Archaic to Classical

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One of the most significant phenomena of early Greek history was the growth in the number of settlements around the Mediterranean that have been identified as Greek poleis. The subject of early Greek colonisation, which includes the processes of migration, the foundation of settlements, and the relationships between migrants and indigenous populations, has undergone fundamental reappraisal in the past 35 years. During this period there has been considerable reflection on the terminology that was used in the ancient world and the language that we use to describe the events and outcomes of these migrations, as well as the way that we conceptualise material culture from these settlements. The term 'colonisation' has been questioned as being too evocative of nineteenth-century imperialism.[1] Although not everyone has accepted these reinterpretations or rejections of the word colonisation, there is agreement that we need to evaluate and refine our models of colonisation and carefully (re)examine our historical and archaeological data. New models of migration, colonisation and settlement have transformed our understanding of the growth of these poleis and how we may understand the movements of people during the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Early colonisation is no longer simply explained as a state-organised event, instead there is wider debate about the occurrence of different types of migrations and settlement that varied in terms of their causes, how they established new communities and the long-term impact in each locale.

The conference *Contextualising early Greek colonisation: Archaeology, Sources, Chronology and Interpretative Models between Italy and the Mediterranean* held at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome, Academia Belgica, and British School at Rome (between June 21-23 2012) and the resultant volumes, focus on the early phase of colonisation, in the 8th to 7th centuries BC. The two volumes, which are discussed here, provide an interesting range of papers that examine how the archaeology of (primarily) Italy has been examined to understand the processes of migration and the impact of Greek settlement. A third volume, which contains shorter papers based on the poster sessions at the conference, is published as a special issue of the journal *Forum Romanum Belgicum* of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome.

The publications are dedicated to David Ridgway, and volume 1 starts with a *memoriam* of his life and work. David Ridgway, one of the most important figures in classical archaeology and in particular on migration and colonisation, had died just before the conference was held. Guzzo's brief but poignant outline of the importance of Ridgway's work provides a very suitable introduction to volume 1, which explores many of the themes of Ridgway's research and publications. These two publications are excellent companion volumes to the *Festschrift* in honour of Ridgway and Francesca R. Serra Ridgway.[2]

The first volume *Contexts of Early Colonization* presents twenty-six chapters that are organised in four thematic sections. These chapters cover the chronology of the Mediterranean Iron Age, the Mediterranean at the start of the first millennium BC in Italy, the Levant and Western Andalusia, indigenous communities in Italy in the Early Iron Age, and the impact of the arrival of Greek communities. There is, inevitably, overlap across the different sections in volume 1 and with the smaller second volume, *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, which contains discussions of models and frameworks for examining colonisation, migration, and identity. Whilst the existence of repetition or overlap between chapters is not necessarily a problem, and indeed it could be a strength of the volumes, I was often left frustrated because relevant complementary chapters, which covered similar material, were separated from one another, either within volume 1 or between the two volumes. Editing the proceedings from a conference is never easy, but the structure of these two volumes has been driven by the order of the sessions and the presentations at the conference. There are significant possibilities for the comparison of sites, material and approaches but the structure of the two volumes does not really enable this to happen. The artificial distinctions of sessions at the conference

[1] De Angelis 1998; Osborne 1998; Hurst and Owens 2005

[2] Herring *et al.* 2006

could have been re-examined for the publication, so that, for example, chapters which engaged with the language and conceptualisation of colonisation or particular regions were grouped together rather than being separated across the different parts and sometimes by several hundred pages. Nevertheless, as a whole, these two volumes offer a wealth of new data and approaches to the archaeological and historical records of Italy that have relevance to anyone interested in this period of Mediterranean antiquity and particularly on the processes and outcomes of Archaic Greek settlement.

The first section of *Contexts of Early Colonization* explores the chronology of early Greek colonisation from the Iron Age to the Archaic period. These four chapters review the principles and methods that have established the chronological framework for this period. Manuela Mari scrutinises how different Greek literary traditions created distinct chronological systems for the foundation of the Sicilian colonies and Carthage. She examines the Thucydidean chronology and raises important questions about our overreliance on literary chronologies, urging more dialogue between archaeologists and historians to evaluate and re-construct our understanding of the temporal sequence of Archaic Greek *apoikiai* foundations. Albert Nijboer discusses the revision of the conventional absolute chronology based on Thucydides' foundation dates and the impact on our understanding for what he refers to as the 'prospecting phase' in Greek settlement. A revised absolute chronology, based on radiocarbon dates, not only modifies and extends the period of 'prospecting' but for Nijboer it enables us to conceptualise a more fluid and longer lasting phase, rather than the entangled and overly cluttered period of prospection that is tied to 770-760 BC. The following two chapters by Nizzo, who provides a detailed evaluation of the necropolis at Pithekoussai, and Núñez, who examines the construction of chronologies for the Levant, present further evidence for the need to undertake careful re-evaluation of material to established localised chronologies.

Section two focuses on Phoenician activity in the Mediterranean at the beginning of the first millennium BC. The four contributions to this section examine Phoenician colonisation throughout the Levant (Oggiano), local reactions to Phoenician contact and interaction in western Andalusia at the Tartessian site of Setefilla (Krueger), changes to standard weights of copper ingots traded throughout the Mediterranean (Melandri and Parise) and the populations inhabiting Bithia (Sardinia) from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (Minoja, Bassoli and Nieddu). Each of these contributions provide further evidence for the importance of undertaking detailed studies of material culture to reconstruct localised patterns of economic activity, settlement and responses to interaction.

The third and longest section of the volume contains 10 chapters that investigate different indigenous contexts in Magna Graecia and Sicily from the 9th to the 6th century BC, and how contact with the Greek world determined the development of these indigenous communities. Although a few chapters (Osanna, Albanese Procelli, Denti, and Quondam) focus on changes in settlement patterns and the visible changes within settlements during the 8th and 7th centuries BC, the majority focus on grave assemblages and attempt to read the possible markers of identity and cultural practice from the presence of local and imported material culture within those assemblages. Bartoloni explores social stratification and social mobility among indigenous Tyrrhenian coastal communities expressed in funerary assemblages following contact with Greeks and Phoenicians. Pier Giovanni Guzzo presents a survey of the earliest Greek material culture recovered in Campania including Pithekoussai, Cuma, Capua and Pontecagnano, and attempts to contextualise it with a discussion of ancient historical sources in order to understand the material culture of apoikiai and the evidence for intermarriage. We return to Capua, a few chapters later, with Melandri and Sirano's discussion of assemblages associated with Oriental material in burials. They interpret the use of this material as indigenous reception of commercial mediators who introduced Cypriot and Levantine material culture. D'Agostino and Gastaldi continue this focus on Campania and the funerary record with an exploration of Early Iron Age Pontecagnano, and the evidence that they see there for the emergence of socio-economic stratification.

Moving further south to Calabria, several chapters reveal the significant impact that Greek settlement appears to have had on indigenous sites. Pacciarelli surveys territorial reorganization and attributes the end of this socio-economic development to Greek intervention. Osanna and Denti's chapters examine the changes to the indigenous sites of the Ionian coast and interior of Basilicata as a direct consequence of immigration associated with the *polis* of Siris-Polieion (Osanna). Denti's chapter interprets historic research at Incoronata, an Oenotrian Iron Age community that encountered Greeks (8-7th centuries) prior to the formal establishment of Metaponto. Denti argues that the visible changes in material culture, particularly

that associated with pottery production attest the development of a community incorporating both local Oenotrian and Greek artisans. Albanese Procelli provides one of the few discussions of Sicily in this early period, and charts the movements from the mainland and east Mediterranean and the resultant material transformations in domestic and funerary contexts of Ausonian and Pantalica material during the Iron Age.

More recent research at the Macchiabate necropolis at Francavilla Marittima reveals high-status funerary assemblages of the 9th and 8th centuries BC, which Guggisberg argues are indicative that women were more receptive to or interested in the adoption of foreign objects within their burial assemblages than men. The idea that there was differential adoption of cultural material and practices within communities resonates with other research in the volumes, and echoes some of Lyons' interpretations of Morgantina.[3] Quondam's chapter on the settlement patterns, material culture, and social organization of Early Iron Age indigenous populations of the Sybaritide prior to the foundation of Greek Sybaris provides further evidence of early (towards the end of the 8th century BC) significant cultural transformations.

The fourth and final section of the volume deal with Greek and Phoenician colonization in Greece and the western Mediterranean. Lombardo explores ancient Greek *ktisis* traditions and the apoekistic model. The questions raised in this chapter about the origins of these traditions, as well as their use in academic scholarship, are another contribution to the on-going and often quite vociferous debate about the nature of early colonisation and apoikiai that has developed over the last 25 years, and which continues in the accompanying *Conceptualising early Colonisation* volume (see Donnellan and Nizzo, Osborne, and Malkin's chapters for further discussion).

In this final section, Naso's chapter explores the exchange of Etruscan, Italian, and Sicilian material culture with Greece. Votive bronze artefacts from Italy recovered at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia were components of the votive offerings from the 8th to 5th centuries BC, which appears to attest for the preference of Tyrrhenian bronzes as luxury goods in Greece. The following chapters focus on the western Mediterranean and provide a range of case studies about interaction and cultural change. Botto's interests are on the commercial transactions between Sardinia and Iberia during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, and how we might untangle the origins of these networks of interaction.

The final chapters provide detailed examination of particular sites and how the evidence within them can be used to read the existence of mixed communities, from the Sikel and Greek community at Naxos, Sicily at the end of the 8th century BC (Lentini), to the presence of Iapygian and Greek pottery and associated structure on the acropolis at Satryion in the 7th century BC (Parisi, Marchetti and Lippolis). Boffa considers the appearance of inscriptions composed in Greek script on locally manufactured pottery in central Italy as evidence for artisans moving within local populations spreading knowledge of language and script. Similar types of societal transformation are seen by Semeraro in the organization and form of Iapygian villages and the use of particular drinking practices in the early Iron Age. We return to Incoronata and this important region of Basilicata for the final chapter. Savelli presents results of earlier excavations that reveal evidence for significant interaction between indigenous populations and Greeks.

The second volume, *Conceptualising Early Colonisation,* reproduces the proceedings of the final day of the conference, which took place at the British School at Rome. The morning session of this day and the first part of this volume focus on themes of colonisation. In the opening chapter, Donnellan and Nizzo introduce some of the key theoretical debates and entrenched positions that can be seen in research on Greek colonisation (several of which are repeated in the chapters that follow). The chapter provides an excellent summary of the opportunities and frustrations associated with studying this topic, not only the tensions between literary and archaeological evidence but also the schisms that exist within current scholarship in 'the dialogue of the deaf' (De Angelis this volume page 97). The following two chapters by Osborne and Malkin encapsulate the essence of these schisms.

Osborne's short contribution reiterates his earlier criticism and rejection of the term colonisation as an appropriate term to describe and analyse the process of Greek migration and the form of settlements that were established in the Archaic period.[4] Malkin's longer discussion restates and develops some of his earlier responses to such criticisms and argues that the networks of *metropoleis* and *apoikiai* were part of a meaningful (colonial) kinship relationship that was understood by the Greeks in the Archaic period. Malkin argues that there was no such thing as a Classical model of colonisation, rather the conventions of colonial kinship, including the right to return to a metropolis, were established in the Archaic period. Hall's contribution also develops

[3] Lyons 1996

[4] Osborne 1998

one of his previous arguments about the fairly fluid nature of Hellenic identity in the 8th to 7th centuries BC that was affected relatively little by colonisation but was the result of 6th century ritual practice associated with the development of Delphi and Olympia. Esposito and Pollini, and De Angelis's chapters consider North American cultural contact and frontiers research, and whether the perspectives and methods in this area can be used to develop models to understand the process of migration and interaction within Magna Graecia.

One of the key debates in the study of colonial encounters has been how we might use the evidence from burials to understand the identities of individuals and the existence of inter-marriage and cultural transformations. Saltini Semerari evaluates how we might examine intermarriage in colonised areas, and argues for more consideration of why particular social groups might have been attracted to marriage into a different community, which resonates with Guggisberg's chapter in the other volume.

Nizzo's chapter considers the implications of new radiocarbon dates on the chronologies of Iron Age Italy and central Europe and their implications for our understanding of connections between the different regions of the Mediterranean. The chapter is a welcome addition to on-going discussion about chronology, which is so important for our understanding of early expansion and interaction, but it is a shame that this chapter was not within the section on chronology in volume 1, rather than sandwiched between the discussions in this volume.

Étienne comments on the use of two concepts that have emerged out of a recent debate over long-term historical processes in the Mediterranean. The first is connectivity, as proposed by Horden and Purcell, and the second is growth as established in the economic history of Scheidel, Morris and Saller.[5] They attempt to assess them as valuable conceptual tools to understand colonial interactions and development. The themes of connectivity and growth are further developed within the chapters that have utilised network theory to examine the development of Pithekoussai and Cumae (Morris, Donnellan) and the nature of networks and relationships locally and with the eastern Mediterranean. Cuozzo and Pellegrino study the material culture of burials and cult at Monte Vetrano in Campania to attempt to trace cultural strategies of resistance or reception to incoming people, material and ideas, as well as connections with other settlements in Italy.

Several chapters deal with urban development. Tréziny argues that the urban layout of Megara Hyblaea was not only established by the late 8th BC century but it was similar to the urban form of Naxos and Syracuse. These similarities are suggestive to Tréziny in that there was a common plan for creating and nurturing practice in the urban environment. Frisone continues the discussion of urban forms by detailing the creation of 'secondary colonisation' in the earlier history of east Sicily and Calabria. Frisone proposes that we should view all foundations as 'sorrelle' rather than as parent and 'figlie' foundations which would enable us to see shared characteristics and the nature of the relationships between the different poleis, rather than simply regarding some foundations as copies of earlier ones. Discussion of the entwined histories, cultural practices and conceptualisation of space is further developed with Greco's comparison of urban forms in poleis of southern Italy. Greco focuses his attention to apparent shared dimensions of public places and the location of extra-urban sanctuaries dedicated to Hera in the chora of four 'Achaean' sites (Sybaris, Croton, Metapontum and Poseidonia).

The final chapters of the second volume delve into discussions of the methods used and problems encountered when we attempt to define identities (ethnic, cultural, and the development of new hybrid ones) from the archaeological record. Yntema focuses on the burial rites and domestic architecture of early Greek colonisation in the 9th to 7th centuries. He suggest that we should not identify distinct phases of interaction between Greek and indigenous societies and thus would be better placed to see longer periods of contact of differing degrees, from which certain ethnically mixed communities developed, some of which became poleis. These themes of cultural contact and identity formation are also examined in Burgers and Crielaard's discussion of field surveys on the Salento Isthmus and recent excavations at the settlement and necropolis of L'Amastuola.

The conference and these two volumes bring together a significant body of research and data that raise important questions and provide interesting material on key themes of early Greek colonisation. The volumes will work best if read together, as there are chapters across the publications that complement each other because they evaluate themes or data from different perspectives or cover slightly different periods of the same region. The volumes contain a wealth of critical discussion about nomenclature and terminology and suggest new models and methods for the way that we can examine the history of the Mediterranean. Many of the chapters acknowledge the existence of divisions within the subject, often

[5] Horden and Purcell 2000; Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007

identified as the result of different national schools of thought, and, importantly, they provide valuable suggestions and approaches for how we may develop methodologies to examine the historical and archaeological traces of early Greek colonisation. Although the majority of the chapters focus on southern Italy, the discussions of chronology and suggestions that we should view the migrations, settlement formations and cultural interactions as long-term processes rather than identifiable events of colonisation are important ideas for discussions of antiquity across the Mediterranean.

De Angelis, F. 1998. Ancient Past, Imperialist Present: The British Empire, in T.J. Dunbabin's *The Western Greeks*. *Antiquity* 72: 539-549.

Herring, E., I. Lemos, F. Lo Schiavo, L. Vagnetti, R. Whitehouse and J. Wilkins (eds) 2006. *Across Frontiers. Papers in honour of David Ridgway and Francesca R. Serra Ridgway*. London: Accordia Reasearch Insititute.

Horden, P and N. Purcell 2000. *The Corrupting Sea, A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Lyons, C. L. 1996. *The Archaic Cemeteries* (Morgantina Studies 5). Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press.

Osborne, R., 1998. Early Greek colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the West, in N. Fisher and H. van Wees (eds) *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*: 251-269. London: Duckworth.

Malkin, I. 2009. Foundations, in K. Raaflaub and H. van Wees (eds) *A Companion to Archaic Greece*: 373-394. Malden and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Scheidel, W., I. Morris and R. Saller (eds) 2007. *The Cambridge Economic History of the Graeco-Roman World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MATTHEW FITZJOHN
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL
Mpf21@liverpool.ac.uk

Josiah Ober. *The Rise and Fall of Classical Greece.* pp. 448, photographs, 14 line illustrations, 18 tables. 9 maps. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2015. ISBN: 978-069117-314-6 paperback $18.95/£14.95 hardcover $35.00/£27.95.

This book has already achieved major publicity both within Ancient History and also with a wider educated public, since it clearly takes a different tack from preceding summaries of Classical Greek history. Its historiography helps to account for this. Josiah Ober was well-known for research into the fortifications and defence of Classical Attica and also for studies of Athenian democracy. However when he came under the influence of a particular trend in Economic History, especially moving from the east of the States to Stanford, this source of inspiration grew into an ideological flood. Ober now significantly possesses a Chair in Political Science and Classics at Stanford and works closely with luminaries such as Ian Morris and Walter Scheidel. These latter colleagues have favoured the approach known as the New Institutional Economic History on the one hand, and on the other a broadening out into high-profile Global History (notably in books such as Morris' *Why the West Rules* of 2010, and Scheidel's *Rome and China* of 2009).

'NIEH' is an approach to Economic History privileging quantification, economic performance, life expectancy and other contemporary aspects of modern economic analysis, and thus departs clearly from a Moses Finley-esque view of an archaic, 'Substantivist', socially-maintained ancient economy in the clear direction of the 'Formalist', ancient economy worth comparison with today's in structure and performance. This particular movement has strong ideological links to Right Wing politics and a favourable view of Capitalism. Hence a well-written, approachable volume explaining the Rise and Fall of Classical Greece in new terms, yet terms familiar to contemporary global discussions on political institutions and their connections to citizen welfare, is bound to be a publishing success.

Now NIEH has as many, maybe more, critics in History than fans and practitioners, so one would think that the book would have either provided ammunition for readers of a certain political persuasion or been a red flag to a bull. In actuality the outcome has been quite different. One reason is surely that quantification of historical data is more widely seen as a 'good thing', since it allows us all to evaluate ideas and theories on the basis of published evidence. Another reason is that so daring a book as this is offers an excellent opportunity for those who approve of its ideology and those who disapprove to debate their arguments. This reviewer was fortunate enough to participate in a seminar series at Edinburgh University when Josiah Ober was visiting professor. Each week a different chapter was summarised by the author then the discussion began, a very open one, where staff were clearly critical but engaged with the data. I since heard of another seminar series based on a